GUIDE TO THE MEI LEBANON FILE

[This file contains general and specific information on the modern republic of Lebanon. The major focus of the file is on village life in Lebanon, with nearly two-thirds of the sources devoted to this topic. Lebanon did not exist as a separate entity apart from Syria until the mid 19th century. In 1920, it declared its independence from the Ottoman Empire. It was administered under French mandate until 1941 and the republic was established in 1944, closely modeled after the structure of the French Third Republic. The population of Lebanon is 3,213,000 (1973 U. N. estimate). 55% of the population is Christian, mostly Maronites, and 45% is Moslem, with Sunnites slightly outnumbering Shiites. Arabic is the official language, but French and English are common among the educated. Trade provides two-thirds of the national income, with Syria and then other neighboring Arab states as the principal foreign commercial partners. About one half of the people are engaged in agriculture. Fruits, cereals, vegetables, and tobacco are the principal crops. Goats, sheep and cattle are also raised, and lumber (oak) is a major export. Lebanon possesses a free market economy, and is heavily dependent on foreign sources of capital.

There are 11 sources in the Lebanon file, all of them in English, and numbered 1, 7-10, 12-17. None of them offer an introductory view of the country. Seven of the sources are concerned with village life in Lebanon (7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, and 17). Three of these look at specific villages (7, 14, and 16; however, 7 and 16 are by the same author on the same village). 9 Lebanon is a survey of 8 villages in one area and contains data on population, government, land tenure and cultivation, business, industry, school, and health. Two sources discuss the problems of emigration

for Lebanon. 10: Tannous studies its effects on villages mainly in terms of the cash introduced into the village economy by emigrated members. 11: Epstein looks at emigration on a national level in terms of its demographic effects in changing the ratios of Christians and Moslems (Christians in 1946 making up the greatest percentage of emigrants). 13: Rihbany discusses municipal governments, their problems and procedures. He devotes one chapter to the government of Beirut and another to the administration of villages. 14: Tannous looks at the effects of missionary education on social change. Four more articles also discuss social change (7, 10, 16, and 17). In terms of articles dealing with other than the village, 8: Fei and Klat is a study of Lebanon's balance of payments in 1951 and 1952. 12: Churchill is a socio-economic study of Beirut. 15: Boyd is a study of blood-groups, distribution of body-hair, somatology and "taste-blindness" in Lebanon. Comparisons are made between different groups in Lebanon and also with two tribes in Syria. The data in this file are best suited for comparisons with other modernizing village economies. The file was processed between 1955 and 1956.]

Alter et al S-3 (1952-53) 1953 MS Middle East
Lebanon ME1

APPENDIX II

THE JIBRAIL RURAL FELLOWSHIP CENTRE, LEBANON

By S. Neale Alter*

The Fellowship Centre is located in the village of Jibrail, Akkar, Lebanon, which has around nine hundred people, all of whom depend on agriculture for their livelihood. This village is the geographical centre for an ecological area of some twenty thousand people. Our village reconstruction programme began in 1954, though our Presbyterian Mission had an academic school there before that time. Ours is the only controlled experimental demonstration centre of its kind in Lebanon.

When this reconstruction project began, Jibrail, like most other villages of the Near East was resigned to half-crops, half-health, half-adequate housing, half-happiness, and half-living. Since we were convinced that all of these factors must be treated as a unit, the programme dealt with the following: fundamental education for teen-age boys and girls, as well as adults, control of diseases of men, animals and plants, improvement of agriculture and live stock, control of water and soil conservation and irrigation, rural industries to make use of leisure time; and the development of moral, social and spiritual values within the indigenous religious cultures.

We have been experimenting for several years with a strategy which would reach the whole village through contacting individuals, family units, the village and the ecological area in their "grass-roots" environment. This technique is the same as that which would be used to meet the economy of a rural family which had run down land, poor crops - hence poor food, inferior animals and trees, poor health; and consequently poor members in the family unit. In the East the village resembles a large family, consequently there must be a unit approach, rather than the departmental approach, as is used in the extension systems of the West. After there is considerable development the departmental approach may apply equally well to the East.

Over a period of years we have accumulated considerable data on this unit approach. Our Centre is constantly being requested by individuals, government and others to share this data, especially in the Arabic language. We feel that it would be a real service to the whole Near East to provide some printed material.

We have the following assets:

1. Personnel and leadership. Mrs. Alter and I have had special training and experience in rural education and rural reconstruction. We have developed a staff of able Lebanese who understand our philosophy and co-operate as colleagues. We are in process of developing a Lebanese Board of Directors to take over more and more of the administration.

2. We have two schools, for boys and girls, which are co-operating closely with the Fundamental Education of UNESCO. These schools have a student body and graduates through whom we may continue experimentation and demonstration.

* Mr. Neale Alter is an American in charge of the Jibrail Centre. He is assisted in the management of the Centre by Mr. Munir Khoury, a Lebanese.

3 Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1964 MI Middle East
SYRIA MDI
LEBANON MEI

Chapter Ten

SYRIA AND LEBANON

The Land and the People

The area of the present Syria and Lebanon lies to the north of Arabia Deserta and is the western horn of the Fertile Crescent. The two republics do not enclose within their boundaries a natural geographic entity and their climate and topography are best studied in relation to the surrounding countries;[1] but within the political boundaries of the two states, the following geographical divisions may roughly be distinguished:

(1) *The Coastal Strip.* This is about twenty miles wide near Latakia and rather less just north of Tripoli, but in some places disappears and the mountains meet the sea. Olives, bananas, citrus, and vegetables are cultivated intensively near Beirut.

(2) *The Mountains.* Starting from the north, the first coastal mountains are the Jebel Ansariya (also known as the Alawi Mountains) which average 4,000 feet and are well populated on the western slopes. To the south is the Homs–Tripoli gap and then starts the Lebanon range with peaks of over 10,000 feet. Even on the upper slopes of this range water is plentiful, there is close cultivation, and the villages and towns are prosperous. Near Beirut are situated the mountain resorts to which most of the city workers move each night when the summer brings its humid heat. The interior ranges of mountains lying parallel to that of the Lebanon are the Anti-Lebanon (between Homs and Zahle) reaching over 7,000 feet and the range of Hermon (between Zahle and the Israel border) which reaches 9,200 feet. Water and cultivation are far less plentiful on these than on the coastal mountains. Farther inland still and to the south of Damascus lie the Leja, a bleak area of igneous rock, and the Jebel Druze, which reaches 5,000–6,000 feet and lies north of the Jordan border.

(3) *Plains and Plateaux.* Hardly any of the territory of Syria and Lebanon lies less than 700 feet above sea-level and south of Hama almost all the land is over 1,600 feet. The richest agricultural land is on fairly high ground and forms part of a

[1] See W. B. Fisher, *The Middle East; a Physical, Social, and Regional Geography* (London, Methuen, 1950).

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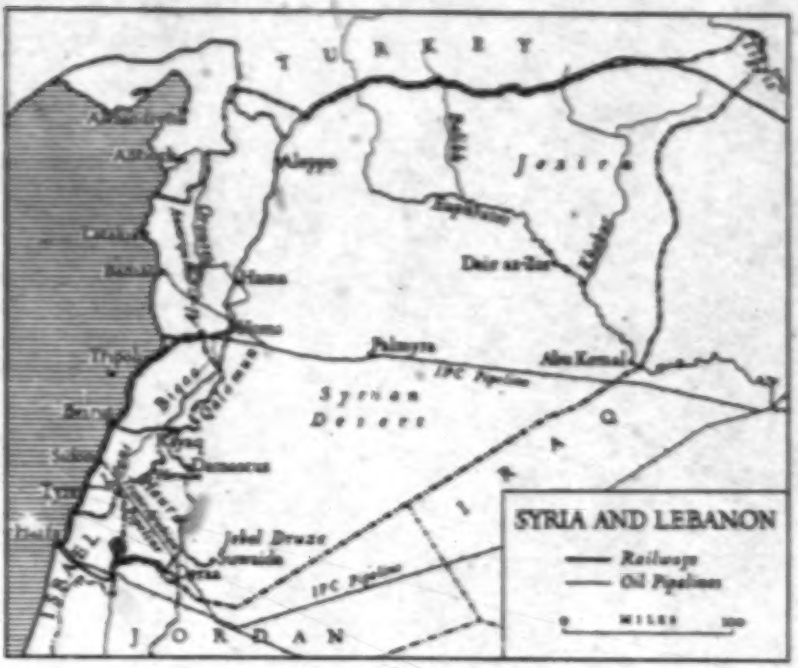

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crescent which (starting from the Iraqi border) comprises the Jezira, the countryside of Aleppo, Homs, and Hama, and the fertile and beautiful Biqaa valley. The cultivation of cotton and cereals is particularly successful in the north-eastern corner of Syria where there has been great general development in the last five or six years. From Homs one road leads south to the Biqaa valley which continues between the two mountain ranges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, past Zahle to the southern border of Lebanon. Farther inland is the road to Damascus which passes to the east of the Anti-Lebanon over the Qalamun plateau. This is mostly barren land, reaching over 2,000 feet; the areas of cultivation usually need more water, but suffer occasionally from bad floods. The oasis of Damascus is known as the Ghouta and there every drop of water in the two rivers is made use of, by an ancient system of canals which follow the contours and provide water lavishly as they gradually lose height. Between Damascus and Jordan lies the Hauran plateau much of which is about 2,000 feet above sea-level; here there is cultivation of cereals but few trees are now left and there is insufficient water to ensure good crops each year.

(4) *The Desert.* To the south and to the east of the Fertile Crescent there spreads a desert that extends southward for over

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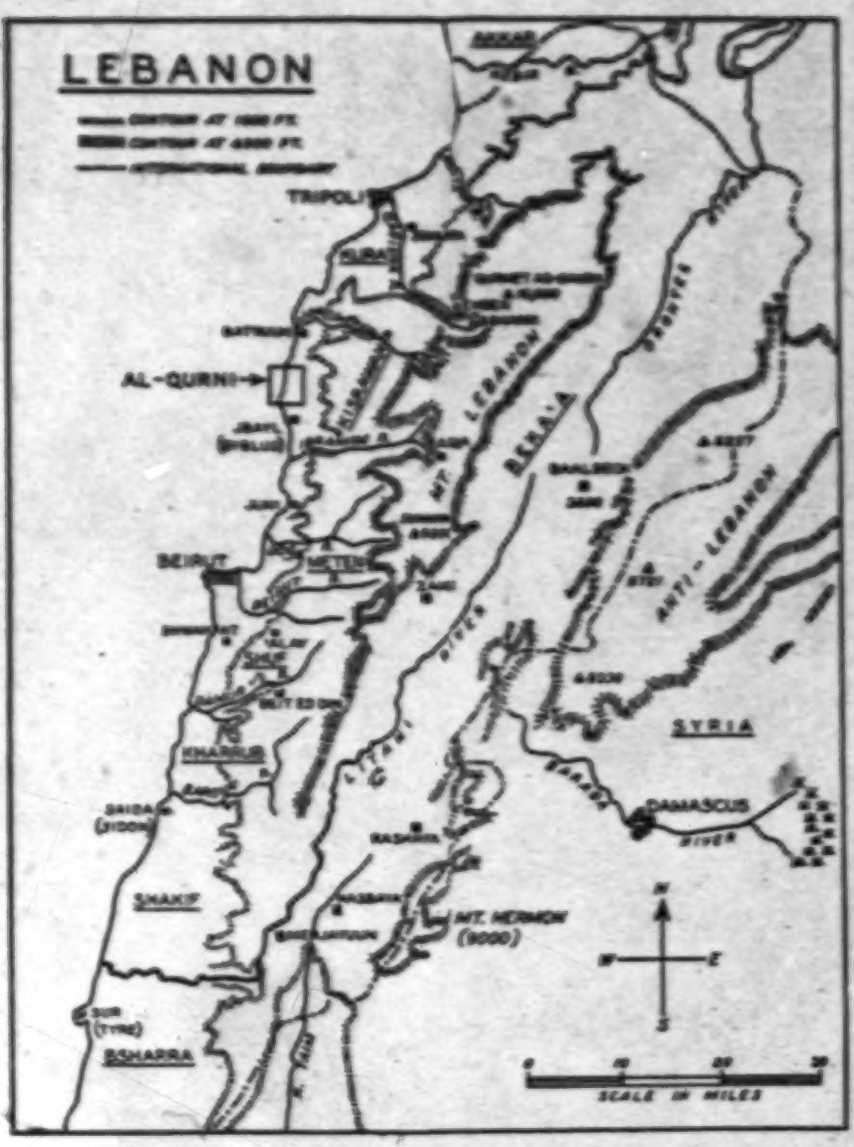

FIG. 1. LEBANON

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FOLLOWING P. 1 (A)

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Palestine and Lebanon

p. 128

LEBANON MAP
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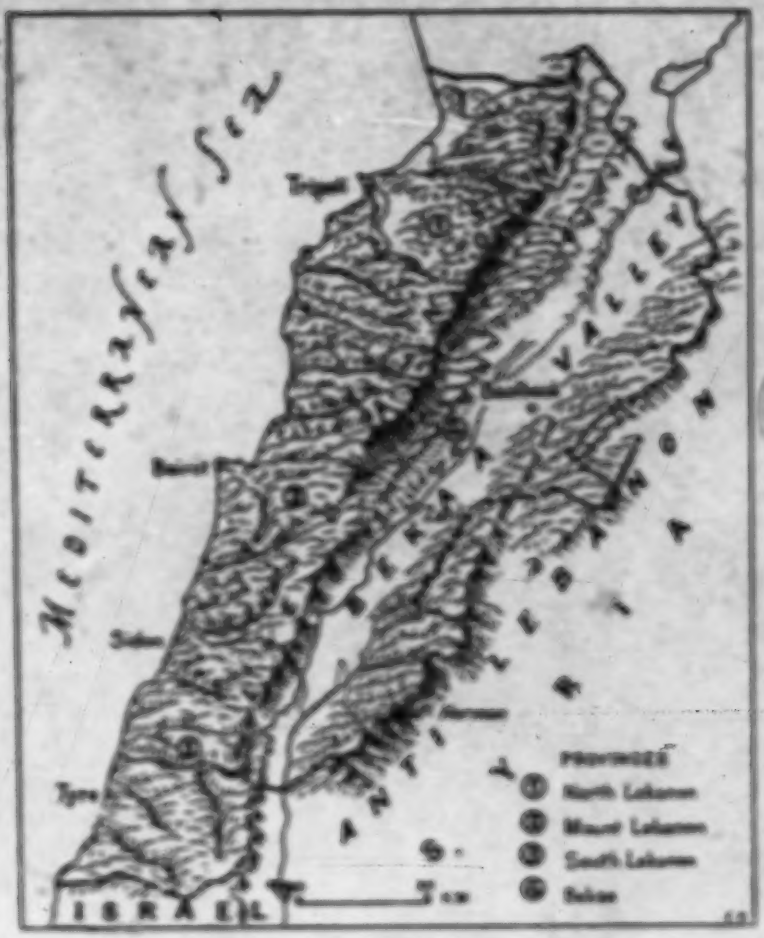

p. 105

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Evergreen oaks, which are tolerant of greater aridity, persist,—although at wider intervals than in true maquis—but tall shrubs are much less common, and a few scrub of dwarf bushes and thorns take their place. Because of the more open nature of this vegetation, which rarely exceeds 3 feet in height, perennial plants can develop, and for some weeks after the spring rains, a carpet of flowers and herbs makes a striking display. Garrigue is often discontinuous, with bare patches of soil and rock interspersed with plants. (Fisher, 1950, p. 71.)

Mammalian fauna are very sparse indeed; as a matter of fact, as far as the writer knows there is virtually none. Snakes, however, are fairly numerous, are all regarded as being poisonous, and are killed on sight. Small lizards, spiders, six-inch centipedes, snails, scorpions, and large, wood-eating beetles are prominent among the other creatures which were observed. Birds are few, probably because those which venture into the district are generally shot, even if they are as small as sparrows. Flies are numerous, and there are some mosquitoes.

THE DISTRICT OF AL-QURNI

Now that its physical characteristics have been described, the question arises, On what basis can al-Qurni be considered to be a distinct district? The name, according to several informants, means "corner," and it is the impression of the writer that it is used primarily only by the inhabitants of the district itself. True, in terms of terrain, it has two features which set it apart from the land immediately surrounding it. It rises particularly sharply and suddenly from the sea; and from the south, say from the hamlet of el-Burj, the ridge upon which Rihanni and Jibbayil are built looms up definitely higher than the nearer land, from which it is separated by an arroyo, the Wadi Ba'ishta. These distinctions are, however, rather minor, and, as far as is known, the people themselves do not perceive them. Within al-Qurni there is little of a physical nature to account for its being set apart as a unit. The land is sharply rolling, and the terrain consists essentially of three ridges which run roughly at right angles to the shore line. Upon the largest and highest of these, the three northern villages are built. Shaykhan and Mumjil are on the second, middle one; and the third has been commented upon above. Such features are typical of most of the coastal zone from Juni to Tripoli.

Al-Qurni is not a political entity. It is simply a locality in Kisrawan, one of several districts in the Province of Mount Lebanon which is one of the five provinces into which the Republic is divided. Al-Qurni does contain six political units, each with its elected mayor and council, as well as its own church. These are the villages of Burbara, Ghazzoun, Shaykhan, Mumjil, Jibbayil, and Rihanni. Lower Burbara is merely an adjunct of the village proper. For political purposes, Bukh'az is part of Ghazzoun. Hilwi and 'Arqbi belong to Mumjil. Ba'ishta is part of Rihanni. For other than political purposes, the people consider themselves to be seven, rather than six, villages, separating Bukh'az from Ghazzoun. Of the seven,

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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Most of the territory of the village is divided into a large number of sections each of which has its own name. The map (Fig. 4) indicates the sections—*Hayy* (حي)—in the village proper. Most of these names are evidently very old, and those in the village proper were translated as follows: "fig place," "lowland" (i.e., the *wadi* which abuts it to the north), "infertile" (mostly bare rock), "surrounded" (connotation obscure), "lemon place" (no citrus plants are grown in the village), "little head" (a secondary crest, see Fig. 4, Sec. 55), "graves," "center of town" (*safa*), "small green fertile place," "place of small olive press" (no longer so), and "priest's shrine" (obscure). Translations could not be obtained for a few others. Just outside the village proper there are two sections of whose names no one could even guess the meaning. They are probably not of Arabic origin. No particular name is given to some sections of the village proper, especially in the central portion. The word *safa* has been applied to part of this central portion for at least fifty years but apparently not much earlier than that. This suggests that the present concentration of commercial establishments (see map, Fig. 3) is relatively recent, for in general *safa* means the part of a village where the stores are located.

Those portions within the settlement which do not have specific names are generally referred to as *jinan*, which means the deep fertile soil which is usually devoted to the growing of vegetables. This is a generic term for this particular soil-type. Others in use in the village are *sahl* (plain—land without trees), *salikh* (land with trees), and *malk* (orchards). Of these, the last is of particular interest.

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Malk really means "land held in fee simple." In Mumjil, nearly all the land is held in fee simple, and orchards are the most valuable property. *Sahl* is incorporated into some of the section names, but *salikh* and *malk* are not, as far as could be determined.

On either side of the road leading to Hilwi (the old path which it superseded was called *tariq al-maalika*—"road to the brackish spring"), there are eight named sections. Similarly, along the path which leads to Hilwi via Mar Mamma (*tariq al-Hilwi*—"road to the fresh-water spring"), there are twelve. In all, then, thirty-four named sections were recorded, and there are unquestionably a good many more. The names, in general, refer to physical characteristics of the land in question or to past owners or associated events; or their meaning is obscure or unknown. As far as could be determined, the named sections have no social significance except that they make it possible to specify exactly different parts of the village. This is very helpful in a situation where the individual's landholdings are usually widely scattered.

621

The map (Fig. 4) also indicates the division of the village into two halves: *har fawqani*, "the upper part," and *har tahtani*, "the lower part." This division *does*, or at least did, have social significance. It was stated that up to about eighty years ago, the upper part was completely dominated by Maximal Lineage A, the lower part by Maximal Lineage C. (Further discussion of this matter must wait

Middle East M
7: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

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large bundles slung over their shoulders, singing cheerfully. "They do not speak Arabic," said one informant, "and you always see the women only because three women, say, together, are the wives of one man. They beg, and he does nothing."

Also in the beggar class are men with performing bears or donkeys, and, in particular, troupes consisting of a girl of any age between ten and twenty and usually two, somewhat older, men. The girl does a shimmy dance accompanied by the men, one of whom beats a drum, while the other usually plays a long, stringed instrument called *Aawadi*. The villagers call them *Hawwani* because they all are supposed to come from Hawran, and they regard them as pests to be got rid of as quickly as possible. The beggars are a group which is definitely stigmatized by the villagers.

APPENDIX B: TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC PHONEMES

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A fairly standard system of transliteration has been developed for Classical Arabic, which can be employed without comment. However no Arab uses Classical Arabic in his daily life, and this work is concerned with the events of daily life. It is therefore necessary to employ a set of symbols which is suitable for the needs at hand.

In general, the various Arabic dialects adhere fairly well to classical usage in the long series of obstruent phonemes. What usually occurs is that some are ignored, in phonetically systematic fashion, and there is also a tendency to eliminate, by addition or omission, the asymmetries which occur in Classical Arabic. Those which remain, however, and they are the majority, are generally pronounced in accordance with classical rules. The same can be said, in general, of the three long vowels, cognizance of which is taken in the Arabic alphabet. The chief difficulty is encountered in the three short vowels, ignored in ordinary writing, one of which is regularly clustered with ع and with ء to form two additional phonemes. Dialectical variation in this series is great, frequently involving the complete omission of one or another of the three simple phonemes in question. Moreover, individuals tend to be casual in their pronunciation of them. For example, a Lebanese will say that it is correct to call his country either Libnaan or Lebnaan. He does either, and may even say both in the same sentence. In linguistic terms, it is in the short vowels and related diphthongs that the greatest number of allophones occurs, and where dialectical variations are very apparent.

The system of transliteration used in this work is intended to be reasonably accurate phonetically, to avoid undue grotesquerie, and, withal, to permit the reader to pronounce the words correctly without first having to master a complicated and esoteric system of symbols. In the text, Arabic words are rendered in the Munsifi dialect which is less at variance with the classical than many others. In a few cases, the Classical Arabic form is added in parentheses, using the Arabic alphabet.

Middle East M1
7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
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Symbol *	Value, when not obviously same as English	Arabic Letter	Muslim Variations
b		ب	
m		م	
t		ت	
th	as in think	ث	t
d		د	
dh	as in this	ذ	
f		ف	
n		ن	
w		و	
y		ي	
l	dental l	ل	
r	dental trill	ر	
s		س	
sh		ش	
z		ز	
j	as in azure	ج	
ṭ	palatal t	ط	
ḍ	palatal d	ض	
ṣ	palatal s	ص	
ẓ	palatal z	ظ	z
k		ك	
kh	uvular voiceless spirant	خ	
gh	uvular voiced spirant	غ	
q	velar voiceless stop	ق	Sometimes?
h		ه	
ḥ	pharyngial voiceless spirant	ح	
ʿ	pharyngial voiced spirant	ع	
ʾ	glottal stop	ء	
aa	as in bar	آ	raised and tensed
uu	as in soon	و	
ii	as in seen	ي	
a	as in pat (or pet)	ـَ	feminine endings, properly -a, or -at, are often -i, or -it.
u	as in put (or put)	ـُ	
i	as in pit (or pat or pet)	ـِ	
ay	similar to wine or (wane)	ـَي	
aw	similar to boat (or bout)	ـَو	

* The abstruse phonemes are arranged in *phonetic* order of formation from the front of the mouth rearwards; they are not in the proper order of the Arabic alphabet.

1: Epstein, Eliahu. Demographic Problems of the Lebanon. Journal of the Royal Central Asian Society, Vol. 33, pp. 150-154. London: Royal Central Asian Society, 1946.

Yale: Bj23-17-33

/The author of this article is principally concerned with the large scale emigration of the Lebanese population and, in particular, with the emigration of the Lebanese Christian community which constitutes a great majority of the total number of emigrants. Epstein briefly outlines the broad economic reasons for this migration and finds them chiefly detrimental to the continuance of the Lebanese Christians whose rate of natural increase is not as great as that of the Druzes and Shi'as--Analyst./

Field date: none
Analyst: Olivia Maldonado

Evaluation: Social Scientist-3
Processed in 1955

7: Gulick, John. Social Structure and Culture Change in a Lebanese Village. New York: Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Incorporated., 1955.

Pp. 191; 9 plates.

On loan from Brian R. Kay, Human Relations Area Files

/This source, a revised version of a doctoral dissertation presented by the author to Harvard University, is based on a community study conducted by the author in Lebanon from January to July, 1952. It contains a great deal of detailed information on life in the village of Al-Munsif as observed by the author. He discusses the general environment and physical aspect of this village, its population and formal institutions, its socio-religious behavior, recreation, kinship structure, and values. There follows an analysis of cultural change in Al-Munsif and some theoretical propositions applicable to the entire Middle East on group structure and the concept of spheres. --Analyst/

Field date: 1952
Analyst: Beverly Calsoyas

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1955

8: Fei, Edward and Paul J. Klat. The Balance of Payments of Lebanon, 1951 and 1952. Lebanon: Economic Research Institute, American University of Beirut, 1954.

Pp. 92; 31 tables; 5 appendices.

HRAF Copy

/The authors of this study are both Assistant Professors of Economics at the American University of Beirut. The study was made in 1953 by the Economic Research Institute for the Lebanese Ministry of National Economy and was directed by the authors. Here they have summarized the statistics followed by an explanatory text on the items which made up Lebanon's balance of payments for the years 1951 and 1952. There is incidental information on foreign trade and travel by Lebanese nationals. The appendices contain copies of questionnaires used to obtain information on certain items. --Analyst/

Field date: 1951-52
Analyst: Beverly Calsoyas

Evaluation: Social Scientist--4
Processed in 1955

9: Lebanon: Village Survey. Kasmie Rural Improvement Project. Beirut: Lebanese Ministry of National Economy, 1953.

Pp. xi, 27: Plates

The Middle East Institute Library: DS 99. L4K2 Copy 2.

/This is a village survey made possible through the joint effort of the Lebanese government and the United States Technical Cooperation Service. A group of eight villages in the area of the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project were studied and data were collected on the following topics: population, village government, land ownership and cultivation, business and industry, schools and health conditions.-- Analyst/

Field date: 1952
Analyst: Majed Elass

Evaluation: Government Official-5
Processed in 1955

111 ME1 Lebanon

10: Tannous, Afif I. Emigration, A Force of Social Change In An Arab Village. Rural Sociology, Vol. 7, pp. 62-74. Raleigh, North Carolina: North Carolina State College of Agriculture and Engineering, University of North Carolina, 1942.

Yale: Ntc10. R89. v. 7

[In this article, Tannous discusses the changing village and status relationships in his home village, brought about by the shift from a land economy to a cash economy. The cash, not heretofore present in the village, is sent from abroad by emigrated members of the community. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Elizabeth Young

Evaluation: Government Official, Social Scientist-5
Processed in 1956

111 ME1 Lebanon

12: Churchill, Charles W. The City of Beirut: A Socio-Economic Survey. Beirut: Dar El Kitah, 1954.

Pp. viii, 78.

On loan from Fahim I. Qubain, Human Relations Area Files.

[Mr. Churchill, a sociologist and statistician, together with the staff of the Economic Research Institute of the American University of Beirut, conducted this survey. The source contains information on household composition, education, mobility, occupations, housing, income and savings, and expenditures and debts. An excellent statistical appendix covering the foregoing topics is included. The methodology followed in the survey is presented in detail. A map of Beirut is also included in the source. For technical reasons, the pages of the book have been reproduced in two or more parts. Alphabetical pagination was used for file slips. --Analyst]

Field date: 1952
Analyst: Charles Griffith

Evaluation: Social Scientist--5
Processed in 1955

13: Ritsher, Walter H. Municipal Government in the Lebanon. Beirut: Publications of The American University of Beirut, Social Science Series, No. 3, 1932.

Pp. iv, 48.

Yale: N10. B39. v. 3

[This source is a brief outline of the municipal government in Lebanon. It contains information on the administrative system in so far as it touches on municipalities, the powers and duties of mayors, the function and composition of the municipal councils, budgetory procedure and other related matters. One chapter of the book discusses the government of the City of Beirut and the second chapter deals with the administration of villages. The source includes seven appendices, one of which is a list of Lebanon's municipalities. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Majed Elass

Evaluation: Social Scientist-4
Processed in 1955

14: Tannous, Afif I. Missionary Education in Lebanon: A Study in Acculturation. Social Forces, Vol. 21, pp. 338-343. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1942-1943.

Yale: Nml0. J82, v. 21

[In this article the author describes the process of acculturation as effected by the establishment of a village school in Bishmizzeen, the author's home village. A school was set up by the American Presbyterian Mission, but was recalled in face of the opposition of the Orthodox bishop. A society was then formed in the village to reestablish the school. Finally the school and its building came to be used as a focus for many village activities, including especially the presentation of dramas depicting other life than that of the village. Gradually then the village accepted many of the elements of Western culture through the formal and informal activities of the school. --Analyst]

Field date: none
Analyst: Elizabeth Young

Evaluation: Social Scientist--5
Processed in 1956

15: Boyd, William C. and Lyle G. Boyd. Blood Groups and Inbreeding in Syria. American Journal of Physical Anthropology, Vol. 28, pp. 319-330. Philadelphia: The Wistar Institute of Anatomy and Biology. 1941.

Yale: Nk10. Am4l. v. 28.

[Little is known about blood types, distribution of body hair, somatology, and "taste-blindness" in the Middle East. Field work on these subjects was done in Lebanon, when one of the authors held a Guggenheim fellowship. Christian and Moslem villagers and city dwellers, Armenians and Druses were studied. The techniques used in testing, the results and earlier work done in the Middle East are discussed. Inbreeding and its effects are explained in light of social and physical anthropological work on a Lebanese village. While the title of the article concerns Syria, work on blood groups, taste, and mid-digital hair, are the results of study of groups in Lebanon. There is some information on taste, mid-digital hair, and pigmentation of two Syrian tribal groups. From earlier published sources and their own field work, the authors generalize about blood group distribution, and the like, in both Syria and Lebanon. --Analyst]

Field date: 1937
Analyst: Stanley A. Fishler

Evaluation: Physical Anthropologist-5
Processed in 1956.

16: Gulick, John. Conservatism and Change in a Lebanese Village. The Middle East Journal, Vol. 8, pp. 295-307. Washington, D. C.: The Middle East Institute, 1954.

Human Relations Area Files Library

[This study of the village of al-Munsif in Lebanon notes the conflict between an older traditional way of life and that now coming to the fore through acculturative influences. Traditional village life was characterized by devotion to the land, a strong religious orientation, interpersonal relations largely determined by kinship ties, and ethnocentrism born of extreme localism and isolation. No longer self-sufficient, villagers are making increased contacts with the larger world through use of modern Western technology, wage-work in urban centers, influence of relatives who have emigrated to Western countries, and through higher education. Traditional village culture is in a rapid transition to a more urban style of life. --Analyst]

Field date: 1952
Analyst: Charles Griffith

Evaluation: Ethnologist--5
Processed in 1956

111 ME1 Lebanon

17: Tannous, Afif, I. The Village in the National Life of Lebanon. The Middle East Journal, Vol. 3, pp. 151-163. Washington, D. C.: The Middle East Institute, 1949.

Human Relations Area Files Library

[Afif I. Tannous, then Lecturer at The Middle East Institute on the cultural organization of the Arab peoples, reviews the changing characteristics of rural society of the Middle East in this brief article. Characterizing rural society as the inarticulate yet fundamentally significant segment of the larger Middle East society, Tannous notes the effect of the introduction of modern agricultural machinery and methods, education, wage-work in urban centers, and emigration on the organization of village communities. The politico-national awakening of rural society is believed an important factor in the future development of Lebanon for the nation ultimately rests on the distinctive culture of its rural population. --Analyst]

Field date: 1947-1948

Evaluation: Social Scientist, Government Official--5

Analyst: Charles Griffith

Processed in 1956

(For bibliographical references see complete text.)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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the native inhabitants of three Syrian towns, and for Armenians now living in and near Beyrouth. Observations on the last five characteristics are presented for samples of two tribes of Syrian Bedouin. The effect of inbreeding on blood groups and types is discussed.

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THE VILLAGE IN THE NATIONAL LIFE OF LEBANON

Afif I. Tannous

THE MIDDLE EAST reveals itself most fundamentally through a study of its rural society. There is indeed no other road to an authentic understanding of this part of the world. Agriculture is the mainstay of its economy; it also holds the greatest promise for widespread economic development. Of even greater importance, however, is the human factor: between 70 and 80 percent of the people of the Middle East are rural, depending upon agriculture for a living. By sheer numbers, if nothing else, these masses of the population would constitute the substance of national character. But more than that, they have a distinctive culture of their own which has determined the wide base upon which national life must develop. That this basic stratum of Middle East society is inarticulate and has been ignored for long centuries does not alter its fundamental significance.

The rural society of the Middle East consists of two major segments — the pastoral tribe and the agricultural village — which supplement and merge into each other, economically, biologically, and culturally. In some countries of the area, for example Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, and Iran, the nomadic or semi-settled tribe plays a significant role.[1] In others, such as

[1] Afif I. Tannous, "The Arab Tribal Community in a Nationalist State," *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), 3-15.

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* Afif I. Tannous, Lecturer at The Middle East Institute on the cultural organization of the Arab people, is regional specialist in charge of the Middle East Section, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture. The discussion here presented is developed from a chapter by the author in the *Report* of the United States — Lebanon Agricultural Mission, of which he was a member.

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under a Christian governor. Already for one generation, after the interruption caused by the Napoleonic Wars, missionaries from Western Christendom had been laying the foundations of an intellectual revival—chiefly among the Lebanese Christians, but also in the Syrian cities; and the foundation in 1866 of the Syrian Protestant College (renamed in 1920 the American University of Beirut) is a landmark in the early history of Arab nationalism. Religious minorities thus acquired the habit of looking to some Western patron for material support and for protection against the majority of their neighbours and their governors; thus the Maronites depended on France, the Orthodox on Imperial Russia, the local Jews on the Alliance Israélite and on Britain, the Protestants on the United States, Britain, or Germany. Emigration to the Americas or Europe further opened the cultural windows of Christian Lebanon and emigrants to Egypt founded there a modern Arabic literature, while the granting of public utility concessions, especially for railways, to French companies and others increased the Western interest in the country.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the Young Turks, who were at first supported by the leaders of the early Arab nationalism, rose to power; but it soon became apparent that the Young Turk was to be as much a despot as the Sultan. The Arab intelligentsia of Beirut and Damascus chose, therefore, to look to the Western Powers for support[1]—a decision which they may well now be regretting. The Ottoman Governor of Syria, Jamal Pasha, carried out a drastic 'purge' of the urban nationalist leaders in 1916, but the nationalist cause had been taken up at a safer distance by the Sharif Hussein of Mecca and his sons Faisal and Abdullah, who had been in correspondence with the British authorities in Egypt since before the outbreak of the First World War.[2] Their Arab Revolt was a response to Jamal Pasha's purge and the prospect of similar measures in the Hejaz. Brilliantly organized by Colonel T. E. Lawrence, it effectively harassed the left wing of the Ottoman front on the desert margin while Allenby was breaking the main resistance in the Palestine campaign. When the Ottoman front collapsed after the British victory at Megiddo, a small body of Arabs from the Amir Faisal's army were the first to reach Damascus. Faisal was given authority by General Allenby over all territory east of the Jordan, down to Aqaba, but by the Arabs he was regarded rather as an independent amir on the throne of the Umayyads. However, Faisal had scarcely appointed

[1] See George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening* (London, Hamilton, 1938).
[2] For this section see above, pp. 17–18.

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let for surplus population, which kept up the standard of living at home, and, most important, the inflow of a considerable volume of remittances. In 1924, for instance, remittances from abroad were estimated at 45 million Palestine pounds, as compared with a total commodity export of 4 million Palestine pounds.*

Although there has been an unceasing stream of migrants returning home alongside the stream of emigration from the Lebanon, the percentage of emigrants exceeded that of persons returning during all the years before the war except 1930 to 1933, the period of the economic crisis in America, when the number of emigrants declined and the number of persons returning increased. In 1928, for example, prior to the crisis in America, 14,288 persons emigrated from Syria and the Lebanon and 4,407 returned. In 1932, during the American crisis, 2,426 emigrated and 3,196 returned. In 1933 the emigrants increased again to 2,324, while those returning declined to 1,999.†

According to Widmer, there emigrated from Syria and the Lebanon 130,000 persons between 1860 and 1900, and 200,000 persons between 1900 and 1914. According to the annual reports of the French Government to the League of Nations, 95,000 people emigrated from Syria and the Lebanon between 1923 and 1930; about half of these came from the Lebanon. It therefore follows, according to these sources, that the total emigration from Syria and the Lebanon between 1860 and 1930 (excluding the period 1914 to 1923) amounted to 415,000.

R. Thoumin has dealt extensively with the problem of emigration from the Lebanon.‡ He is one of the important investigators of this subject and an expert on the demography of Syria and the Lebanon.

Emigration from the Lebanon began before 1860, largely for political reasons connected with the persecution of the Christians by the Turks and the unsatisfactory state of security in the country. The increasing stream of emigration during the period of autonomy in the Lebanon derived chiefly from economic sources, as the resources in the country became too restricted for the increase in population under stable political and social conditions.

The first stream of emigration turned to Egypt, where the Lebanese who had been educated in French schools found various opportunities of establishing themselves in Government offices and private institutions, as merchants, journalists, etc. Many of the emigrants established themselves firmly in Egyptian life, and their participation in the cultural field was particularly noticeable. During the '80's and '90's of the last century a steady stream of immigration of Lebanese began to North and South America, and to Western Africa, while some went to Australia. In the course of time important centers of Lebanese emigration were established in the Argentine, Uruguay and Brazil. In the U.S. the chief centers are New York and Chicago.§

* W. B. Fisk, "The Lebanon," *Geographical Review*, New York, April, 1941.
† J. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 80.
‡ R. Thoumin, *Géographie Humaine de la Syrie Centrale*, Tours, 1936.
§ After the first World War there was an increase in the number of Lebanese in Detroit; here they were employed in the Ford Works.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

PREFACE

104 THIS work is an analysis of the salient findings of a community study in Lebanon which I conducted from early January to late July 1952. During this period I lived in the village, although frequent brief absences were necessitated by teaching commitments at the American University of Beirut. In May 1953 I submitted to the Department of Anthropology of Harvard University in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy a dissertation of which the present monograph is a revised and partly rewritten version.

000 Research in social anthropology in the Middle East, in comparison to other parts of the world, is at the present time limited in extent. Consequently, there are few precedents to follow, and the procedure of trial and error is necessarily at a maximum. In some respects research under such conditions is an exhilarating experience, but by its nature it also involves periods of depression and discouragement. It is therefore a pleasure to record here those persons whose assistance, in some cases, was indispensable, and who, in all cases, made my task easier than it otherwise would have been.

The Department of Anthropology of Harvard University was generous in its contribution of funds for the research project. Collectively, the entire staff of the Department lent the project their support, but I wish to mention in particular the late Professor Earnest A. Hooton whose interest and encouragement were constant; Professor Clyde Kluckhohn who directed the field work with care under the difficult circumstances of a separation of some 7000 miles; Professor Douglas L. Oliver who was adviser in the preparation of the original dissertation; and Professor John C. Pelzel who, together with Drs. Kluckhohn and Oliver, examined and accepted (not without useful comment and criticism) the dissertation.

President Stephen B. L. Penrose of the American University of Beirut graciously made the facilities of the institution available to me immediately upon my arrival in Lebanon, and various members of the university staff were at all times considerate and helpful.

Dr. William D. Schaeger generously permitted the use of certain material from his unpublished doctoral dissertation.

The following persons assisted me in such a variety of ways in all phases of the work that I must be excused from itemizing them: Mr. M. S. Abourjaily; Dr. and Mrs. Charles W. Churchill; Dr. Carleton S. Coon; Dr. and Mrs. Kenneth A. Christiansen; the Reverend J. Franklin Ewing, S. J.; Dr. W. B. Fisher; Mrs. A. Carey Gulick; Mrs. John Gulick; Mr. and Mrs. Adams S. Hill; Mr. and Mrs. Alwyn Holtz; Mr. and Mrs. Alan W. Horton; Dr. Edward B. Hunt, Jr.; Mr. Kepler

8:Fei and Klat S-4 (1951-52)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

PREFACE

114

In January, 1953, the Economic Research Institute, at the request of the Ministry of National Economy, and with cooperation of its Statistical Service, undertook the study of the International Balance of Payments for the Republic of Lebanon.

From the Economic Research Institute, the team of research workers consisted of Edward Fei, Assistant Professor of Economics, who was in charge of the Project; Varthes L. Brussalian, Senior Research Assistant; and Nassim Saliba, Research Assistant. On the departure of Mr. Fei towards the end of January, 1954, Paul J. Klat, Assistant Professor of Economics, took charge until the completion of the study. To him also fell the task of interpreting the data and writing the manuscript.

From the Ministry of National Economy, Mr. Melcon Hazarabedian, Chief of Bureau in the Statistical Service, was delegated to work on the project; while he supervised the work in connection with the foreign trade sector, his advice on the other sectors was very valuable.

000

The report of Mr. R. S. Porter, Statistical Advisor, British Middle East Office, on the Balance of Payments of Lebanon, undertaken at the request of the Ministry of National Economy, served as the starting point of the study.

Messrs. Edmond Awwad, Robert Porter, Asad Nasr, and Charles Issawi read the manuscript and offered valuable criticism and suggestions.

The Institute is deeply indebted to Mr. Mustapha Nsuli, Director General of the Ministry of National Economy, who, from start to finish, took personal interest in the work. The staff of the Institute were always certain of a ready and sympathetic hearing on his part whenever serious difficulties were encountered or anticipated.

It would be difficult to mention by name all those who generously contributed to the work in way of advice and criticism. To such the Institute offers sincere thanks.

[Following Title Page-]

A. Y. Badre
Director
Economic Research Institute

9:Lebanon G-5 (0952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

VILLAGE SURVEY

KASMIE RURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT

LEBANON

BY

William W. Goeron,
Miles Prescott,
Gabriel Najjar[1]

361 312 653 The five villages to be affected by the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project are located along the northern branch of the Kasmie Irrigation Canal. The area comprising these khurajs[2] includes but largely lies above the Kasmie Irrigation Project which, when completed, will service the rich coastal plain extending from Saida in the north to Ras-El-Ain three miles south of Tyre. The Kasmie Irrigation Project was begun under the French Mandate, continued during the British occupation, and partially completed under the Lebanese Republic. Due to a lack of funds, work on the project was discontinued in 1950 when about half of the total area to be irrigated was under operating canals. It covers an area of 50,000 dunums of land and extends a length of 37 kilometers (23 miles). It averages 1.3 kilometers (one mile) in width. The completed portion of the irrigation works supplies water to prosperous new citrus orchards, banana groves and vegetable gardens. 245 244

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(1) Mr. Gerson is land agricultural economist with the Litani River Investigation Group and Chief of the Rural Statistical Surveys Project. Mr. Prescott is an assistant professor of economics at the American University of Beirut who participated in this study as a consultant to the Lebanese Ministry of National Economy. Mr. Najjar is a junior economist on the staff of the Litani Group. 114

(2) In the Arab Middle East the English term *village* can mean either the built-up area alone or the built-up area and all the surrounding land farmed by the villagers, which is legally appurtenant to it. To avoid misinterpretation, two Arabic terms have been adopted. The term *khurayje* is used to denote the larger concept which includes the built-up area and other lands appurtenant to it. The term *ahl'ahe* is used to designate the built-up area as the town itself. Size, either of population or land area, is not involved in the use of these concepts. 128

13 Ritchie S-6 (no date) 1932 ME1 Lebanon ME1

PREFACE

121 The following study of municipal government and administration in the Lebanese Republic is merely a brief descriptive treatment of the structural and procedural organization of local government. It has grown out of the need for illustrative material concerning the problems of the Near East in teaching courses in Political Science. The study is brief and virtually confined to an exposition of the structure and forms of procedure rather than a critical analysis of its working. It has been handicapped by the fact that practically nothing has appeared on the subject, in any language, while the original sources have been difficult to secure, and by the further fact that official statistics are as yet inadequate and not always reliable. It is hoped that the present study may, in time, be extended to include an examination into the working of the system.

121 114 From its nature the study is largely based on an analysis of the laws and decrees relating to local government, but this has been supplemented by visits to a number of municipalities and villages of varying degrees of importance and by interviews with government officials and private citizens well versed in local affairs. No attempt has been made .o go into the detailed history of local government under the pre-existing Turkish regime, but reference has been made to important changes as well as to differences between the system in the Lebanon and that of the Mandatory Power. All the main provisions of the fundamental law have been cited in the text though some receive only a brief treatment with no mention of the details of the procedure. To facilitate use as a reference, footnote references have been made to the individual articles of the basic laws and certain statistics and tables have been included as appendices.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the courteous treatment received at the hands of the Minister of the Interior, Moussa Bey Nammour, and of his assistants in that Department as well as the friendly reception usually accorded by municipal and local officials on the occasion of visits to various localities.

I

621 IN ITS population of 1,200 people and general
361 social organization, Bshaalaani is typical of the Lebanon village communities. It is situated in the foothills of the Lebanon mountains, fifty miles to the north of Beirut and twelve miles to the south of Tripoli, the two seaports of the
114 country. The writer was born and grew up in this village. He is the product of its native Arab culture, as influenced and modified by the invading American culture. The present article is based upon personal experience—his own, with an Arab-American background, and that of his people, who have lived in the same village for eight generations.

795 With respect to the religious situation in the
621 village previous to the appearance of mission activity, it is sufficient to emphasize a few salient facts. In the first place, there were in the village three religious sects—a large majority of Greek Orthodox (about 1000 people), a small minority of Moslems (about 150 people), and three Maronite households, which will be neglected in the discussion. Secondly, the relationship between the two religious sects had always been such as could be characterized as harmonious and stable. Each
795 sect took it for granted that there had always
621 been and there will always be two sects in the
771 village—Moslems and Greek Orthodox. Consequently, there had never been any attempt on the part of one sect to interfere with the religious practices of the other or to undertake any proselyting campaign. Thirdly, religion in the village had always been an integral part of the whole village life. It was not a matter of dogma, or

16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

CONSERVATISM AND CHANGE IN A LEBANESE VILLAGE

John Gulick

491 361 THE COASTAL HIGHWAY which connects Beirut and Tripoli winds between the crashing surf of the Mediterranean and the sharply rising slopes of Mount Lebanon. At one point in the journey northward along this road, the traveler may notice before him a ridge which, from the distance, seems to block his way. If, instead of continuing toward Tripoli, the traveler turns off the main highway at the foot of this ridge and winds his way up the gravel road which climbs its face to the crest, he will find himself at the southern, seaward tip of a roughly semicircular ring of six small villages. At the center of this ring is a seventh village considerably larger than the others. This village is al-Munsif.

361 133 137 Topographically, the area which is occupied by the seven villages consists of three main ridges which project toward the sea in a fanlike fashion, so that the shape of the area is roughly triangular. The ridges are separated by deep, dry wadis; in addition there are other minor creeks and gullies, so that the over-all terrain is rough and broken. The land itself is notable for the prevalence of limestone outcrops. The natural flora conforms to the type known as "garrigue," which features low, bushy scrub oak and a variety of small, thorny, aromatic plants. It is a landscape which could not inspire very much confidence in the hearts of ordinary farmers; even to Lebanese farmers, whose fortitude and resourcefulness are justly famous, it has presented a serious challenge.

361 312 But the challenge does not end with land features as such. An even more serious problem is the lack of ground water. There are, indeed, two springs very close to the shore, but both are small and one is brackish. All the water used in the area is winter rain water drained off the roofs of the houses and stored in large underground cisterns, of which there are a very large number. This supply must provide for all the needs of the inhabitants for the entire year. The amount which can be devoted to watering plants is, therefore, extremely limited, and irrigation, in the sense generally applied in the Middle East, is impossible. [illegible]

14

* John Gulick is an anthropologist on the staff of the Department of Sociology at Antioch College. This article is a brief report of a community study which he made in Lebanon from January to July, 1951, under the direction of the Department of Anthropology of Harvard University. He is the author of "The Lebanese Village: An Introduction," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 53 (August 1951), which deals with certain technical aspects of Lebanese village social structure.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

THE VILLAGE IN THE NATIONAL LIFE OF LEBANON

Afif I. Tannous

THE MIDDLE EAST reveals itself most fundamentally through a study of its rural society. There is indeed no other road to an authentic understanding of this part of the world. Agriculture is the mainstay of its economy; it also holds the greatest promise for widespread economic development. Of even greater importance, however, is the human factor: between 70 and 80 percent of the people of the Middle East are rural, depending upon agriculture for a living. By sheer numbers, if nothing else, these masses of the population would constitute the substance of national character. But more than that, they have a distinctive culture of their own which has determined the wide base upon which national life must develop. That this basic stratum of Middle East society is inarticulate and has been ignored for long centuries does not alter its fundamental significance.

The rural society of the Middle East consists of two major segments — the pastoral tribe and the agricultural village — which supplement and merge into each other, economically, biologically, and culturally. In some countries of the area, for example Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, and Iran, the nomadic or semi-settled tribe plays a significant role.[1] In others, such as

[1] Afif I. Tannous, "The Arab Tribal Community in a Nationalist State," *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), 3-13.

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* Afif I. Tannous, Lecturer at The Middle East Institute on the cultural organization of the Arab people, is regional specialist in charge of the Middle East Section, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture. The discussion here presented is developed from a chapter by the author in the *Report* of the United States — Lebanon Agricultural Mission, of which he was a member.

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Methodology and Purpose of Report.

659 654 In order to facilitate the planning and carrying out of the different aspects of the Kamile Rural Improvement Project, an economic and social survey and analysis of the area to be affected by the demonstration projects was suggested in August, 1952. It was decided that the report of these studies should include the general physical characteristics of the area, a description of local governmental institutions, population, farm organization, land utilization, irrigation and crop patterns, livestock, land tenure, crops and livestock, and a physical description of the village including the number and types of buildings and educational facilities.

Unfortunately, basic data with respect to the project area were not available. No official statistics on rural Lebanon exist and the few figures available on population are admittedly incorrect. Although the total land area in each kharaj was made available by the cadastral survey office in Saida there was no information available on land utilization and distribution.

A rational approach to the problem of rural improvement necessitated the procurement of a minimum amount of statistical data. In this report the best available basic facts and figures are presented. Unless otherwise noted, the information was secured from the mukhtar of the village and other leading citizens by field staff enumerators.

115

659 The basic data essential for a report of this nature make apparent the necessity for an agricultural census of Lebanon. It should be realized, however, that many of the difficulties encountered in making this survey, such as lack of adequate maps, information on ownership of land, and accurate data on population must be resolved to prepare the way for a successful agricultural census. Until such a census can be made, however, studies based upon samples must be relied upon. As a by-product such studies will aid in obtaining the data necessary for undertaking the first agricultural census in Lebanon.

Any technician using these data must recognize the limitations of the source. Unless otherwise noted, it is felt that the information presented is reasonably reliable.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS OF THE LEBANON

By ELIAHU EPSTEIN*

[51] 49] 129

THE Lebanese Republic covers an area of about 10,000 sq. k.† The population was last counted in the Order of the President dated June 17, 1943, as the number of citizens registered in the registration records on December 31, 1942. This Order also referred to a number of Lebanese who had emigrated but had retained their Lebanese citizenship.

[44]

The Order in question was published in connexion with the elections to the Lebanese Parliament. Although the Maronite communities disagreed with the correctness of the number given, the Order remains the official document pending the holding of a general Census which will determine the figures more precisely.

12.2 167

The following is the table which served as the foundation for fixing the population of the Lebanon as on January 1, 1943:‡

Communities.	Inhabitants.	Emigrants.	Total.
Maronites	318,200	91,276	409,476
Sunni	205,000	4,953	209,953
Shi'ah	200,000	2,000	202,000
Greek Orthodox	166,658	33,000	199,658
Druses	71,711	4,000	75,711
Greek Catholics	67,996	5,000	72,996
Armenian Orthodox (Gregorians)	58,000	4,000	62,000
Minorities	41,836	2,178	44,014
Total	1,089,401	146,407	1,235,808

166

The following are the estimated figures for the movement of population in the Lebanon, and the estimated natural increase:‡

Communities.	1932 Census.	End 1943.	Difference.	Percentage.
Sunni	179,887	205,000	25,113	14·1
Shi'ah	159,153	200,000	40,847	25·5
Druses	68,797	71,711	2,914	4·0
Maronites	284,600	318,200	33,600	11·8
Greek Catholics	55,045	61,996	6,951	12·5
Greek Orthodox	90,887	166,658	13,771	13·0

167 49] 1943 175

The instructive conclusions which can be drawn from these tables are:

(a) Most of the emigrants from the Lebanon and those who continue

* Since the demarcation of the Syro-Lebanese Frontier has not been completed, estimates of the area of the two States vary. The area of the Autonomous Sanjak of the Lebanon (1861-1915) was 3,200 kilometres and its population was 400,000.

† "La Syrie et l'Orient," Beirut, 20-25, 6, 1945.

‡ Ibid. The figures in these tables and the statistical calculations should be compared with extreme caution on account of the backward methods used for demographical statistics in the Lebanon.

to maintain their Lebanese citizenship abroad are Christians, the overwhelming majority of whom are Maronites.

(f) The natural increase among the non-Christian population of the Lebanon, and particularly of the Shi'ah and the Druze, is more than twice as great as that of the Christian population. These facts are noted as a key to explain various developments, the influence of which may be decisive in shaping the social character and political fate of the Lebanon.

Any person observing the demographic problems of the Lebanon cannot but observe a number of factors common to the Christian population of the Lebanon and the Yishuv (the Jewish community) in Palestine. The natural increase of the Christians in the Lebanon is roughly equal to that of the Yishuv in Palestine.*

Against this, however, the Yishuv in Palestine has incomparably more potential assets in the way of immigration from abroad than that which is available to the Lebanese Christians through the source of emigrants. And just as the chief concern of Zionism in Palestine is the creation of possibilities for the absorption of Arab immigrants from abroad, so the Christians of the Lebanon are faced first and foremost with the problem of preventing emigration from the country, and, in consequence, the creation of opportunities for absorbing emigrants who do return and who can return to their homeland, given suitable absorption conditions. In addition, attention is devoted to the creation of opportunities for absorbing Christians who require a refuge.

The absence of dynamic economic resources in the Lebanon which could increase and expand the sources of livelihood for a progressive population has led to a steady emigration from the country since the middle of the last century. This process has chiefly affected the Christians whose requirements are more developed and whose living standards are higher than those of their Druze and Moslem neighbours; it has created a serious social and political problem which, when together with their lower rate of natural increase, places the future of the Lebanese Christians in permanent danger.

Robert Widmer described the economic reasons for a migration from the Lebanon in the following passage:†

> "Lebanon is overpopulated. As has been stated, the density of population is about 93 people to a square kilometre. In view of the topography of the country, its rocky mountains and its thin soil, its scarcity of mineral wealth, and its undeveloped industries, the land cannot support all its people. Consequently it is to be expected that some of them have to emigrate, leaving many dependents on their remittances."

As long as emigration was temporary, it was in many ways advantageous. To the general broadening of outlook resulting from contact with more advanced countries were added the material benefits of an influx of money to the country's capital (brought in by returning emigrants), as well

* Previous generations among the Christians of the Lebanon as against fifteen generations among the Jews of Palestine.

† E. Hildebrand, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 19.

for the surplus population, which kept up the standard of living at home, and, most important, the inflow of a considerable volume of remittances in cash. For instance, remittances from abroad were estimated at 45 million Palestine pounds, as compared with a total commodity export of 4 million Palestine pounds.*

Although there has been an increasing stream of emigrants returning home alongside the stream of emigration from the Lebanon, the percentage of emigrants recorded than of persons returning during all the years before the war ranges 1932 to 1933, the period of the economic crisis in America, when the number of emigrants declined and the number of persons returning increased. In 1928, for example, prior to the crisis in America, 14,488 persons emigrated from Syria and the Lebanon and 4,403 returned. In 1932, during the American crisis, 2,406 emigrated and 3,138 returned. In 1933 the emigrants increased again to 6,304, while those returning declined to 1,922.†

According to Wichser, those emigrated from Syria and the Lebanon between 1860 and 1900, and 100,000 persons between 1900 and 1914. According to the annual reports of the French Government to the League of Nations, 50,000 people emigrated from Syria and the Lebanon between 1919 and 1938; about half of these came from the Lebanon. In absolute figures, according to these sources, then, the total emigration from Syria and the Lebanon between 1860 and 1938 (excluding the period 1914 to 1918) amounted to 400,000.

E. Thomas has dealt extensively with the problem of emigration from the Lebanon.‡ He is one of the important investigators of this subject and an expert on the demography of Syria and the Lebanon.

Emigration from the Lebanon began before 1860, largely for political reasons connected with the persecution of the Christians by the Turks and the unsatisfactory state of security in the country. The increasing stream of emigration during the period of autonomy in the Lebanon declined chiefly from economic sources, as the resources in the country became too restricted for the increase in population under stable political and social conditions.

The first stream of emigration turned to Egypt, where the Lebanese who had been educated in French schools found various opportunities of establishing themselves in Government offices and private institutions, as merchants, journalists, etc. Many of the emigrants established themselves firmly in Egyptian life, and their participation in the cultural field was particularly noticeable. During the '80's and '90's of the last century a steady stream of emigration of Lebanese began to North and South America, and to Western Africa, whilst some went to Australia. In the course of time important centers of Lebanese emigration were established in the Argentine, Uruguay and Brazil. In the U.S. the chief centers are New York and Chicago.§

* W. B. Fisk, "The Lebanon," *Congregational Review*, New York, April, 1920.
† J. Hanauer, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1938, p. 20.
‡ E. Thomas, *Géographie Historique de la Syrie Centrale*, Paris, 1938.
§ After the first World War there was an increase in the number of Lebanese in Detroit, here they were employed in the Ford Works.

Thoumin, like other investigators, finds it hard to give exact figures of emigration from Syria and the Lebanon, and therefore chooses to give his estimates in percentages by countries, as follows:

United States and Canada	35 per cent.
South America	35 " "
Egypt	20 " "
Other countries	10 " "

The emigrants who left Syria and the Lebanon between 1920 and 1930 settled as follows:

South America	50 per cent.
Africa (including Egypt) ...	15 " "
Egypt	10 " "
North America	10 " "
Other countries	15 " "

If the figures given by Wilcox and the Reports to the League of Nations quoted above are adopted as the statistical basis of Thoumin, it follows that about 1,600,000 Syrians and Lebanese are living in North America, about the same number in South America, and about 400,000 in Egypt. The remaining figures are distributed in the other parts of the world.

Although the students mentioned above have never dealt with the question of Lebanese immigration with the necessary completeness, but merely regarded it, particularly after the first world war, as part of the general emigration from the area of the French Mandate, nevertheless both Wilcox and Thoumin stressed the fact that the Lebanon was and has remained the chief source of emigration, for the reasons explained by them, particularly by Thoumin. Dr. A. Ruppin* deals explicitly with the distribution of emigration from Syria and the Lebanon by countries and communities. Basing himself on official figures, Ruppin reaches the conclusion that up to 1925, 130,000 people had emigrated from the Autonomous Sanjak of the Lebanon.

What has been said above makes it possible to conclude with considerable certainty that the majority of the emigrants from Syria and the Lebanon during the period of emigration came from the area which is now included within the boundaries of the Lebanese Republic.

Professor M. Jerusalem† estimates the total number of emigrants from the Lebanon at 180,000, and reckons that 150,000 to 160,000 were Maronites.

The influence of the emigration from the Lebanon on the population 167
can be learnt from Thoumin, who points out that at least a third of the 459
inhabitants of every Lebanese village have travelled abroad. In his journeys through the Lebanon the author found that in every Christian family he met, at least one member had emigrated during the preceding twenty years. The Lebanese who returned to their home lands are a

* Dr. A. Ruppin, Syrien als Wirtschaftsgebiet, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1920, p. 20.
† M. Jerusalem, The Maronites, Jerusalem, 1920, p. 60 [illegible]

problem on their own, but the paucity of reliable material on the Lebanese Diaspora makes it hard to investigate the subject. Yet the large number of Lebanese emigrants who continue to preserve their citizenship shows not only their affection for their homeland but also suggests their intention of returning there under suitable conditions.

Despite the constant emigration from the Lebanon, this country served as a refuge during the interval between the two wars for Christian emigrants from the neighbouring countries, and in particular for Armenians.* More than 60,000 Armenian refugees from Turkey found refuge in the Lebanon, and despite the economic problems which were raised by the entry of these penniless immigrants, they have added considerably to the Christian strength of the Lebanon, where their fellow-Christians, together with the Mandatory Power, have provided for them in various ways and have facilitated their establishment in the country.

The statistical data on the changes in the composition of the population resulting from its differing natural composition shows clearly the danger awaiting the Christian character of the country. The danger of a Moslem majority, to be sure, primarily affects not Mount Lebanon proper, but the State of Lebanon within its existent political frontiers, where the Moslem populations constitute a majority in the towns of Beirut, Tripoli, Tyre and Sidon. But the natural increase of the Druzes and Shi'ah in Mount Lebanon, which is twice, or more, as much as that of the Christians, also raises a serious problem for the latter, even in their chief stronghold. Any free-will relinquishment by the Christians of the present boundaries of the Lebanese Republic, and their return to the boundaries of their period of autonomy between 1861 and 1915, would not serve to solve the main problem of preserving the Christian character of their country for any length of time.

This situation faces the Lebanese Christians with a number of grave and urgent problems which require solution in the economic field: the creation of conditions that will first and foremost prevent emigration, which chiefly affects the Christian population and systematically reduces their numbers in the country; and, in addition, the development of possibilities for absorbing returning emigrants and Christian immigrants from the neighbouring countries. In any case of organized population transfer in this part of the world for the sake of territorial concentration in accordance with common religious and communal character, the Lebanon would be more suitable than any other Middle Eastern region for serving as a centre for the Christians.

* Most of these are Orthodox (Gregorians). The Catholics and Protestants among them are included under "minorities" in the tables given above.

(For bibliographical references see complete text.)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 MEI Lebanon MEI

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JOHN GULICK

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In Grateful Memory

of

EARNEST ALBERT HOOTON

1887—1954

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p. 5 (of 6 added)

PREFACE

[p] THIS work is an analysis of the salient findings of a community study in Lebanon which I conducted from early January to late July 1952. During this period I lived in the village, although frequent brief absences were necessitated by teaching commitments at the American University of Beirut. In May 1953 I submitted to the Department of Anthropology of Harvard University in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy a dissertation of which the present monograph is a revised and partly rewritten version.

ooo Research in social anthropology in the Middle East, in comparison to other parts of the world, is at the present time limited in extent. Consequently, there are few precedents to follow, and the procedure of trial and error is necessarily at a maximum. In some respects research under such conditions is an exhilarating experience, but by its nature it also involves periods of depression and discouragement. It is therefore a pleasure to record here those persons whose assistance, in some cases, was indispensable, and who, in all cases, made my task easier than it otherwise would have been.

The Department of Anthropology of Harvard University was generous in its contribution of funds for the research project. Collectively, the entire staff of the Department lent the project their support, but I wish to mention in particular the late Professor Earnest A. Hooton whose interest and encouragement were constant; Professor Clyde Kluckhohn who directed the field work with care under the difficult circumstances of a separation of some 7000 miles; Professor Douglas L. Oliver who was adviser in the preparation of the original dissertation; and Professor John C. Pelzel who, together with Drs. Kluckhohn and Oliver, examined and accepted (not without useful comment and criticism) the dissertation.

President Stephen B. L. Penrose of the American University of Beirut graciously made the facilities of the institution available to me immediately upon my arrival in Lebanon, and various members of the university staff were at all times considerate and helpful.

Dr. William D. Schrieve generously permitted the use of certain material from his unpublished doctoral dissertation.

The following persons assisted me in such a variety of ways in all phases of the work that I must be excused from itemizing them: Mr. M. I. Abouzeid; Dr. and Mrs. Charles W. Churchill; Dr. Corbeau S. Coon; Dr. and Mrs. Kenneth A. Christensen; the Reverend J. Franklin Ewing, S. J.; Dr. W. B. Fisher; Mrs. A. Corey Gulick; Mrs. John Gulick; Mr. and Mrs. Ashton S. Hill; Mr. and Mrs. Alwyn Holder; Mr. and Mrs. Alan W. Hooton; Dr. Edward S. Ibuse, Jr.; Mr. Kaplan

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Lewis; Dr. M. B. Sanders; Dr. and Mrs. William D. Schaeger; Mr. and Mrs. David Shavy; Dr. Atif I. Tannous, and Mr. and Mrs. Herbert Williams. To all I express my thanks and gratitude.

And now I must especially wish to say a few words for the people of al-Mansūf, some of whom will certainly read this work. As Arabs, their hospitality in countless everyday circumstances is famous. In the case of this research project, they not only proved that their reputation is well deserved under ordinary circumstances, but they also proved that they could extend their hospitality in a most unusual circumstance as well. In an era of extreme international tension, they accepted into their midst for a lengthy period of time a person who was not only a stranger but also a foreigner with foreign ways who asked interminable questions. For this they have my praise and admiration. Many people in the village were of assistance in answering my questions, in discussing matters generally, in aiding me in making maps, and in opening the doors of their homes to me. I cannot mention them all by name but must limit my personal acknowledgments to just a few whose help was of primary importance. To Mrs. Ajlah Nu'mān Fraiha I first explained the purpose of my study. She introduced me to Mr. Jamīl Khalīl Abū-Farīs who, in turn, introduced me into the village itself, to the mayor, Mr. Elias Ghanīm, and to his parents, the Reverend Jurjis Abū-Farīs and his wife who, with patience and good humor, fed me at their table and were among my chief informants. My hearty thanks go to all.

From the very beginning of the study I explained to the members of the village that my purpose among them was scholarly research in the interest of greater understanding among the people of different nations. I also said that I hoped that someday what I had learned would be presented in a book. This is that book. It represents my best efforts, but neither they nor the book can be perfect. Those matters which are presented in it as being facts are the truth as I understood it from what I was told and from what I saw. Yet it is possible that I did not accurately understand many of the things I heard and saw. It is very possible, in addition, that there are many things in the life of the village about which I did not know at all but which some people may think should have been included in this work. For such errors and omissions, if such there be, I hope I may be forgiven, for they were not intended. Other matters which are discussed in this work are interpretations of the facts as I understood them, and they are the result of careful thought. It is possible that some readers may not agree with them. To such readers I can only say that I hope that my interpretations of the life and problems of the village and of its place in the Arab World will be accepted in the spirit in which they are offered, which is an abiding good will for a great and noble people.

JOHN GULICK

Garden City, New York
August, 1954

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INTRODUCTION

THE Middle East is the everyman's land which lies at the junction of Africa, Asia, and Europe. To the extent that Western laymen know it at all, their "knowledge" of it all too often consists largely of romanticized half-truths, exaggerations born either of day-dreams or of over-emphasis on certain aspects of life, and out-and-out fables. The Middle East has long been a fabulous place to Westerners, and it will probably remain so, but there are good reasons why it and the life of its people should not remain "unfamiliar" or "inscrutable." They need not remain so if answers are found to properly formulated questions. This is easier said than done, but it is not impossible.

This history of the area is too long and eventful, and its culture is too complex, to be reviewed here. Information on these topics is readily available in such sources as Breckinridge (1947), Hitti (1949, 1951), and Gibb (1951). One fact, however, needs to be pointed out. During the past hundred and fifty years, European and American political, economic, religious, and philanthropic interests have set in motion in the Middle East a process of culture change which has gathered considerable momentum in recent years. Some of the lines of change—for example, in education and new orientations in health, hygiene, and economics—have been the conscious goals and direct results of one or more of the foreign interests. Others, such as nationalism and the rise of political parties, have been indirect and unforeseen reactions to the activities of these interests.

Since the first World War, and ever increasing in intensity since then, the processes of culture change already set in motion have been complicated and augmented by two additional factors. (1) Nearly all the efficient techniques of transportation and communication which have been developed in the West have been introduced into the Middle East. As a result, the region is being flooded with many variants of western ideas and artifacts, often regardless of their quality and torn from their cultural matrix. The confusion which this causes can be rather painful to experience and to observe. (2) This confusion is compounded by the fact that among the western ideas which reach the Middle East are those which clearly reveal the confusion which the West itself is undergoing as a result of the tremendous changes which its culture has not yet assimilated. Many of these ideas arrive in the form of emotionally charged propaganda.

Large numbers of people in the Middle East do not attempt to analyze objectively the nature of these alien culture elements (many of which are confronting them with demands for their allegiance), but they are, nevertheless, vitally

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interested in them. However, since they usually lack anything but a very superficial knowledge of Western culture, they grossly oversimplify them, and they interpret, accept, or reject them in accordance with their various positions and interests. At the moment, there is a generalized and widespread distrust of all Westerners, but there are forces both inside and outside the Middle East which will not rest until at least a significant portion of it has made a definite choice between conflicting forces in the West. In the meantime, the Middle East is rather in the position of a man in a relay race, whose predecessor has handed him the baton but continues to run along beside him, first telling him to run in one direction and then in another.

Though the traditional culture of the Middle East persists in many significant ways which cannot be ignored, the present culture as a whole can fully be comprehended only in the light of the acculturative process to which it is being subjected. This process, as we have seen, is an exceedingly complicated phenomenon. Because it is complicated and in full career, it is rather difficult to analyze. Furthermore, it is often difficult for Westerners to free themselves from subjective judgments in the matter since they themselves are involved in it. Consequently, there is a bewildering array of widely held impressions and opinions. Here are four of them, arranged in pairs: Change in the Middle East is only skin deep; it involves only the superficial, material aspects of life. Life nowadays in a city like Beirut or Cairo is just like life in a modern European city. Again, great improvements have been made in education, public health, and farming techniques. The Middle East is oppressed by ignorance, disease, and antiquated subsistence techniques. Many others could be noted, but these will do.

One has only to look in the appropriate places and talk to the appropriate people to find apparently convincing evidence of the truth of all these propositions. As a totality, they present some contradictions. These are, of course, accentuated by faulty logic and the injection of emotional bias, but the fact remains that when the Middle East as a whole is considered, genuine contradictions *are* bound to be encountered. Its culture is complex, and, like all cultures, it is composed of many interlocking parts. The culture change process which is working upon it is multilateral, it has affected different regions in different ways, and different parts of culture in different ways.

No matter how many problems stand in the way of a systematic approach to the study of Middle East culture-in-change, such an approach is, nevertheless, feasible, provided it is begun intensively and on a limited scale; and a small village is an excellent place to begin.

Anthropological research could be initiated in any one of the three basic types of ecological milieu which characterize the Middle East: the nomadic group, the village, and the urban center. The village is to be found in every country in the Middle East. Nomadic groups and urban centers are not quite so extensively distributed. Lebanon was chosen for this study because of the writer's interest in

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Lebanon was chosen for this study because of the writer's interest in the country itself and because of his extensive preliminary research on it. It must be noted that Lebanon has a number of characteristics which tend to differentiate it somewhat from its neighbors: it has been a refuge area for various religious sects, half of its population is Christian, it is one of the most intensively acculturated of the Arabic-speaking countries, it is not the headquarters of any nomadic tribes as such, and it is primarily a country of agricultural villages and urban seaport centers. Urban studies in Lebanon, or in any other Middle East country, will be of tremendous value and importance, but they must be based on as thorough as possible an understanding of village life. This is because so many city dwellers were village born and bred. Furthermore, urban studies in the Middle East should probably be undertaken by teams of researchers which include other social scientists in addition to anthropologists. A village study is therefore the most suitable type of research for a single anthropologist in Lebanon.

This work attempts to do two things: (1) to present as detailed a description as possible of the culture-in-change of a Lebanese village; (2) to isolate the major themes in the traditional culture and in the change process, and to present a theoretical scheme which serves to give some form and meaning to the observed phenomena.

In line with this purpose, there are two parts to the work. Part I is a descriptive analysis of the village culture as of the time of investigation. This is the way the people lived it and the way it was observed. Probably there is nothing unusual in the categories into which this material is divided for presentation. However, a note on them is in order. There can be little disagreement with Bateson's suggestion (1935, p. 179) that such categories as "religion," "social life," and "economics," lead to serious difficulties in the study of other cultures, especially when the concepts behind their use are directly applicable only to the investigator's own culture. Involved in this problem is the fact, brought into clear focus by the functionalists, that the elements of culture and society are, by and large, interdependent. One cannot, therefore, get very far into the discussion of such an inclusive category as "religion," for example, without soon becoming involved in questions of "economics" and "social life," as well as "ritual."

Adel Tannous has analyzed the Middle East village quite handily in terms of three major categories: "Land," "Religion," and "Kinship Organization" (1944). These he considers to be the major themes in village life. The present writer does not follow this conceptualization in Part I, although he does draw upon it in Part II. Tannous's categories of Land and Kinship Organization are approximately covered in two separate chapters, but phenomena all of which could be subsumed under Religion are discussed separately, for reasons which should become clear. Categorical lines must be drawn somewhere if system is to be used, as it must be. The problem is to define categories in such a way that there is no undue repetition and yet so that the interdependent, or overlapping nature of cultural elements is given recognition. The arrangement of Part I is an attempt to achieve these ends.

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It is not claimed that Part I is a complete ethnography of the village. It is as complete as the investigator could make it, and any glaring omissions are either the fault of his limited abilities and opportunities or the result of the avoidance of certain topics for reasons of support.

Part II begins with a reorganization in time, presenting a brief reconstruction of the traditional village culture and a history of the development of present conditions. The various lines of culture change are then sorted out, and their differential effects on various aspects of the culture are analyzed. The most important conclusion is that the social structure, i.e., kinship and marriage patterns, a matter of great importance in the traditional culture, has proved considerably resistant to change. The theory is then advanced that village social structure in the Middle East generally represents but one phase, or "sphere," in an overall pattern which constitutes the skeleton of Middle East society. Hence, in part, its resistance to change.

The germ of this theory took root in the writer's mind some time ago (Gulick, 1949, pp. 130-31). However, it did not take on systematic form until he became acquainted with the hierarchical system of kinship-political units which Evans-Pritchard analyzes in *The Nuer*. The theory developed in Part II is an adaptation of Evans-Pritchard's basic concepts, supported by Murdock (1949), Coon (1951), and others. In brief, the theory postulates a hierarchical system of strong in-group types: extended family, lineage, local group, sect group, and nation, to mention the five most important. The totality of units of each type constitutes a "sphere." The cohesive strength of the village under study is largely due to the fact that it happens that three of the spheres are coterminous in it.

This is primarily a social structural interpretation of a cultural situation. As far as it goes, and so far as he can see, the writer believes it to be valid. Most emphatically, however, its status is that of an hypothesis only. The writer hopes that it may be tested by further research of the same type, and, especially, against the conclusions drawn from investigations which have a different theoretical and methodological orientation.

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PART ONE

THE CULTURE OF AL-MUNSIF

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THE GENERAL ENVIRONMENT

PHYSICAL SETTING

In Pliocene times, the land which is now Lebanon was submerged under the [1.1]
great, warm "Tethys Ocean" whose waters washed the shores of two vastly
landmasses of "Gondwanaland." These landmasses are now Arabia and Egypt.
From early Cretaceous to late Pliocene times, tremendous deposits of the remains
of marine fauna were laid down on the floor of the ocean. The period of deposition
was followed by a period of uplift during which the ocean floor was raised three
miles or feet above the level of the sea which is now called Mediterranean. Subsequent faulting and folding completed the creation of the present topography of
the eastern shore of the Mediterranean (Fisher, 1950, pp. 33-42). This consists,
essentially, of two roughly parallel ranges of mountains and hills, divided by a
rift system, which extend from the plain of Homs in Syria to the Gulf of Aqaba
in the Red Sea. This mountain system steadily decreases in altitude from Lebanon
in the north to the Negeb in the south, where it is hardly perceptible.

Mount Lebanon rises abruptly from the sea and attains, at one point, an altitude of over 10,000 feet, maintaining an average of about 6000 feet. There are
fairly extensive coastal plains inland from Sidon and Tyre, in the Akar district
near Tripoli, and, especially, in the Akkar, most of which actually belongs to Syria.
Elsewhere, however, it is often only a matter of technicality to say that there is
any appreciable coastal plain at all, and one of the least favored districts in this
respect is el-Qoura, which is the locus of this study.

The climate of Lebanon is basically the classic, Mediterranean type which [1.2]
features chilly, rainy winters and hot, sunshine summers. Mt. Lebanon itself affects
a number of modifications in this yearly cycle. The high slopes catch the clouds
which are swept in by the prevailing winter westerlies and force them to drop a
large part of their moisture. As a result, the annual precipitation (rain below
about 3000 feet, snow above it) ranges between about twenty and forty inches
(Fisher, 1950, p. 303). Annual averages give a false picture of reality because
the precipitation from year to year is highly variable (Fisher, 1950, p. 34). For
example, in the winter of 1950-51, twenty-two inches fell at Beirut, while in
1951-52, forty-two inches fell. Precipitation is concentrated in the months from
November to April, but within that period it is capricious. It is not unusual to
have one day of cloudburst immediately followed by one of clear skies. Even in
the wettest month (January), there are only fourteen to seventeen rainy days

(Fisher, 1959, p. 39). From May through October, there is no precipitation at all, except at the beginning and the end of the period.

Along the coast, up to about 1500 feet at least, freezing temperatures in winter are of very rare occurrence, but snow covers the higher slopes continuously during the winter. Patches of it on the summits even defy the broiling sun of August.

At Beirut the average summer temperature is 82°F., and it is frequently oppressively humid (Fisher, 1959, p. 42). In el-Qaaé, as in Beirut, there is no snow in winter, but the district is somewhat cooler and less humid than the city in summer.

Lebanon, as a whole, is obviously a well-watered country, but its geological structure has led to an over-abundance of water in some districts and a dearth of it in others. Mt. Lebanon consists, essentially, of two thick layers of Jurassic and Cretaceous limestone, interspersed with a layer of sands and clays. Rain water and snow-melt either run off directly or sink through permeable upper strata to emerge as springs at lower levels, especially at between 3000 and 5000 feet, where their downward seepage is blocked by impermeable strata below (Fisher, 1959, p. 174). The abundance of spring water in high mountain fastnesses is the primary reason for Lebanon's having been so popular as a refuge area for sect groups escaping from persecution.

The drainage system of the country is clearly seen on the map of Lebanon (Fig. 1). The eastern slopes are drained by the large rivers, Litani and Orontes. The western slopes are drained by a series of small rivers whose courses drop from 5000 to 4000 feet to sea level in distances rarely exceeding fifteen miles. The erosion pattern is what one might expect. The small rivers have cut very deep, high banks, nothing less than deep gorges in many cases. Culturally, this is important for at least three reasons: The gorges have made north-south travel very difficult. It has been impossible to use river water for extensive irrigation except, in very recent years, near the mouths of the rivers. The spectacular scenery has added inspiration to the love of the Lebanese for their country, and it attracts many foreign tourists every summer. Water erosion has also created innumerable caves (used both by Stone Age men and latter-day troglodytes), a large natural bridge, and at least one horrendous underground river (reputed to be the original River Styx) which has not yet been fully explored.

Although the lower slopes are not, as a whole, entirely devoid of springs, and although what watershed there is is fully exploited, there are districts which have no springs, no local streams, and no alluvial soil. One such district is el-Qaaé. This district is located about halfway between the large urban centers of Beirut and Tripoli, and the main highway and only railroad between these cities goes through it. This route has been used ever since the advent of man in the area, but the present paved highway dates from about 1935, while the railroad was built by the British army in 1942. Also of very recent date are the automobile roads within the district. The road from Beirdan to Ghazzoun is paved, and has been

in existence about fifteen years. The road from Baqlūlīyeh through Mazrāʿat Ṭūlīyeh to Ṭūlīyeh has been built since 1945, and the segment between the shrine of Mār Jirjīs and Ṭūlīyeh is not yet paved. The road which connects Lower and Upper Bashmeʿ is usable but definitely still under construction. The villagers are very conscious of the fact that their road system is a new phenomenon and that it is as yet incomplete. The automobile roads more or less follow the line of old paths many of which are still used. Although the paving of these is generally too rough for any sort of wheeled vehicle, it is essential for any kind of travel in the muddy rainy season.

It would be a great mistake to deduce from the map (Fig. 1) that the plan of these villages (or of any Lebanese villages) is derived from the roads which pass through them. Middle Eastern villages in general are house-clusters, sometimes approaching the nonhomogeneous particle in degree of compactness. One finds one's way from house to house by a maze of twisting paths, which become alleyways in the larger towns. The only suggestion of physical planning is the frequent occurrence of an open space, safe, where the small shops and the church or mosque tend to be concentrated (Tannous, 1946, p. 338). In the minds of their respective inhabitants, the plan of the Lebanese village is very different from its counterpart in North America, in which the village green, the courthouse square, or Main Street are definitely central. The new roads in al-Qurnī are recent impositions on the traditional culture. The one which longitudinally bisects Mazrāʿat Ṭūlīyeh follows, in part, an old path, but a number of old buildings had to be torn down to make room for it.

We have already seen that al-Qurnī has no ground water resources. All the water which is used in the district is winter rain water which is collected, Bermuda style, from the roofs of the houses and stored in large, semi-subterranean cisterns of which there are a great number. The physical poverty of the district (cf. Thomson, 1910, p. 128) is due to its geological structure which Fisher has described:

> Your village lies in a limestone area (middle Cenomanian) underlain by a thin bed of impermeable Cenomanian sands, clays and lignite, with Jurassic limestones lower still. A fault at Tūrā [East of al-Qurnī] has exposed a small amount of the impermeable lignite, so that there is a chance that very deep wells such as el-Mazrāʿat might reach this horizon. On the whole, though, I am not very sanguine, as I have found around Jbeʿeitch and Mazrāʿat Ṭūlīyeh the fact that intensive cultivation stops when these particular outcrops are reached. Also, there is a break (at Tūrā) with the main outcrops of the mountains, so large springs are ruled out. The sudden change from a point N. of Jbeʿeitch from intensive garden cultivation to a sterile garrigue corresponds with the beginning of the limestone-sand outcrops. (W. R. Fisher, Personal Communication, Nov. 13, 1950.)

Before proceeding to a discussion of the flora and fauna of the district, it should be mentioned that at Ṭūlīyeh there are two springs. Both, however, are small, and

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FIG. 2. AL-QURNI

302 only one yields potable water—hence the name of the hamlet, which means "sweet."

137 The sparse natural flora of al-Qurni is an excellent example of garrigue which is widely distributed around the Mediterranean in districts which feature thin soils and calcareous outcrops. Comparing garrigue to the relatively more lush vegetation typical of the French Provence, Fisher says:

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Evergreen oaks, which are tolerant of greater aridity, persist,—although at wider intervals than in true maquis—but tall shrubs are much less common, and a low scrub of dwarf bushes and thorns take their place. Because of the more open nature of this vegetation, which rarely exceeds 5 feet in height, perennial plants can develop, and for some weeks after the spring rains, a carpet of flowers and herbs makes a striking display. Garrigue is often discontinuous, with bare patches of soil and rock interspersed with plants. (Fisher, 1950, p. 71.)

Mammalian fauna are very sparse indeed; as a matter of fact, as far as the writer knows there is virtually none. Snakes, however, are fairly numerous, are all regarded as being poisonous, and are killed on sight. Small lizards, spiders, six-inch centipedes, snails, scorpions, and large, wood-eating beetles are prominent among the other creatures which were observed. Birds are few, probably because those which venture into the district are generally shot, even if they are as small as sparrows. Flies are numerous, and there are some mosquitoes.

THE DISTRICT OF AL-QURNI

Now that its physical characteristics have been described, the question arises, On what basis can al-Qurnī be considered to be a distinct district? The name, according to several informants, means "corner," and it is the impression of the writer that it is used primarily only by the inhabitants of the district itself. True, in terms of terrain, it has two features which set it apart from the land immediately surrounding it. It rises particularly sharply and noticeably from the sea, and from the south, say from the hamlet of el-Burj, the ridge upon which Rihanni and Jiddayil are built looms up definitely higher than the nearer land, from which it is separated by an arroyo, the Wadi Be'ishta. These distinctions are, however, rather minor, and, as far as is known, the people themselves do not perceive them. Within al-Qurnī there is little of a physical nature to account for its being set apart as a unit. The land is sharply rolling, and the terrain consists, essentially, of three ridges which run roughly at right angles to the shore line. Upon the largest and highest of these, the three northern villages are built. Shuyfāt and Munşif are on the second, middle one; and the third has been commented upon above. Such features are typical of most of the coastal zone from Juni to Tripoli.

Al-Qurnī is not a political entity. It is simply a locality in Kisrewan, one of several districts in the Province of Mount Lebanon which is one of the five provinces into which the Republic is divided. Al-Qurnī does contain six political units, each with its elected mayor and council, as well as its own church. These are the villages of Burbara, Ghazzeun, Shuyfāt, Munşif, Jiddayil, and Rihanni. Lower Burbara is merely an adjunct of the village proper. For political purposes, Bukh'ūn is part of Ghazzeun. Hilwi and 'Arqbi belong to Munşif. Be'ishta is part of Rihanni. For other than political purposes, the people consider themselves to be seven, rather than six, villages, separating Bukh'ūn from Ghazzeun. Of the seven,

9: Gulick E-9 (1955) 1955 ME: Lebanon ME:

Mansûf is by far the largest, being at least twice as large as Jûbbayl which is the second in size.

Al-Qurnâ is a unit because its inhabitants consider it to be one. Within it, the individual villages regard themselves as independent, and the people even recognize minor cultural differences. For example, it was said that the phenomena are pronounced slightly differently in Bedmeh, Mansûf, and Jûbbayl; that the people of one of the villages always marry people from the other villages rather than their own; that the women of one of the villages are more quarrelsome than those of another; and so on. Yet, in relation to the outside, al-Qurnâ is a unit. Why? It is not because of close proximity, although of course this helps. The reason is that, with minor exceptions encountered in Jûbbayl, al-Qurnâ is exclusively Greek Orthodox in religion and is completely surrounded, in depth, by Maronite (exclusively Roman Catholic)-villages. In 1955, Kfarsouss had a resident population of 41,814, plus an emigrant population of 14,290. Of the residents, 34,335 were Maronites, 2,339 were Mûrsalî (Shi'a Muslims), and 1,801 were Greek Orthodox (all figures from Hamshâh, 1956, pp. 410-11). Virtually all of the last must have been counted in al-Qurnâ.

It has not been possible to go very far into this study without encountering the phenomenon of units of loyalty and identification. Since this topic will occupy an increasingly important position as we proceed, nothing more will be said about it at this point, except this: Beyond, and except for, kinship and local connections, exterior affiliation in the Middle East is the strongest bond which can unite a group of people and the most impenetrable barrier which can separate one group

FROM BEIRUT TO MANSÛF

Placed in its physical and cultural context, let us now turn to the village of al-Mansûf itself. It might be asked why a community of farmers should settle in such an unfavorable environment in the first place. A tentative answer to this question will be presented in the chapter, "The Patterns of Culture Change." It might also be asked why, once established, such a community should grow greatly in size and continue to function even through periods of great economic difficulty. This is an easy question to ask. The remainder of this work is, essentially, an attempt to answer it.

Let us, now, in imagination, go to Mansûf by automobile from Beirut. The trip will take perhaps an hour and a quarter.

Between Beirut and the mouth of the Dog River the road is level, for the most part, with banana and citrus plantations, and lush stands of tall reeds. Beyond the river, however, the citrus plantations cease, but the banana plantations continue. We notice that water is brought to them in open cement conduits. On the upper slopes to our right, we pass innumerable small villages and their olive and fig orchards.

Finally, we come to the town of Jbeil whose population was estimated in 1932 to be 3600, (Himadeh, 1936, p. 3). It is now probably considerably more. It is surrounded by luscious plantations and is currently enjoying a period of prosperity and growth largely because of the recently installed irrigation system. The highway runs right through the commercial center of the town, and though we must be careful to avoid collision with heavily laden donkeys, sheep, fowl, cows, hooking taxis, trucks and buses, we are aware that the street is lined with small shops of all kinds. On our left we pass the local courthouse, a neat rectangular structure from which the national flag flies, and around which stand or sit a few members of the national gendarmerie, in khaki uniforms, with rifles slung over their shoulders. If our eyes are sharp, we will notice also, a small sign which reads "Pontifice de Byblos," with an arrow pointing towards the sea. And in this direction we can hardly fail to miss seeing the enormous vault which is all that remains of the upper levels of a castle built by the Crusaders. If we have prepared ourselves properly, we will know that this ruin is surrounded by others of much greater age which attest to the fact that the bustle through which we are passing is but the current phase in the life of one of the oldest continuously inhabited sites in the world. Later we will learn that Jbeil is the primary marketing center of Mamjil.

Shortly after leaving Jbeil, we pass the unpaved road which leads to the large village of 'Amshit built on a small rise in the land at some distance from the highway. We must deduce its identity from our map, for there is, as usual, no sign. After the sixteen sharp turns near al-Burj, the road dips downward and our view to the north is suddenly blocked completely by the ridge to which some reference has already been made. The ridge appears to plunge, at a moderately steep angle, directly into the sea, but we notice that the highway continues on around it. We, however, turn sharply to the right on a side road which we can see winds up the ridge. We stop, shroud the mineral tracks, to allow a man, whose head is swathed in a *keffiyeh* and crowned by an *aqal*, to drive his herd of fat-tailed sheep across the road. He pays no particular attention to us, for he is a stranger here himself, though he has probably come this way for years. However, after we have wound our way upwards for a few minutes we pass a group of men who are lounging in the shade of a carob tree, eating lunch. They stare hard and fixedly at us, and one of them gets to his feet to have a better look. Our ascent is finished when we reach the crest of the ridge, and we find on each side of the road the vast terraces of figs and olives which belong to Jiblayil. Soon the houses close in tightly, but briefly, on both sides. As we pass through, a rooster flaps across the road, just missing our wheels. A few human figures step out of doorways to see who is coming and stand staring at us. Off to the right of the straight road from Jiblayil to Shqiftina we see smoke pouring from the open top of a limekiln. To the left, still at some distance, we see, at last, the houses of Mamjil, ranging in color from white to brown to gray. They are perched, seemingly on top

of each other, along the bank of a cool which descends eastwardly in the direction of the sea where the heaven shone high in the western sky.

Shaykhan were deserted as we drove through it, and then we drove into Mamzil. At first, olive terraces rise above us on the right and fall away below us on the left, but almost immediately they are replaced by houses. We stop in what appears to be the middle of the village, where an old car is parked and human activity is apparent. In the next half minute or so, a group of small barefooted boys, dressed in shorts, gathers, and they eye us intently as they talk among themselves in low tones. Across the road, an old man in a long striped green house on a heavy cane. While he stands looking at us, he is joined by a young man in a short shirt and neatly pressed European-style trousers. Other figures appear, but no one moves, and everyone keeps his distance. Two women walk close by the car, peering into it as best they can without upsetting the large wicker trays which they carry on their heads. They do not stop, however, and disappear into a window-less building nearby. The loud chatter which has been coming from this building dies down suddenly to a murmur, and more people appear. Their faces seem expressionless except that they manage to convey a feeling of wistfulness, yet un-disturbed, curiosity. No one steps forward.

As we get out of our car, someone picks up a stone and hurls it at a large dog which has been looking savagely at us. It runs off, yelping. We approach the young man in European clothes and address him haltingly in Arabic, asking the whereabouts of our whose name we have been given. Almost before he has finished his reply, spoken in good English, the one we seek himself appears. We introduce ourselves, and he leads us to his house, elaborately inquiring after our health. Seated under his roof, we are offered cigarettes and small candies, soon his wife brings us coffee, and we experience for the first time the warm hospitality for which the people of Mamzil are famous.

We have arrived and can begin our study.

THE MATERIAL BASE

THE PHYSICAL PATTERN OF THE VILLAGE

As a physical site, el Khanjé has five parts (See Fig. 1): The hamlet of Hibri; the five saints' shrines each of which has been, at one time or another, the nucleus of a small house-cluster; and the village proper. The territory which belongs to the village is roughly triangular in shape. The apex of this triangle is at the eastern extremity of the village proper, the sides extend from the apex to the seashore which forms the base. The paths which lead from the village proper to the shore, via Mar Mousa and Mar Mokhaïl, run along ridge crests. The boundaries of the village lie in the wadis (dry stream-beds) which are immediately adjacent to these crests, to the south and the north of them, respectively. All of the real property within the area thus defined belongs to the citizens of the village.

Hibri owes its existence to its location on a main highway, near a small, dark-sand cove, and, possibly, to the two springs which were mentioned in the previous chapter. The development and present significance of this hamlet will be discussed further in Part II. Here we need only mention that Hibri has the most extensive grouping of residences in the village, and, in a small building which is used as a store in the summer, there is a public telephone. This is the only electrical appliance of any kind, dependent upon a central public power system, in the entire village.

The shrines will be discussed in the chapter, "Formal Institutions." Of the three, only Mar Mokhaïl has recently had any significance as a residence site. At present, one family of outsiders lives there in the winter (See next two chapters). It will be noted that the site has a special name, 'Arqîb, besides that of the shrine.

The village proper (see map, Fig. 1) is built, as has been noted before, on the flank of a crest, extending in a northwest-southeast direction for the greater part of one kilometer and steadily decreasing in altitude from 280 meters above sea level in the southeast to 160 meters in the northwest. The highest houses in the southeast are virtually on the top of the crest. As the map and figures indicate, the village is also sharply tilted in a northeast-southwest direction. For the most part, the houses, as well as the terraces, are oriented longitudinally along the contours of the ridge. In the section of the village which lies to the south of the main road there is a very full distribution of functioning terraces, but in most of the northern part, terraces are either entirely absent or (except in the eastern extremity) fallen into ruins. In its essential details, this settlement pattern belongs to a type which is commonplace in Lebanon (Thoumin, 1936, p. 103).

AL-MINSIF
LEBANON

Most of the territory of the village is divided into a large number of sections each of which has its own name. The map (Fig. 4) indicates the sections—*khoṭ* (*ج*)—in the village proper. Most of these names are evidently very old, and those in the village proper were translated as follows: "big place," "lowland" (i.e., the wadi which skirts it to the west), "schoolie" (nearby boys wadi), "no-wadi-bed" (construction obscure), "broom place" (no sheep plants are grown in the village), "little land" (a secondary road, see Fig. 4, Sec. 33), "graves," "copse of trees" (*sabr*), "small green fertile place," "place of small olive trees" (no longer so), and "priest's shrine" (obscure). Translations could not be obtained for a few others. Just outside the village proper there are two sections of whose names no one could even guess the meaning. They are probably not of Arabic origin. No particular name is given to most sections of the village proper especially in the central portion. The word *sabr* has been applied to part of this central portion for at least fifty years but apparently not much earlier than that. This suggests that the present concentration of commercial establishments (see map, Fig. 7) is relatively recent, for in general *sabr* means the part of a village where the trees are located.

Those portions within the settlement which do not have specific names are generally referred to as *khoṭ*, which means the deep fertile soil which is usually devoted to the growing of vegetables. This is a generic term for this particular soil type. Others in use in the village are *sahl* (plain—land without trees), *sahlah* (land with trees), and *mulk* (orchards). Of these, the last is of particular interest. *Mulk* really means "land held in fee simple." In Mazgit, nearly all the land is held in fee simple, and orchards are the most valuable property. *Sahl* is interspersed into some of the section names, but *sahlah* and *mulk* are not, as far as could be determined.

On either side of the road leading to Hāwi (the old path which it superseded was called *tariq al-mukhlīs*—"road to the brackish spring"), there are eight named sections. Similarly, along the path which leads to Hāwi via Bīr Hāmra (*tariq al-Hāwi*—"road to the fresh-water spring"), there are twelve. In all, then, thirty-four named sections were recorded, and there are unquestionably a good many more. The names, in general, refer to physical characteristics of the land in question or to past events or associated events; or their meaning is obscure or unknown. As far as could be determined, the named sections have no social significance except that they make it possible to specify exactly different parts of the village. This is very helpful in a situation where the individual's landholdings are usually widely scattered.

The map (Fig. 4) also indicates the division of the village into two halves: *fawqaniyeh*, "the upper part," and *taḥtaniyeh*, "the lower part." This division does, or at least did, have social significance. It was noted that up to about eighty years ago, the upper part was completely dominated by Mazgeit Lineage A, the lower part by Mazgeit Lineage C. (Further discussion of this matter must wait

AL-MUNJIF
SIDRANAH
LEBANON
NAMED SECTIONS

(cf. the chapters on "Kinship Structure and Marriage Patterns" and "The Patterns of Culture Change")

BUILDINGS, HOUSES, AND HOUSE-TYPES

The map (Fig. 1) indicates the location of the institutional buildings in the village proper. Four of the six shops (shop, *dikkaken*, plur. *dekakin*) are concentrated in the *suke*. Actually, building 3 was not open during the period of study, but building 4 is partitioned into halves in each of which there is an independent shop. Building 10 is also partitioned, one half being devoted to a shop whose proprietor is also a butcher. The other half is open when the need arises, being the place of business of one of the two barbers. Building 11, an old house, is occupied by the fifth shop, open only at times, which specializes in cloth. The sixth shop, also one of the "general-store" type, is located in the house of its proprietor, further down the main road. The two schools are rather widely separated, but this is probably accidental since the location of the private school is determined by the fact that it occupies the lower floor of the master's own house. Similarly the two butchers, one in the *suke*, are immediately adjacent to the houses of their respective owners, one of whom is the private school master. Building 7 is the only one in the village which is entirely devoted to an olive press. There are, however, two olive presses in the village proper (one in the lower part of the one remaining occupied house in the *al-Wusṭāya* section, the other in the lower part of a house near the meeting point of the *Ḥāra al-Ṭāḥūn* and *Ḥāra al-Qanāṭir* sections); there is a third under construction in the eastern end of the *suke*, and a fourth at Ṭāḥūn. Two of these presses are specialized for the extraction of castor seeds to a crude form which *dibs*, a kind of jam, is made. There is also a mill, operated by a Gnome-made gasoline engine, which is part of the store in building 6. The upper story, and part of the lower story, of building 9 is occupied by one of the Abbasi Families (see next chapter) of the village.

It has been noted that the long axis of most of the houses is parallel to the contours of the ridge, often flush with terrace walls. Not infrequently the paths between the houses are, in fact, the tops of wide terrace walls, and sometimes these are two or three feet higher than the earth which they support.

The great majority of the houses have two levels. In some cases these are directly superimposed. In many others, they are staggered, so that the roof of the lower level forms a very useful terrace which is flush with the floor of the upper level. There are invariably separate entrances to the upper and lower levels. The writer is aware of not a single instance of interior staircase leading from one level to another. Probably the reason for this is that staircases would take up a great deal of room which cannot be afforded. Frequently, the pitch of the ground is such that one can simply walk onto the roof of a lower dwelling or by a very short flight of steps. More frequently, however, one must climb onto roofs, either on

1 - [illegible]

a wooden ladder or by an ascending series of stones projecting from the wall of the building.

The flat roofs are used extensively in the sunny part of the year. Apricots, almonds, and grapes are set out on them to dry. Many householders surround them with potted plants and receive guests on them. In the heat of midsummer, the interiors of the houses tend to be stuffy at night since the gentle breezes do not penetrate inside. Consequently, all who can, sleep on the roof (or terrace) under a brush shelter called *khaymi* ("tent").

Although no two houses are exactly the same, it is legitimate to classify all of them into a number of types, which are indices of successive eras in construction and design.

The first, which still has the greatest number of examples, has two subtypes. By far the most numerous of these has one room on the upper level, two windows, but often more than one door, and a flat earth roof. The lower level (*qabū*) is designed as a stable and storeroom and frequently consists of a long, low basement. The roof of the upper level (living quarters for the family) may or may not be supported on masonry pillars and arches, in addition to the outer walls. The walls are usually very thick, often exceeding three feet, for the old style of construction was two (dry-laid) stone walls with a rubble fill between them. The roof of the old-style house is constructed as follows: round or semi-round beams are laid from the top of one wall to the opposite one at right angles to the long axis of the house. A layer of shorter, thick sticks is placed across the beams, and then a layer of finer sticks is added. Finally, a layer of earth about a foot thick is packed down as hard as possible on top. To prevent leaking, the roof must be packed down several times each winter; for this purpose every old-style house is equipped with a stone roller (*medāf*), weighing about a hundred pounds. These houses are dark inside because of the paucity of windows which are unglazed and closed by solid wooden shutters. To counteract this, the inside plastered walls are either whitewashed or painted very pale blue. There is every reason to suppose that this style of house is very ancient indeed. However, none of the existing examples of it in Mawşil is probably more than a hundred and fifty years old, and some are probably as little as sixty years old. Repairs—sometimes amounting to rebuilding—and alterations have always been a matter of course. However, no houses of this type have been built since the early 1930's. Wiedemann (1940, p. 267) says that this traditional Lebanese house is well-adapted to its environment. It provides insulation against the chilly blasts of winter and against the heat of summer as effectively as any essentially primitive construction could.

The second subtype of old-style house has only two examples in the village. The construction is essentially the same as the foregoing, but the following features are added: two or more distinctly separate rooms in the upper level, sculptured ornamentations, including fully round columns, around the windows, and glazed, ornamental windows, with rather elaborate designs formed by the lead mullions.

usually in a row of three rounded or pointed arches. These were evidently the dwellings of people of some affluence, although no stories were related about this. The houses are evidently eighty to ninety years old.

The second house-type is the tile-roof style which was typical of the period 1920 to 1954. It was stated that all the tile-roof houses in the village were built with funds earned by emigrants in, or returned from, America. By and large, this is probably true. For Lebanon as a whole, Thoumin (1936, p. 201) makes the same statement. Woodrow (1946, p. 139) points out that this style of house, which is very common in Lebanon, is a symbol of prestige and wealth. Dimet (1940s, p. 142), commenting on this statement, says that actually this is no longer true, for now it is the even more European-style villa (bâtie) which the rich and influential build for themselves—not in ordinary villages, but in the luxurious suburbs and mountain resorts. At any rate, the tile-roof house, in Mtoulé as elsewhere, is one of the earliest and most conspicuous items in the process of material acculturation. The tiles are flat and grooved, usually made in France—rather different from the semi-cylindrical Spanish and Italian tiles.

A map in Thoumin (1936, p. 139) indicates that Mtoulé is an area of relatively high frequency of tile roofs. Somewhat less than a third of the village's houses now have tiles.

There are two subtypes of the tile-roof house. The first is very like the old-style house in that it has only one room above, and a storage room or stable below. The major differences are the roof style, the fact that the masonry courses tend to be more even and are frequently wet laid and the fact that there are more windows, usually still unglazed.

The second subtype of the tile roof house is more elaborate. The triple arch, or glazed windows—which sometimes have some panes of colored glass—or in arcades, is a conspicuous feature of these houses. There is usually an ornamental cornice just below the roof, and just below the cornice there frequently are small round windows. There appear high up on the interior walls, which are often as much as twenty feet high, from floor to ceiling. The ornamental windows are invariably glazed, and others usually are. The panes of a window are set in double, wooden casements which open inward. In addition, there are solid wooden shutters outside. The doors and shutters of houses of all types usually have simple rectangular panels, and the doors have big iron bolts with keys to match them in size. Some of the large tile-roof houses, however, have rather elaborate doors, somewhat baroque in style.

The interior floor plan of the large tile-roof house consists essentially of a large central salon (*maq'ad*—"seat") off which open perhaps two rooms on each side. The ornamental windows occupy a third wall of the *maq'ad*, with the front door in the opposite, fourth, wall. Assuming that this idealized pattern forms a rectangular plan, we can add that it is often modified into a shallow U-shape by building additional rooms on either side of the front door. The kitchen may often

[illegible] occupies one of these rooms, and perhaps the other is a work room. The rooms [illegible] likely to be enclosed by one or the other of them.

Many of the tile-roof houses have the thick old-style walls, but some do not. Limestone, often huddlestone, is the universal building material. The floors are of cement, or stone flags, or both.

After the era of great prosperity which ended with the start of the First World War, there appears to have been no building to speak of until the 1950's.

Of the modern houses, there are six which are essentially additions to older structures, either second storeys or side-by-side with, and connected to, the old. These more are entirely new. These also conform to older patterns in their line-stone masonry, rectangular plan, and room arrangement. The walls are, however, relatively thin, and cement is used much more liberally than of old to hold the stones together. Projecting porches, supported by cylindrical concrete pillars, are a new feature, but the most outstanding innovation is the flat, concrete roof.

There are two more Western houses each of which is in a class by itself. One is the highest house in the village, and at first glance it does not seem unusual. It is built of limestone and has a tile roof. On closer inspection, however, a number of unusual features become evident. There is an extensive all and a projecting porch at both. A set of garden path leads to the front door on each side of which there is a trellis. The windows are large, and, of course, glazed. This house is somewhat in the style of the villas which can be seen in Lebanese mountain resorts. Its builder and owner is a man who works and lives in Tripoli, except in the summer.

The other modern house of [illegible] represents the most radical departure from the old patterns. It is not yet complete, consisting only of the frame which is made of reinforced concrete and [illegible] cinder blocks. (The old-type construction does not require a frame.) Probably it will have a limestone facing, including some curved surfaces, when it is finished, and it will conform in design and construction to a mediocrist European style which is frequently seen elsewhere in Lebanon. This house, also, is being built by a summer resident.

The great increase in the use of concrete is worthy of comment, for cement is one of the few important non-agricultural products of modern Lebanon. Consequently, it is relatively inexpensive. In addition to this, there is its admirable property of plasticity. However, its use in roofs is, in the writer's opinion, a poor environmental adaptation. In winter, concrete roofs make cold, damp ceilings. In summer, they radiate a great deal of heat, and the rooms which have them usually become very hot.

The significance of the ruined houses (khirbi) is much more of a social than a material nature. Many ruined houses are used as latrines for there are few specially constructed privies in the village; at least one has its floor planted up, and this is planted to onions. Otherwise, the ruins have no function whatever. It might be thought that the stones of which they are built would be removed and used in

new constructions. This is not the case—at least, it is not to an observable degree. All the stone used in new building in the village are freshly quarried. Perhaps the reason for this is that nearly all the rains have occupied owners, nearly all of whom are emigrants or their descendants. Even the villagers now admit that "they will never come back," but their property rights are still maintained, either because the older emigrants hesitate to relinquish their claims or because their American-born children are uninterested, both of which prevent total disposition of the property. However, most of the new-styled houses were of the old style, whose roofs would naturally go to pieces if not tended. Consequently, the roofs were removed so that the very valuable timbers in them could be used for other purposes. This hastened the partial collapse of many of the buildings' walls.

HOUSEHOLD ARRANGEMENT AND FURNISHINGS

Nearly every house has its own cistern (*bir*), either within the building or just outside it. The water is entirely winter rain water drawn from the roof of the house and conducted to the cistern, sometimes, by sheet-iron pipes. This is much more efficient than the older method of letting the water flow down a shallow vertical trough on the outside of the wall of the building. The cistern have circular openings raised off the ground of flung on a stone or concrete coaming. The opening is fitted, more or less tightly, with a wooden cover.

It is one of the women's jobs to draw water from the cistern by means of a sheet-iron, European-made, bucket attached to a chain or rope. The water needed for the day is stored in large, two-handled, pointed-bottom jars (*jarra*), of porous earthenware, which stand in wooden frames in the kitchen corner, or the kitchen room if there is one. From the jarra, water is transferred to cooking utensils, to the spouted pottery or glass drinking jars (*ibriq*), and to the two to three gallon, semi-cylindrical metal tanks in which washing water is stored. These hang against an outside wall or in the wash room if there is one. The tanks are called *kanakiya*, a term primarily applied to the small brass spigots with which they are fitted. The name is derived from the Hanafi school of Muslim jurisprudence which decided that the use of spigots was not a violation of the provisions of the Koran. Here the *kanakiya* are usually fixed a dish for soap and a towel-rack. A few houses are equipped with hand-pumps, a raised tank, and a limited system of pipes and spigots. This, however, is unusual.

The interior arrangement of the one-room house is essentially the same in every case, although of course there are many minor variations. The following description is composite. On entering the front door, one will observe that the room is divided into two sections, front and back. The division is effected by tall cabinets, with doors and drawers, placed across the room. These are used for keeping clothes, dishes, and so on. This means of division may be supplemented by a curtain. In the front section, a long wooden seat, really a bench with a back and

352 some of the walls, extends around the walls. This is lined with hard, flat cushions which are upholstered in some very light color—often plain white. They likely a set of wooden, sculpting chairs, with old cane backs and bottoms, will be set formally around a table in the center of the room. Here and there, there will be rather rough, wooden stools with soft cane seats. At one side, there will be a large rectangular dining table with a cloth or plastic cover. In some houses, fully upholstered modern easy chairs will be found.

353 The walls are devoid of ornamentation, with one exception which is common to the houses which have it. This is a concentrated area of photographs, some pictured with age, some brand new, of various members of the owner's family, including emigrants who are fully remembered. Sometimes, among the family photographs, there will also be one or two postcard-sized pictures of saints or members of the Holy Family. However, as far as the writer is aware, there are no houses which have anything resembling a household shrine, and many have no religious symbols whatever.

[361] Especially in the older houses, there are recesses in the walls, often closed with wooden doors. These are used for storage—for example, large jars for the year's supply of olive oil.

Only a close friend of the family will ordinarily be given the opportunity to go from the reception room into the rooms beyond. Here are the sleeping quarters of the family, and cooking equipment will be found in one corner also—unless there is an additional room for this purpose, as in the case with several reasonably well-to-do houses.

352. 353 Every house is wholly or nearly equipped with metal bedsteads, springs, mattresses, pillows, pillowcases, sheets and blankets, all of European manufacture and in design. Sixty years ago everyone slept on the floor on sheepskins wrapped in blankets or quilted pads. Only vestigations of this practice are now to be found in a few houses.

354 The traditional type of stove was a masonry oven with apertures in the top, in which the chief fuel was brushwood. Very few such stoves are now used. Rather, nearly every house is equipped with at least one "Primus" stove, a small, portable appliance, made in Sweden, which operates on the principle of the ignition of kerosene which has been vaporized by heat and pressure. Basic instructions for its operation are etched on the rim of its heavy fuel tank in Arabic, Hindustani, and Chinese, and we might say that this is an item in a process which might be called "deliberate diffusion." It is inexpensive to buy and, when well, is quite efficient except for the fact that there is only one burner per stove.

405 A minimal assortment of cooking utensils would include: a saucepan, a colander, a set, in graduated sizes, of long-handled metal beakers (for boiling coffee), a cylindrical brass coffee grinder, pots, bowls, and platters of various sizes and shapes, made of metal or pottery, and a stone mortar and pestle. Glassware would include a bottle, flasks of various sizes, and long-handled serving forks and spoons. Food is served

or china plates and/or wood plates. If necessary, everyone is provided with knives, forks, and spoons, but napkins are not ordinarily used. Cups and saucers are provided for tea and coffee, respectively. (The only kind of coffee which is consumed in the village is "Turkish" coffee.) Wine is drunk from small glasses. The only acceptable way to drink water, however, is directly from the spouted jug called deriq. This is definitely an acquired skill which children are taught as early as possible. For this purpose, a small deriq, usually made of glass, is provided. With the exception of the coffee grinder, usually the coffee lantern, the goats and mattes, and the deriq, all these items are of European manufacture and/or design.

Although kerosene lamps are readily available in Beirut, the standard means of heating houses in the village is by small, round, charcoal braziers which sit low on the floor. If a social group in one room of a multi-room house moves to another, the brazier around which the group has sat will be picked up and carried along. The idea, in other words, is to keep the people warm rather than to heat the room. The European and American kerosene heaters are undoubtedly more efficient, but they are a great deal more expensive to buy and operate. Besides, the charcoal braziers can also be used for boiling coffee and heating meat on skewers.

Oil lamps, with glass chimneys, of European manufacture and of the same type which is still sometimes seen in rural areas of the United States, are used in many houses. Everyone keeps a supply of candles in case of emergency. But the most widely used type of illumination is provided by a kerosene pressure lantern. This gives a very strong light and is frequently suspended on an iron rod from the ceiling of the room.

Nearly every individual who is adolescent or older has a flashlight and uses it. On moonless or cloudy nights, the village is enveloped in pitch blackness, with only a few unshielded lights showing here and there from doors or windows.

Floor-covering is provided either by small "oriental" rugs or straw mats. Such ornamental or luxury items as elaborately inlaid boxes and furniture, engraved brass or copper trays, and painted pottery, are rare.

DIET

The villagers regularly eat three meals a day, of which the evening meal is ordinarily the largest, except on Sundays. Breakfast is likely to include the left-overs from the preceding evening meal. Bread is eaten at, and often served after, every meal. Lunch tends to be small, and the family is apt to eat scrambled at lunch, for men or boys working in the fields usually take their lunches with them—a couple of loaves of bread, some olives, and perhaps an onion or cucumber or two, and a jug of water.

The villagers say that in summer they have more to eat than in winter. In addition, what they mean is that fresh fruits and vegetables supplement the year

2a.3 4.3d 4.3d cereal staples, all, except three fruits, in the season. The staples, which are often customarily obtainable or can be locally preserved and stored, are the following:

Wheat (mostly imported)
Rice (imported)
Maize (mostly bought on the local fresh market)
Bread eggs (locally produced)
Cheese (locally produced)
Figs (locally produced)
Fresh fish (caught locally)
Potatoes and turnips (imported and produced locally)
Onions and garlic (imported and produced locally)
A variety of legumes (imported and produced locally)
Milk (locally produced)
Salt (locally produced)
Sugar (imported)
Coffee and tea (imported)

This base is supplemented in season by the following items, most of which are produced locally: apricots, fresh figs, grapes, tomatoes, cucumbers, green and yellow squashes, peppers, lettuce, and okra.

It is clear that the village is heavily dependent upon the outside for food staples. Among the items in which these staples are eaten are the following:

1.4.2 *Bread.* Americans, among whom bread is now a food of secondary importance and generally of poor nutritive value, will at once recognize the significance of "daily bread" when they observe in our among present-day Semitic-speaking peoples. Although it would be an exaggeration to say that it is the staff of life, it is certainly the most important single item of food—important both in regard to its nutritive value and the attitudes toward it of its eaters. Bread-making is an important social as well as economic function, and it will be described in detail later. Here it need only be said that the loaf is a disk about one foot or more in diameter and about a third of an inch thick. Tannous (1946, p. 134) says that every adult eats from one to two pounds of it a day and takes it at every meal. Although no attitudes toward it of a religious nature were encountered in Mawjil, its importance was indicated by such remarks as: "A meal is not a meal if there is no bread"; "If there is nothing else, bread is enough"; "If you do not eat bread, you will always be hungry"; and "If you drink too much water at a meal, you will not be able to eat enough bread." The average adult in the village eats about two loaves per meal, which is consistent with Tannous' statement.

2a.4 Bread can be eaten alone, but usually it is not. The eater tears it into pieces about three inches square. With this between fingers and thumb (usually, but not exclusively, of the right hand), he reaches out to a common dish and takes a piece of food. The morsel is then conveyed to the mouth as is, or after that which has been taken from the dish has been more thoroughly wrapped up in the bread. For eating semiliquid foods, the piece of bread is made into the shape of a small, crude shovel. Virtually the entire meal can be, and frequently is, eaten directly and instrumentally, with bread.

Bread (khubz) is not the only wheat product which is made in the kidney and ears. There is also lady bread (gardoon) (which will be discussed later). And a special treat is *manqoushi* ("fingered"). This starts as a disk of unleavened dough which looks very much like an unbaked loaf of bread. But a rim is pinched up around the edge and the maker may punch herringbone or crosshatch designs in the centre with her fingers. The centre is then covered liberally with olive oil and on this sugar and sesame seeds are sprinkled. It is preferably eaten as soon as possible after it has been baked. It is sweet and filling. Slices of the very sweet, flaky pastries, which can be bought in Middle Eastern restaurants, are uncommon in the village.

Meat. Sheep are killed ordinarily only on Sundays, and the meat is bought and most of it eaten immediately. There appears to be a sort of folk hygiene connected with this practice. One of the few complaints about city life voiced by a young person was that it was not a good idea to buy meat in the city because one didn't know how long it had been hanging in the butcher shop, completely exposed to flies and the dust of the street. Beef, a prime source of ingredients, is not eaten at all, nor is pork.

The main dish of the standard Sunday dinner, taken at noon, is *mee kibbi*, perhaps the most famous Lebanese dish. It consists of raw meat and cracked wheat ground up together in the stone mortar and served on a smooth mound on a platter. It is washed down with another famous item, *'areq*, a distilled grape liquor, flavored with anis, which is clear and colorless when it comes from the bottle but turns milky white when water is added to it, as it usually is. The villagers buy *'areq* which is made in the city, although they would undoubtedly make their own if they had to. The intake of alcohol is very moderate. It is never drunk alone but always as part of a meal. Four small glasses of *'areq* mixed with water are considered enough, if not too much. The wine is reasonably certain but there is no cultural pattern for getting really drunk for its own sake. A little wine is made locally, but not very much.

Raw meat is also eaten in small chunks, taken in hand and dipped in the rough salt which is obtained locally from the sea. Most of the specialized organs, such as liver, kidneys, testicles, and lungs, are eaten in this manner.

What is left over from the raw *kibbi* is cooked, either in the form of a fine dish or in individual patties. This cooked *kibbi* will appear on Monday's, and perhaps Tuesday's, menu. *Labne mkhiber* ("brushed meat"—see footnote) another regional specialty, is an alternative.

Roast chickens in watercolours served but usually only on special occasions, such as the saint's-day feasts at which certain families entertain the priest.

Olives. All the olives which are consumed in the village are local produce. Some are cured in brine and stored for eating throughout the year. A dish of them appears at every meal. But most of a year's harvest is reduced, locally, to oil which is used in nearly every phase of cooking.

242. *Sweet Preserves.* Figs and apricots (which are also eaten raw in season) are
247 made into very sweet jams which are eaten throughout the year. Grapes (also eaten raw in season) and carob pods are made into another type of preserve, called *dibs*, which has the consistency of molasses.

A preserve of a rather special type, *halawa*, ("sweet"), is obtained from the city in reputable cans. It comes in a hard cake which flakes when cut. Its essential ingredients are sugar and *tahina* (crushed sesame seeds). *Halawa* is very sweet and "rich," and is considered to be a great delicacy which is eaten, alone or with bread, at the close of the meal.

243. *Milk products.* Milk is not usually taken raw, although there is one dish,
252 *laban 'arwas*, which consists of hot milk in which flat pastry balls which are stuffed with rice and/or meat. Rather, milk is preferred in three fermented forms: white cheese (from goat's milk), *laban* ("sour" milk, known in America as "yoghurt"), and *labne* (fermented laban, which has the consistency of cream cheese). Of the three, *laban* is the most extensively used. It appears at every meal and is the preferred beverage with which to eat cooked dishes.

Eggs are sometimes eaten hard boiled, but they are preferred when included in a dish which is a combination of omelette and meat loaf. Potatoes and hamburger, also, are usually included in a larger combination. "French fried" potatoes are known, but not by that name.

Onions and garlic are eaten cooked or raw, alone or in combination with other things. Rice is used for stuffing or is served as a dish, boiled, and covered with raisins.

272 Tea (*shayy*) is taken very sweet, but milk is never added. As with coffee, the
285 sugar is boiled along with the main ingredient. The common accidental notion, however, that "Turkish" coffee (*qahwi*) really isn't Turkish coffee unless it is strong enough is not necessarily founded on fact. Some prefer it with little sugar or none at all, and the guest is usually asked if he prefers it very sweet, sweet, or bitter. The only requirements are that it be thick and very hot.

262 Of the summer products which have not been considered so far, squash is the
282 only one which appears in cooked form, frequently stuffed with rice and/or meat (*kusa mahshi*). (There is a general notion that cool foods are preferable in hot weather, hot foods in cold weather, but this is not rigidly followed in practice.)

Sliced cucumbers and tomatoes, in olive oil, are served in summer, but these, and other vegetables, are preferred when included in two larger dishes. One of these is a very delicious salad (*salaja*) consisting of lettuce, tomato, cucumber, parsley, mint, onion, and garlic. The dressing is a mixture of lemon juice and olive oil. The salad is delicious. This has nearly the same ingredients as the salad, but they are chopped up very fine and mixed with cracked wheat which has been soaked in water. Like raw *kibbi*, *tabbouli* is served in the form of a mound, and its eating is associated with the drinking of *'araq*.

Legumes are not too commonly eaten alone without further preparation than

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

cooking. There is a cooked bean mash (*mujaddara*), but this is not considered to be very tasty. However, chick peas, mashed, are mixed with *tahîni* to form a very popular and filling "sauce" called *fawwaj hâjjîni*. This is served as a substitute for, or in addition to, *labun*.

Foreign foods are very rare. The most important is spaghetti, whose eating requires the use of a fork. Scandinavian canned tuna, also, supplements the local fish supply which is rather meager, although in summer, sea urchins are consumed in large quantities, as well as squids and octopi.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that diet is one of the most conservative and least acculturated aspects of the material culture. Cooking and serving utensils, it is true, have been heavily influenced, but this has been a process of substitution, for purposes of efficiency, rather than of innovation.

CLOTHING

To some degree, the clothing worn by the villagers varies in style according to the age of the wearer. Among males, the elderly are definitely conservative, the middle-aged very, the young men and boys wear European-style clothes almost without exception. A similar gradation among the females is a little less obvious, probably primarily because the women's traditional costume, unlike the men's, is not particularly distinctive to Western eyes.

Men. The second oldest man in the village is the only one who wears the *ghambaz*, a long, long-sleeved, tubular gown, of white, striped cotton-backed silk. This costume is frequently seen in the heterogeneous city populations, often on younger men. Woolerme (1946, p. 244) says that it is of Bedu origin.

More typical of the older men is the traditional *shirwal* (tremendously baggy trousers with short, tight legs), open-necked, or collarless shirt, and European jacket. Headgear is the cylindrical *sarbush*, maroon felt with a black tassel. Especially in winter, a cloth or scarf may be wrapped around the *sarbush*. One man in the village wears a tall conical brown felt cap, called *libbadi*, which is often seen elsewhere.

A few middle-aged men wear the complete traditional costume, but more of them have adopted European (*franji*) clothes. For work, they wear nondescript, but European, trousers, shirt, sweater if needed, socks and shoes. On more or less formal occasions, however, a complete suit, with tie, is worn. This tendency is even more pronounced among the young men. No one ordinarily goes unshod except small boys and girls in summer. Sport shirts—preferably plain white—are worn in summer.

Those working in the fields frequently wear pith helmets and jodhpur-like trousers which bear a superficial resemblance to the *shirwal* which were not observed on any man under about fifty. Quite a number of middle-aged men who have given up the *shirwal*, nevertheless retain the *sarbush* which, however, is not

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241 worn by any man younger than about forty. The European hat with a crown (*kirwayte*) is unusual; only two or three men wear them regularly, although others wear them on occasion. Thus, it can be deduced that a good many men, especially young adults and adolescents, ordinarily go hatless, and this is a rather singular practice in a culture where headgear has practical and symbolic significance. The writer believes that the prevailing hatlessness in the younger generation is an aspect, and rather an apt symbol, of the cultural situation in which they find themselves. He believes that if systematic questioning were undertaken on this topic, it would reveal that the younger generation has more or less consciously rejected the old style—which it associates with peasant life—and at the same time is often hesitant to accept the new which represents foreign influences. The European brimmed hat obviously provides better protection than the *yarkmeh* against the sun, which is the reason, stated by young and old alike, why one should always wear a hat.

Women. The costume of the older, middle-aged, and many of the village-dwelling younger women consists basically of a rather formless, full-skirted black dress (cotton or wool) supplemented by sweater or jacket. A scarf is very often worn over the head, but it is secured under the back hair rather than under the chin. In winter, woolen stockings are worn. There is no elaborate jewelry. The younger women, especially those who work in the city, follow modern European styles.

However, the Western practice of women or girls wearing slacks or shorts has been completely rejected. For this there are at least two reasons. One is that the men regard the practice as a usurpation of a symbol of masculine status. The second is that women who wear slacks or shorts are assumed to be of loose morals. 547 This is because the wearing of these garments by women in the area is associated with the "artistes" (who are mostly European women) who are entertainers in the numerous Western-style nightclubs in Beirut and are generally assumed to be available for other purposes after hours.

[296] For the most part, those who wear European clothes regularly are careful to appear in well-pressed and clean garments. This means more inconvenience and expense than the maintenance of the traditional costume did. Dodd (1940, p. 686) remarks that the relative tightness of Western clothes is not well adapted to summer weather, and certainly the *shirwal* are better and more comfortably adapted to male anatomy than European trousers are.

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT

405 805 It has already been mentioned that the flashlight is a widely distributed item of personal equipment. Another is the wrist watch. Certainly a majority of the villagers who have attained any degree of responsible age have them. Traditional village life required no accurate chronometry, and there was none. The villagers

?: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME: Lebanon ME:

still rise with the sun, although they go to bed after dark. On the whole, there is no specific horological time for meals. However, the village schools operate on a definite time schedule, and this affects quite a large proportion of the resident population—the teachers and their families, the children, and their mothers who prepare their lunches. Of course, those who are, or have been, working in the city, are quite thoroughly conditioned to clock-schedules. A good deal of apparently unnecessary reference to and synchronization of watches was observed in the village. On the whole, however, it can be said that future plans which involve exact hours are made and fulfilled in a casual manner. Perhaps a valid generalization would be that the average individual regards his watch as a symbol of prosperity, an instrument, on occasion, of practical value, and an interesting toy—all in about equal measure.

Combs, toilet soap, safety and straight razors, shaving brushes, etc. (all of European or American manufacture) are universally distributed. Some people have and use toothbrushes. The women do not appear to use cosmetics to any great extent.

A variety of containers have already been described, but several more must be added. The rectangular five-gallon gasoline can, with its top cut out and fitted with a wooden handle, is widely used for carrying water, cement and other bulk materials. Various sizes of coiled baskets, cylindrical with large handles over the top, are used for carrying food. Large, flat wicker trays are used for carrying such things as bread and laundry and for the display of vegetables in the stores. Formerly, silk worm cocoons were set out on them.

Carpenter's and mason's tools—hammers, saws, planes, levels, drills, screwdrivers, chisels, and trowels—appear to be the same in form as they are in the West. Probably most of the items now used are western-made, but most of the forms are very old in the Middle East.

Agricultural tools are conservative and of very ancient form. There are no horses in the village (the Arabs use them for riding rather than for traction), and the ox is the chief draft animal. The plow consists of a wooden shaft (in several segments) to which a round iron spike is set at an angle. The thresher is a heavy sledge into whose bottom sharp volcanic stones (from the Akkar) are set. (See Thevenin, 1956, pp. 134-36, for illustrations.) Grain is winnowed by tossing it up into the air with a rather crude fork made entirely of wood. Small saws and hand-clippers (the only recent foreign element in the toolkit) are used for pruning. The last item is an iron spade, which is, if possible, manipulated by two or three men. One man grasps the handle and shaft in the usual manner, and, in effect, pushes the spade. One or two other men pull the spade by means of cords attached to the shaft just above the shoulders of the blade.

The traditional means of communication were donkeys, horses, and human backs and legs, traveling over rough stone paths. To this, can be added a recent

272 social means, which is still used a great deal—shouting from one section of the village to another. The horse and the donkey have given way to the automobile, 276 the bus, the truck, and the paved roads which they require. Two automobiles are stationed in the village, and a number of them are owned by villagers who live in the city. There in the village are at least fifteen years old. One of the owners operates a regular (about three times a day) taxi service to [Beyt]. The Beirut-[Beyt] buses regularly stop at [Ain], but the railroad trains never do. No one in the village owns a truck, but it is not difficult to hire one from [Beyt] if necessary.

286 In terms of message communication, there are two new elements in the village. One is the public telephone at [Ain]. This does not seem to play a very important part in the life of the community. It is simply one opposite in the network of telephones which the French Mandatory Government installed along the main highways. The other is the radio. There is one at [Ain] and one in the 287 village proper, both in private houses. A third, portable one was purchased during the period of study. There would doubtless be more if it were not necessary to run them on batteries. However, the villagers keep up to date on the news very efficiently. Every day several people go to and return from [Beyt] in whose shops radios blare away constantly.

271.3 © In the field of communication, foreign influence has been of profound importance.

POPULATION

MUGHEIR is the home of activity of a group total of about 583 people. This population can be divided into four clearly distinguishable component groups as follows:

Core Group	500
Peripheral to Core	10
"Women"	50 plus
Mixed	23
	583 plus

Numerically, all of the smaller or "subsidiary" groups are insignificant as compared to the Core. Of the three, the "Women" (*Ahiyya*) are the most numerous, but they are present in the village, as their name suggests, only during part of the year. As far as the members of the Core Group are concerned, the smaller components of the population are socially, as well as numerically, fairly salient, and inquiries about them invariably elicited bored, uninterested responses and comments like, "What do you want to know about them for? They are not from here, they do not belong among us."

In this own eye and in the eye of the bed, the members of the Core Group, 500 strong, are the village, whereas the three subsidiary component groups in the population are outsiders whose residence in the village is either periodic or more or less temporary. Therefore, we will be concerned with the Core Group only, but, since they are of considerable interest, the Subsidiary Groups will be discussed in some detail in Appendix A.

THE CORE GROUP

Table 1 presents a considerable amount of data on the Core Group. We need not concern ourselves at this point with the very important question of male descent status, which appears in numerical form in this table.

The essentials of the lineage system which is indicated in the table are as follows: The members of the Core Group consider themselves to be direct descendants of a man named Mansur Jarjis al-Khuri who, with his three sons, migrated to the site of the present village from Jabal Hawran, south of Damascus, after a few years' sojourn in Baalbek. The youngest members of the Core Group at present

[illegible]

621
613
614
512

being, variously according to the particular position, to the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth generation in descent from Manuel [illegible] as being counted as the first generation. The main part of the Core Group is divided into three

Table 1. Core Group: [illegible] *

[illegible]

* [See key to symbols on page 49 -- Archp?]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

631
643
644

large kin groups each of which consists of the descendants (reckoned patrilineally) of one of the three sons of the founder. These kin groups are called Minimal Lineages in this study, and they are designated by the capital letters A, B, and C. Each Minimal Lineage is subdivided into a number of smaller kin groups which herein are called Minimal Lineages, designated by Roman numerals. Each Minimal Lineage consists of from one to fourteen households, each represented by a number in Arabic numerals. Minimal Lineages, Minimal Lineages, and households are distinct social units, recognized as such by their members. This whole group is exclusively Greek Orthodox in religion.

In addition to the descendants of the founder of the village, the Core Group also includes eight households each of which is called in this study an Affiliate Family. The villagers themselves do not have any special term for them, and it should be emphasized that the eight families do not relate as a unit. The status of Affiliate Family was achieved in every case by a man from another village or district first settling in the village and then marrying a member of the Core Group. The man himself always remains an outsider in the eyes of the Core Group, but his children have Core Group relatives through their mother. The heads of seven of the present Affiliate Families are still in the position of relatively outsiders. The head of AF1-2, however, belongs to the fourth generation of his family to live in the village. "He is from here, but it is a new family," was the way in which his status was described.

The Affiliate Families have been divided into three arbitrary classes in an attempt to indicate the differing degrees to which they have been accepted as members of the in-group. This is the writer's conceptualization, not that of the villagers, as far as he knows. Class 1 appears to have been fully accepted in every sense, except that exclusively patrilineal descent from the founder cannot be claimed. The distinction between Class 1 and Class 2 is rather subjective on the writer's part and may not be valid. Class 3, however, is definitely marginal in status, and an important reason for this is that the founders of the families in the village were not Greek Orthodox, and the religious affiliation of their children is rather dubious.

It might be said at this point that no one was able to demonstrate the descent of Minimal Lineage XXI either from the village founder or from the founder of Minimal Lineage C, although its members claim patrilineal descent from the village founder. A genealogy of the lineage carries it back seven generations, which is in line with the depth of the other Minimal Lineages. It was generally agreed that a woman in one of the earliest generations of the lineage married a man of A.XI, but it was quite obvious that in terms of loyalty and cohesion XXI belonged to C. It is entirely possible that lineage XXI was once in the position of the present Affiliate Families.

The structure of the Core Group will be considered in greater detail in the

TABLE 1. [illegible] Houses or Households and Population by Subareas*

621
613
619

Subarea and Social Category	Number of Households	Population					
		A	B/C	D	A	D	Total
A	45/44	103	0	107	11	0	231
1	0	6	—	0	0	—	10
2	1	—	—	4	—	—	4
3	4	10	—	10	1	0	21
4	0	4	—	11	0	—	15
5	4/3	10	1	11	1	—	23
6	3	11	0	9	1	—	21
7	0	0	0	0	—	—	0
8	1/1	11	0	10	1	—	22
9	0	6	—	0	0	—	12
10	0	12	—	7	—	0	19
11	1	0	1	—	—	—	1
B	0	14	—	4	—	—	18
12	0	10	—	7	—	—	17
13	0	11	—	1	—	—	12
C	30/31	30	0	91	0	0	121
14	0	12	—	0	0	0	12
15	0	7	—	4	—	—	11
16	4/5	11	—	4	0	—	17
17	0	4	1	0	—	—	5
18	0	1	—	10	—	—	11
19	0	4	—	4	1	—	9
20	0	10	—	10	0	0	20
21	0	10	1	11	—	0	22
Affines Resident	0	20	1	11	1	—	33
Case Group Total	47/49	100	11	126	11	11	259

* Key to symbols for Table 1.

chapter on the social structure of the village. Table 1 indicates the relative size of the changes in economic location (where data Table 1).

6.2g The total population counted for the Core Group, 335, includes married women from other villages in the Qurei or from outside the Qurei (the latter are rare). It also includes Core Group women who have been taken by men from outside the Qurei or from other villages in the Qurei (the latter are rare), but it does not include their husbands or their children except, of course, in the case of Affiliate Families. The first inclusion conforms with the law and with general attitudes, both of which hold that a woman becomes a member of her husband's family. The second inclusion conforms with another cultural norm to the effect that marriage to an outsider does not disown a woman from affiliation with her natal family or lineage. (The father, brothers, or patrilineal first cousins of a woman whose marriage, for any reason, is disowned are morally obligated to come to her assistance if necessary.)

Three families have been excluded from the Core Group count. The first is that of a Greek Orthodox man from Beirut who rents a house in Jiljuli for the summer. He is not a legal resident of the village. His wife is a more distant Core Group member, but their family has predominantly outside connections.

The second is a family of lineage A.BY which has lived in Jiljuli for several decades and appears to have lost all but nominal connection with the village.

The third excluded family perhaps should not be excluded. It lives in Bethany but connections with Mustafi —all especially its own lineage (C.EYY) appear to be there. The head of the family was in America for a long time. When he returned to Mustafi, his brothers had taken over the family house, and there was no room for him. He bought land in Bethany and settled there. The legal residence of the family was not ascertained. The wife is a member of lineage C.EEE, and there are ten children—six daughters, and four sons. Three of the daughters are married—one to a member of her own minimal lineage, C.EYY, another to a Greek Orthodox outsider (in 1949), and the third to a Moslem (in 1948).

One birth, four marriages, and two deaths occurred during the period of study, and the vertical calculations take cognizance of all but the deaths. As of the beginning of the study, the Core Group included nine widowers (two of whom were married twice) and twenty-three widows, (eight and twenty-two at the end of the study). The marriages which these individuals contracted are included in the marriage data which will be analyzed in a later chapter.

AGE AND SEX RATIOS

6.2g 14.2 Table 3 shows the Core Group in terms of age and sex. It will be observed that females exceed males by only seven, 183 as against 176. In the writer's opinion, the only striking fact which the table reveals is the disproportionately small size of age group 25-34 in the females and age group 35-44 in the males. For this, there are three possible explanations: (1) Emigration was at its peak in the years immediately preceding World War I, and as a large number of potential

Table 3. Case Cases: by Age and Sex

Age Group	Male	Female	Total	Age Group	Male	Female	Total
0– 4	24	19	43	50-54	17	11	28
5– 9	20	28	48	55-59	8	7	15
10-14	31	27	58	60-64	4	10	14
15-19	31	31	62	65-69	3	3	6
20-24	30	27	57	70-74	1	6	7
25-29	20	25	45	75-79	2	1	3
30-34	16	11	27	80-84	1	—	1
35-39	13	15	28	85-89	1	1	2
40-44	17	20	37		—	—	—
45-49	22	19	41	Total	294	265	559

parents and older members of these age groups were removed from the scene at that time. (2) It was said that during the War one hundred villagers died directly or indirectly of malnutrition which was a consequence of the Turkish blockade of Lebanon and other evils caused by the war. It is reasonable to suppose that children and adolescents formed a large proportion of those who succumbed during the crisis. (3) No marriages were contracted during the war years. In this connection, we are reminded of Jaeker's statement (1946, p. 311) that the steady population growth of Lebanon was interrupted in the period 1915–1920.

Table 4 shows the number of living children for each married pair (including widows and widowers) in the village. It includes twenty couples, who are probably still in the process of enlarging the number of their children. There were only two cases of childless couples.

No data were obtained on infant and child mortality. The writer's impression is that in recent years, at least, the rate has been low. The table represents a considerable time-span, but all within the period of acculturation. Within this period, no general shift in the number of children per couple is evident. The village genealogy is not suitable for estimating the number of children in past periods.

Table 4. Number of Living Children per Married Couple

Number of Children	Number of Couples	Number of Children	Number of Couples
1	6	7	2
2	10	8	2
3	10	9	1
4	5		
5	3	Mean number of children	3.0
6	1	Modal number of children	3.0

...comes to the males only. For comparative purposes, all we have is Tannous's statement that in Bshaaleeta, a mostly Greek Orthodox village near Tripoli, women of two generations ago had an average of five children apiece, whereas the women of a Lebanese emigrant community in the southern part of the United States have an average of 3.6 apiece. The members of this community came from Bshaaleeta, Mtoulé, and Ghosteen (Tannous, 1950a, p. 340).

SELECTION

With a few exceptions, the villagers gave the impression of being in excellent health and there was clear evidence that modern medical practices and practitioners were utilized if necessary as a matter of course. Two villagers had been physicians themselves, a matter of some pride. One is now dead, and the other is retired from practice because of advanced age.

There is certainly no evidence of physical or mental defects which are closely correlated to inbreeding. Actually, in view of recent studies, we should not expect to find any. It has been suggested, for example, that the genetic composition of a population in which second-cousin marriage is the regular practice is altered comparatively little even after as many as fifteen generations (Kloetzsche & Griffith, 1970, p. 404). Mtoulé has been a predominantly endogamous population for thirteen generations at most, and if present conditions are any indication of those of the past, the marriage of second, or closer, cousins is relatively infrequent.

SUBSISTENCE

RESIDENCE PATTERNS

TRENDS: Again as Table 1, it will be observed that the people of the village [illegible] are classified not only according to lineage and household but also according to residence, of which five types are distinguished and briefly defined on the table itself. This section will deal with all of these except the emigrant group, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Unquestionably, the outstanding demographic fact about al-Mastal' today is [illegible] the large proportion of its citizens who are absent from it most of the year, living and working in Beirut or Tripoli. This trend was preceded by that of mass emigration, but the active phase of the latter is now largely over, owing to the restrictive immigration quotas put into effect by several countries since 1920. Table 1 indicates the way in which each household is affected by the trend to the city. It will be observed that of the 87 households: 23 are wholly resident; 10 are wholly summer; 8 have heads who commute while the main body of the household is resident; 41 are split. Of the 41 split households: 19 have the head and eldest resident; 2 have the head and eldest in summer only.

From this and the population trends, it is clear that in terms of numbers, and down to the village all year council is still the predominant pattern. Of the total personnel only 18 per cent of the households are "summer" (the villagers sometimes refer to them as *sayfiyat*) only. The urban trend is, nevertheless, far more marked than it was in Shibreenkin about 1930 when 13.2 per cent of the total population held jobs or went to school away from the village nine months of the year (Tannous, 1940, p. 47). Tannous refers to this as "temporary emigration," and says that it is a "unique phenomenon which has recently occurred in the village" due to the development of modern means of transportation. Khuri (1970, p. 277) says that in Ain al-Hilwa, a large village north and inland from Beirut, many are absent during the winter. Fisher (in a personal communication) remarks that low-altitude villages around Jenin appeared to be largely deserted in winter-time in 1951. Thomas (1956, p. 140) says that in general automobiles [illegible] [illegible] have increased the circulation of the population, especially in the direction of the city. We can safely say that urbanism has been an increasing tendency since the 1920's, but we cannot say how the situation in Mastal' compares to that in other villages.

The living pattern of the absentee members generally amounts to the wife and non-working children living in the village for about three months in the summer. Heads of households and working children commute, usually by day and, of course, spend their vacations of two to four weeks in the village. This pattern is familiar to Americans who can afford it. In Lebanon, however, it is a money-saving device as well as an escape from the summer discomforts of the city. City living is felt (likely more expensive than village living. This has evidently always been true, but the situation has been greatly aggravated since 1945. In Beirut, food prices increased about two hundred per cent between 1945 and 1950, other commodities about four hundred per cent, causing severe hardship especially among the lower and middle classes (Gardet, 1950, pp. 131-32). This fact accounts for the arrangement of eight households in which the children and usually the wives live in the village all year around, while the husbands commute, usually returning to the village only on weekends.

When we look at Table 1 from the point of view of sources of income, we can deduce that the trend to urbanism is definitely increased in comparison with urbanism in terms of residence only. Twenty-six (virtually 40 per cent) of the heads of households have city jobs and presumably support their families primarily there. In addition, a large number of unmarried young adults have city jobs. As we shall see shortly, the village is preponderantly dependent upon urban, rather than rural, sources of income. In this connection, we may cite Jordan who classifies Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and western Turkey as an area in which less than 10 per cent of the population are dependent upon agriculture (Jordan, 1949, p. 202).

Twenty-five individuals are listed as "absent." Of these seventeen are women who have married outsiders and are living away from the village, returning only for occasional visits. Most of these are living in Lebanon. The remainder, eight persons, are living outside of Lebanon, mostly in Baghdad. They maintain contact with the village and are still legal residents of it.

The urban trend is more marked in Ellini than it is in the village proper, partly because Ellini is better located from the point of view of rapid communication with the outside. Ellini's population is as follows: residents, 89; commuters, 41; absent, 3; emigrated, 3; total 141. Three of the eleven households is wholly absent, and three of them are wholly commuter.

OCCUPATIONS

A detailed study and discussion of Table 2 will bring out most of the important facts concerning the occupations of the villagers. Let us first consider the extent of work. The number of males 14 years and over who have gainful or purposeful employment outside the home, 171 or 4%. The discrepancy in the ratio which these figures suggest is corrected by the fact that 120 females are housewives or "at home." The total of 91 heads of households does not tally with

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

the distinction between "unemployed" and "retired" among the older men is not at all easy to make. It depends, essentially, on the attitudes of the men themself and his family. In the second place, among the younger men physically, the distinction between "village worker" and "unemployed" is not entirely clear. The "village workers" usually are either hired farm hands or assistants to "village specialists." In most cases, it was not easy to tell, however, how steady their work was. In the third place, it is quite possible that some of those in the "idle worker" class are actually unemployed most of the time.

The class of "farmers" (*fellah*) is very distinct. A farmer is a man who not only owns his own property, but works it for the support of himself and his family. Most of the farmers in Mansūf also rent the agricultural property of fellow villagers who are not farmers. This is done, apparently, largely on a cash basis. The standard fee for a day's plowing, for example, was reported to be ten Lebanese pounds (about two dollars and a half).

It was said, "Before (i.e., before emigration and city jobs), we were all *fellahin*." Now there are only ten farmers, and all of them except one are middle aged or elderly men. The exception is a young man of twenty-eight, a member of lineage XII, who evidently intends to make farming a career. He has made a realistic appraisal of the very difficult agricultural conditions in the village land, and has acted accordingly with considerable initiative. Shortly after World War II he bought some unused land on the southern rim of Wadi Ba'ūna, just outside the Qasrā, close to the present terminus of the irrigation channel which brings water from the River Ibrahim (see Figs. 1 and 2). Considerable blasting with dynamite was necessary in the preparation of terraces, and earth had to be transported to the site. But with irrigation water he has already been able to develop a very impressive banana orchard which presumably has brought quick profits (cf. Khūrī, 1946, p. 61), and he said that he plans to expand in the near future. It is significant that he had to go outside the village territory to accomplish his ends.

The nature of the "village specialties" class can better be understood when it is broken down into subcategories, with the number of persons involved in each, as follows:

Shops	5	Fishermen	3
Taxi drivers	5	Servants	5
Barbers	3	Masons	3
Priests	5	Carpenters	2
Storekeepers	9	Teachers	4

Part-time jobs held by various men most of whom are included in the tabulation above are: storekeeper (the priest), two bakery owners (a teacher and a farmer), and a camp guard (a mason, traditionally a very important position). Two men, still living, were once shoemakers, and another was a medicine part-time. In the population as a whole there are at least six former teachers and five former mayors

6.81 The boarding school, as well as the day-school, includes both boys and girls. The industrial school and village schools are nearly all boys, most of them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Belair.

6.9 We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The chief criterion in that score is a manual labourer, and they were obviously all employed to hold responsible positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practising physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialties" can be subdivided as follows:

Professional guardian	1	Seamstress	3
Chauffeur	1	Waiter	3
Pioneer	1	Hospital attendant	4
Soldier (sergeant)	1	Janitor	2
Tailor	2	Barmaids	4

6.91 The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus three village associates, who own and operate a store in Belair. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

6.92 Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

6.93 Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women and girls are medical women. The position is one of some prestige in itself. Parents and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of the girl to a doctor, a very prestigeful status.

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

6.10 Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

Table 6. Marital Status: Ages 15-45

Age	Men		Women		Age	Men		Women	
	M	U	M	U		M	U	M	U
15-19	20	9	27	9	30-34	6	1	6	1
20-24	30	1	17	3	35-39	5	0	2	11
25-29	17	0	10	10	40-45	2	10	0	11

[illegible]

Forty-five or more is or has been married, except five men and six women. Six men married, at least in the present generation, before the age of twenty. Even if forty-five such are shown, as might be expected, a shift from one hundred per cent single status to nearly a hundred per cent married status. However, the table shows that more women than men are married in the various age groups considered, this situation only ceases to be apparent in the ages forty to forty-four. Marriages for both sexes, but especially the men, tend to be either late, and the reasons can be inferred from several statements made by informants to the effect that a man should not marry until he is secure enough in his occupation to be reasonably certain of being able to support a family. A young man who wishes to be married cannot rely on being temporarily absorbed into and supported by an extended family headed by his father or an older brother. This sometimes happens, but ordinarily the father or brother of such a young married man is in no position to give such assistance, whether or not he would like to be able to. Most men have already been supporting themselves for a number of years before they get married.

A bit of local folklore, evidently traditional, has it that a man should be seven years older than his wife. Calculations made on a sample of fifty-six marriages revealed that the average difference in age between spouses is two years. The mode is between two and six years. The following tabulation indicates the range:

Differences in Age in Years	No. of Instances	Differences in Age in Years	No. of Instances
0- 1	6	7- 8	4
1- 2	7	8- 9	3
2- 3	6	9-10	5
3- 4	7	10-11	2
4- 5	7	11-12	4
5- 6	6	12-13	2
6- 7	5	13-14	1

In only two cases included above are the wives older than their husbands, by one and two years. There are six additional cases in which the husbands are said to be considerably older than their wives—two cases of a 17-year difference, and one each with 17-, 19-, 25-, and 32-year differences. Nearly all the men in these cases had been emigrants who did not marry until they returned to the village in early middle age.

THE MOTHER OF THE GROOM

One of the most widely held notions about the Middle East is that the average Arab woman is a "victim" example of a woman's being a mere chattel in a male-dominated household and society. Certainly Arab culture is strongly patrilineal, and "on the books" women's status in it may appear to be rather subordinate. The present writer is of the opinion, however, that the restrictions of legal status (which

[46.1] origin. The most popular occupation, naming, is, it will be remembered, preferred because it is "safe," among other reasons.

[46.2] Perhaps it can be said, as Fei concluded from a somewhat analogous situation in China (1939, p. 204), that women have more social individualism than they used to have, but to argue that the status of women has or has not been "improved" would, in the present writer's opinion, be tilting at windmills. Ambiguity of one's status and role in life can be harder to bear than, for example, the lack of the legal right to vote.

EMIGRANTS AND EMIGRATION

[46] It is said that there are now as many Lebanese, as persons of Lebanese ancestry, living outside Lebanon as there are inside it (about 1,500,000). However that may be, there are certainly a great many, and the majority are in the United States.

Himadeh (1936, p. 11) points out that emigration from Lebanon started with the Phoenicians, the first Lebanese of whom anything is known, then as now experts in commercial enterprise. Lewkowitz (1946, p. 414) suggests that the primary impetus to the Phoenicians' emigration was the same as that to the twentieth century movement: overpopulation—ninety-three persons per square kilometer in recent times (Himadeh, 1936, p. 14).

It is estimated that between 1820 and 1900, 130,000 persons left Syria and Lebanon. The climax period was between 1900 and 1914 when an estimated 17,000 per year emigrated (Himadeh, 1936, p. 12). There was virtually none during the war when the country was blockaded. The process was resumed after the war, but with less intensity than before. Most emigration to the United States was effectively halted by the Immigration Act of 1924. Since then, the Lebanese have gone to Central and South America, West Africa, and Australia.

The original purpose of all the emigrants was to make a good amount of money and then return to the old country. A great many did just this, and in Mundi some souls were reported of men who came and went several times. The majority, however, remained for good in the new country, most never returning, although quite a few came back temporarily to the old village for bride-selling evidence of the force of the principle of local endogamy. A few such cases occurred in Mundi but were since the 1920's.

[47] It is the writer's private opinion that the emigrants themselves have not contributed a great deal to the process of acculturation in Lebanon, apart from forcing the horizon of the stay-at-homes beyond their immediate locality. However, the emigrants have contributed substantially to the welfare of the old country which, in 1938 for example, had an adverse foreign trade balance of 6,000,000 pounds sterling (Himadeh, 1946, p. 90). This was all set by money from tourists, foreign investments, and remittances from emigrants. The last amounted to [illegible] in 1938 (Himadeh, 1936, p. 14).

[48] The people of Mundi have done their share in the process of emigration.

"There are so many of us there as there are here," it was said. Material evidence of the consequences of emigration have already been observed in the tile-roof houses and the fifty-odd colonial houses in the village.

In terms of selection of potential population, the following facts should be noted. (1) In Maskinal Lineage B, now as small, there were, before emigration, six unmarried lineagers. Four of these, referred to here as "deceased" lineagers, have completely disappeared through emigration. There is one similar case in Maskinal Lineage C. (2) Table 7 indicates the number of permanent and long-standing

Table 7. Permanent Residents, Married Daughters and Wives of Emigrants

Lineage	Men		Women	
	Alive	Dead	Alive	Dead
I	—	—	—	—
II	—	—	—	—
III	3	—	4	—
IV	1	—	2	—
V	4	—	1	—
VI	2	—	1	—
VII	2	—	—	—
VIII	4	2	1	—
IX	—	—	—	—
X	4	1	1	—
XI	1	—	1	—
XII	2	—	1	1
XIII	1	—	—	—
XIV	1	—	—	—
XV	1	—	1	—
XVI	4	2	2	—
XVII	—	1	—	1
XVIII	—	—	—	—
XIX	2	2	—	—
XX	—	—	2	—
XXI	4	1	1	—
AF	—	1	2	—
	—	—	—	—
Total	40	11	20	2

emigrants, eighty-four in all, who were recorded. These are merely a sample, selected because they were or are siblings of present heads of households, of the total number who emigrated. Of these thirty-eight departed between 1920 and 1934, sixteen between 1919 and 1935. No one in the village pretends that these people have not gone for good. In this respect, they are rather distinct from the eleven "emigrants" noted in Tables 1 and 2. The latter are nearly all young adults who have left recently (all for Australia). Of them it cannot be stated whether their emigration will be permanent or not.

As far as was learned, five of the present heads of households are returned emigrants, in addition to at least two women of substantial means. The heads of households appear to have re-entered the life of the village without introducing many changes in its culture.

It was not determined to what extent remittances from emigrants contribute to the present income of the village as a whole. Specific examples of it indicated that the process still continues, but various records suggested that it is on the decrease.

9: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

"The Americans" as the villagers call their relatives in the United States, are concentrated in and around Vicksburg, Mississippi. There are families, also, in Shreveport, Louisiana, and in Marshall, Texas. There are a few in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Australia. One returnee, in particular, spoke English with a noticeable Southern accent. The remarks of another returnee indicated an identification with the Southern whites as a caste as against the Negroes.

LAND OWNERSHIP, UNEMPLOYMENT, RETIREMENT

Mansour Jurjūs al-Khūri, the founder of the village, divided the village territory into three equal sections, one for each of his sons. He did this by, as it were, trisecting the triangle at its apex (the eastern extremity of the village, now occupied by the houses). The three triangular strips running down to the sea which were thus created provided the land-property bases for the maximal lineages. To some extent, the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects this division, with Maximal Lineage B concentrated in the north, C in the south, and A in between (see Fig. 3). The corresponding pattern for the village territory as a whole, however, has long since been obliterated by sales and extra-maximal lineage inheritance. The land-holdings are not clustered by minimal lineage either. Most of the land in the village is held in individual private ownership (*malk*), and nearly all the adult males own property in this manner. Along the shore there are some plots which are *mushā'a* (communal) land to the maximal lineages. "They were never divided because they are worthless; the salt kills the plants." There are four large sections of *waqf* (land which has been put in trust). These will be discussed in the next chapter.

From what has been said before in this chapter, it can be deduced that most of the men do not derive all or even most of their income from the land they own. However so far as could be determined, each landowner, even though he may be a white-collar worker in the city, maintains his plots (*qat'a*), which are usually widely scattered over the village territory, with the assistance of a resident farmer or village worker.

Many of those of whom it was said "he does nothing" (unemployed) or "he no longer works" (retired) actually derive some income by this means, but probably very few in the village could entirely support themselves and their families without money from other sources as well. The young unemployed, as has been mentioned, are from a superficial perspective difficult to distinguish from village workers if they are unmarried and living with members of their family. There are a few cases of heads of households who clearly depend on the help of other members of the family in supporting it. We can say that a man has retired when he does nothing and when no hopes of employment are held. A large number of the men in their sixties and all those over seventy were in this class. Nevertheless, most of these retired men continued to putter about their terraces, pretty actively in some cases.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

WELFARE

In a very few cases of total incapacitation, individuals have had to be placed in public institutions for care. Otherwise, the village takes care of its own unfortunates, in conformance with the traditional attitudes of self-sufficiency. A unit of the Lebanese Red Cross visits the village at regular intervals to provide medical care for those who need it, but have been unable or unwilling to go to a doctor in the city. There is a regular, and entirely traditional, mechanism for caring for families who get into financial straits. A close friend of the family, who has learned of the situation because of his closeness, goes to each household in the village saying, "There is among us a family in need. I am going to give them some money; how much are you willing to give?" It is very bad form to ask from whom the collection is being made, and a contribution which is offered under such conditions may be refused by the collector. The strict anonymity which accompanies this behavior suggests that even in such a tight in-group as the village keeping up appearances is a conscious value. Clique and lineage rivalries undoubtedly contribute to this.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONS

Everyone in the village, except for a handful among the very old, are literate. A quite respectable number have received or are receiving college educations. The significance of education in the village will be discussed in the next chapter; here it is appropriate to consider only the bearing which education has on occupations.

Literacy itself is no rarity in Lebanon. In fact, among the Christians, at least, one can safely say that it is the expected thing. Mere literacy alone would raise one's aspirations only above that of manual laborer, in the city. For professional status or for governmental positions college educations are prerequisite. Medicine and the law require additional training beyond college which no one in *Mumjif* has recently undertaken. The number of positions open to ordinary college graduates which are in line with the individual's ambitions (befitting a learned and cultured person) are rather limited in Lebanon, and many such persons must be satisfied with whatever they can find. In consequence, a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction is to be found among those who have had advanced education.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

Mumjif depends, and has always depended, upon crops which do not require rain or irrigation in the growing season. In order, the most important are olives, figs and grapes. Of these the major cash crop is olives. This has not always been true. Up to 1914 the major cash crop in the village, and in Lebanon as a whole, was the silkworm cocoon, fed on mulberry leaves. Sericulture has not died out completely in Lebanon, and it is still fairly strong in the Kisrawan, Kura, Metn, and Shuf districts (Février, 1949b, p. 249), but it has long since lost its economic importance.

conditions. Of the present conditions in Musrif the following could be an adequate description:

> In spite of its present quiescence, the mulberry has not deserted the Lebanese countryside. Many houses, and some of the more humble ones, are always surrounded by tiny terraces each one bearing one or two trees of these trees, with their low, contorted trunks and dense foliage, which, formerly, in the eyes of the peasant, were the clearest symbol of fortune. (Hitti, 1948b, p. 342; translation mine.)

Mulberries are grown in the *jisur*, the deep, fertile soil near the houses. Other crops grown here are onions, potatoes, and legumes. The most important small cash crop is tobacco, grown under the restrictive quota system of the official tobacco monopoly.

Figs, olives, and grape vines are, for the most part, outside the village housecluster. The figs are concentrated at *Ijlūni*, but there are some higher up, where all the olives are.

Generally, an individual will have all figs or olives in one plot, but since one man's plot adjoins another's on the same terrace with no property marking of any kind, some terraces are confusingly mixed in appearance. There are some apricots and almonds, but they are apparently not too profitable. The fruit of the occasional date palms and prickly pears are harvested, but no particular care is taken of the plants, although on one occasion a man was observed fertilizing a female palm tree with the pollen of a male one.

Wheat is grown in limited amounts, chiefly in plots on which it is not considered worthwhile to spend the time and money required to develop a good orchard.

During the rainy season, the earth is plowed twice, primarily to keep it aerated and loose. In April and June it is plowed again, primarily to cultivate out weeds. After June, the hot, dry sunshine withers all small plants which are not tended.

In the spring, figs, olives and vines are pruned and checked for insect pests of, which the only one observed was a species of weevil which bores under the bark. Inspection of, and necessary repairs to, terrace walls are carried on throughout the year.

Apricots ripen and are harvested in May. Almonds and figs come in June and July, and this is also the time for wheat harvesting and threshing. Grapes are harvested in August and September, olives in September and October. The last is the real harvest of the village, in which everyone who is able turns out into the fields to help. Men and boys climb into the trees to shake them or beat them with sticks. Women and girls do a large part of the gathering. The men press those which have been allocated for the purpose into oil. The olive mash which remains after the pressing is either used locally as fertilizer or it is sold to dealers who either resell it as fertilizer or have it made up into paper packets which are widely

used as fuel in the city. In the village, hardwood is collected for fuel in addition to the importation of kerosene.

Animal manure is not used extensively as plant fertilizer because it is needed for fuel. Recently this meager supply has been supplemented by British-made chemical fertilizers. Night soil is not used at all.

Animal husbandry is very limited. Each farmer has a yoke of oxen for traction and some have a few cows for milk. There are one or two donkeys in the village. Two farmers keep bees. The hives are formed in the large water jars (jarra) described earlier. Several of these, each split horizontally across the middle, are set in a row. The bees enter and go out by the narrow open neck. The honey is removed by separating the two halves of the jar, and half the honey is left for the bees. Some fowl are kept in the village, primarily for their eggs. Dogs are kept by some householders, and cats by many, for guarding and rousing, respectively. They are not treated as pets, or objects of affection.

It is the lack of water which so seriously limits agricultural productivity in the village. The possibility of drilling successful wells, even with modern equipment, is, as was noted in the first chapter, very remote. Irrigation lines, which affect the coastal strip lower than forty meters above sea level, have been extended almost to Be'idun from the River Ibrahim to the south, and to the village of Maghtara, just north of Bedawa, from the River Jawz. The Qasmi has the misfortune of being halfway between these rivers, at the end of the line in both directions. It is also unfortunate in that since its coastline is more precipitous than surrounding areas, it has a smaller area of potentially irrigable land than the surrounding areas. Nevertheless, it would be of great help to the village if irrigation water could be brought to it.

CONCLUSION

This chapter can fittingly be closed with a series of quotations which summarize, highlight, or give wider perspective to some of the points which have been made. They do not require any comment except that of drawing the reader's attention to their dates, especially those of the last three.

> 1. It is probable . . . that it was on the slopes of the originally forest-clad mountains of ancient Phoenicia that vine agriculture began. (Lewinsohn, 1944, p. 411.)
>
> 2. The effort of the Lebanese has made this country capable of nourishing a relatively dense population. There are few mountainous regions as little favored by nature from which man has drawn such a great agricultural return. (Thomazi, 1946, p. 136; translation mine.)
>
> 3. The Syrian peasant is more like a miner than a farmer. (Himadeh, 1936, p. 92.)
>
> 4. Elsewhere man has cultivated the land; in the Lebanon he has made it. Elsewhere the harvest is the product; here it is the soil. Men, miners and masons

1: Gullick E-1 (1950) 1958 MEI Lebanon MEI

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the bottom of the rock the vegetable market, then bridges mend with stones the walls of crossing fertility to conceal and restrain them. Rows below you grow up words at harvesttime. Even above you look down on an entourage of mulberry, the way trees of the fruit tunnel tourists, the soft green of spreading crops, swelling within the pedestrings, grey and brown, of layers of limestone cast up on end, the faces of which are worn like glaciers. This is their entire land in the central range. (Chejdesh, 1949, Vol. 5, p. 1.)

3. One gets the vivid impression that the towns of Bekaalameen has lost heart and has lost faith in farming. She is looking somewhere else for a possible solution of her problem, which is now the problem of the growing children—employment outside the village, engaging in business, or emigration. (Tannous, 1941, p. 461.)

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4. Nowadays young men, especially Maronites and other Christians, many of whom are educated, are unwilling to work on the land. They prefer jobs in the towns, and failing that many of them would rather live with their families, unemployed and useless. So, too, the women of the more sophisticated villages no longer work long hours in the fields. A great part of the income of the Lebanese villages is currently derived from sources other than farming—from earnings in the towns, the remittals, or emigrants' remittances, or the renting of houses to visitors in the mountain summer resorts. (Lewis, 1955, p. 1.)

FORMAL INSTITUTIONS

SOCIO-ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

STORES

THE two stores which are not in the sale are small, specialized, and not always open. They will not be considered further. Another store building was closed throughout the period of study. The four remaining stores are located in the sale, two (under one roof) on the north side of the main road. One of these is owned by a man of lineage C.XVI, the other by a man of lineage A.III. The building itself is owned by a man of lineage C.XIII. The two stores on the south side of the main road are both somewhat larger than the other two and longer established, going back at least to World War I. Both are owned by members of lineage B.XII. All of these stores are "general stores" from the point of view of the merchandise they carry, and from the point of view of their function as meeting places for the men of the village.

In two of the stores, the one in building 8 and one of those in building 6 (see Fig. 1), the proprietor of each is regularly assisted by one of his sons. The other two work alone for the most part. (The son of one of the latter has recently opened his own store in Illivi.) To some extent, there is some specialization. The gasoline-driven mill, mentioned earlier, is part of the store in building 8 whose proprietor, at the beginning of the study period, was employing a man of lineage A.VIII (his wife's brother) as miller. Grain was imported and ground to flour which was sold in the village and the Quasi. During the period of study, it was decided that this operation was not profitable, it being more practical all around to import flour. The proprietor of the store in building 10 is a butcher who both slaughters animals and sells meat. He also slaughters for the people in Ishkipil. The associated proprietor of the store in building 6 sometimes sells meat but does not slaughter animals himself. The proprietor of the other store in building 6, established for only one year, is the priest.

By and large, the stores carry the same goods at, apparently, the same fixed prices. There is no barter. Negotiations are carried out on a cash-and-carry basis, and every sale is recorded item by item. An informal and composite inventory includes the following: flour, rice, grain, peas, beans, coffee beans, sugar and nuts (set about on the floor in open sacks with prices per kilogram written on tags); vegetables and fruits (in season) set on the floor or large trays or in baskets; eggs, hung from the ceiling in wire baskets; various types of hard and chewy

[illegible] candies, each kind in a large glass jar, bottles of [illegible] sweet sesame drink called, and dessicated alcohol (for preserving Prince meats and bananas); writing paper, pens, pencils, and ink; batteries, candles, toothpicks, and soap; flashlights and batteries—all of these on shelves set against the walls. We can generalize by saying that the stores provide the villagers with all their purchased food except [illegible] and with small items of everyday use. Conspicuously lacking are clothes, furniture, and all household utensils, except the pottery drinking jars which are carried by some of the stores. All other bought items are brought directly from [Sayd or Beirut].

One person said that he made it a practice to patronize all the stores in order not to slight any of the proprietors. How common this practice is the writer does not know. Since the stores are so close together, patronization on the basis of proximity is not likely to be a factor in the determination of particular clientele.

[illegible] One would expect that the stores would be in keen competition, and, certainly, commercial competition is nothing new or foreign to Lebanon. But among the village stores there appeared to be little if any competition, and keen [illegible] between proprietors was observed. One informant explained the situation in this way:

> Well, they are in competition, but you see [and here he seemed quite at a loss for words. He started again:] There is a saying in Arabic [illegible] 'House supplies it's master.' 'Every person has his fortune.' Well, you know, a really astute employee will receive his due. You see, one helps the other because later the other will help the one. But it is more than mutual help; when X helps Y, they may not want to do it, but they do it anyway because they do not want people to think that they are envious or jealous of each other.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] The saying which was used by this informant is a positive expression, similar in connotation to the *khair* of the field passage in the lecture on the Mosaic, of the kindness which is commonly attributed, with some justification, to the Arabs. We might elucidate its full meaning by paraphrasing it as follows: "You will get your just reward in whatever you are doing if you behave justly." In this case, behaving justly involves the kind of mutual help within an in-group (the village) which is essential to its solidarity. But also, in a wider sense, it is the writer's opinion that among the Arabs, competition for its own sake is not a generalized behavioral value, though they do come close to this in their social and cultural group structure. Furthermore, none of the four proprietors concerned in this matter is dependent solely on his store for his income. Each is a landowner and maintains his property for agricultural purposes.

[illegible] [illegible] Turning, now, to the function of the store as meeting place for the men, we are reminded of the interesting notion, set forth by Eickelman (1976, p. 70), that in the Mediterranean area generally, the center of personal and social life is the open, public place—forum, agora, coffee house, and open shop.

[illegible] In Mosqil, there is no coffee house and the stores to some extent take the

place of use. Close friends of each proprietor frequently sit there with him to a game of backgammon or cards. Other customers while away several minutes with small talk whenever they make a purchase, and small groups of them often collect in the store, some sitting, some standing, to discuss the news, gossip, and to exchange gossip. There is not a great deal more to it than this. The point is simply that the stores are not merely agencies for the transfer of goods.

BAKERIES

As has been noted before, there are two, rather widely spaced, bakeries in the village. Like the stores, they are primarily social institutions, and they are extensively used as foci of social interaction on the part of women just as the stores are on the part of men. Here the women meet regularly and for protracted lengths of time.

The women who regularly make their own bread (some do not make their own but buy it) do not do so every day. Depending upon the amount she needs to feed her family, the housewife will make bread anywhere from once every three days to once a week. Each time she will spend two or three hours in the bakery with four or five other women. Standing outside one of the bakeries, one hears intermittently the crackle of kindlewood just put on the fire, and constantly the women's chatter, laughter, and sometimes singing, accompanied by the rhythmical slapping of hands and dough on stone.

The interior of the bakery in the cake is rather dark since it has no windows and only two narrow doors. The building is trapezoidal in shape, with the oven at the narrow end. The oven is a large rectangular masonry structure, with one apertures on the side at a convenient height above the floor of a small pit in which the baker stands. The floor of the interior of the oven is smooth stone or concrete. The fire burns on the left-hand side of this floor. Between the oven and the front door is a large stone slab raised about a foot off the floor. Around this half a dozen women can sit and work comfortably. To the right of the table and the oven, between them, there are several bins into which the baker tosses the loaves as they come from the oven.

The women prepare her dough at home, making the necessary number of flat-sided lumps each of which will be made into a loaf. These she then takes to the bakery on a large tray carried on her head. The women form their lumps of dough into disks about a foot in diameter by slapping and kneading them against the stone table. The operation does not call for the same kind of skill which is required in preparing another type of "mountain bread" which used to be made in Mianji and can still be found easily enough in some other villages, a loaf as much as two and a half feet in diameter. The baking technique is different, and only one loaf at a time can be done.

The baker is equipped with an elongated, wooden paddle upon which they slide

at a time can be placed. The whole thing is inserted into the oven, and the dishes are shaken off the board. After about a minute in the oven, bubbles appear on the surface of a dish, and then the whole thing puffs up until it looks like a large pin-cushion. It remains in the oven about a minute more and then is removed. As soon as a loaf begins to cool, it collapses into disk form again, only now the disk consists of two layers except around the edge.

In each bakery, the baker is the only hired professional. In the bakery in the tube, the owner provides the baker with bread for his own consumption and pays him the equivalent of about a dollar and a half a day. In the other bakery, the baker and owners split the bread receipts (see below) of the bakery fifty-fifty, but there is no monetary transaction between them.

Every women who uses the bakery ovens pays one out of the loaves she makes, and these are "loaves for the oven." The owners' own bread supply is thus supplied them, and they are free to sell or otherwise dispose of what they do not eat. The Shorti women, mentioned earlier, work in the oven on the same basis as the other women, but they regularly prepare more bread than they need themselves and sell the surplus at about twenty-five piasters (about seven cents) per rotl (the rotl is a traditional weight measure equivalent to about 1 lb. 3 oz.).

OLIVE PRESSES

The presses are privately owned but are available to all, the owner receiving a certain proportion of the oil which each individual presses. As social institutions they are, of course, far less important than the ovens and bakeries, for they are used for only a few weeks a year, during the olive harvest. However, as has already been suggested, the olive harvest is a period of intense cooperative activity in which social interaction, spurred on by hopes of a profitable crop, is very lively. The presses play an essential economic part in the proceedings and draw large groups of men together.

Most of the presses in the village are modern, machine-driven apparatuses requiring a minimum of manual assistance. There is, however, one old-style one in the stable of a house in the al-Wadiyya section. Here one hold the fresh olives. There is a heavy wooden beam one end of which is attached, hinge-fashion, to the ceiling, the other end weighted with three large stones (called "bells"). A batch of fresh olives is placed under the weighted end of the beam which is raised by block and tackle and then dropped on the olives. The purpose is to reduce the olives to a mash which can then easily be transferred to a circular stone basin with a drain. On it a large, thick stone wheel is set upright. The wheel is secured to a revolving beam one end of which is set into the ceiling. A subsidiary beam juts at right angles to the revolving one. To this a donkey is harnessed, and by walking around and around the basin, the donkey turns the wheel over the olive mash, pressing out the oil. This crude process involves considerable waste, hence

the frequency of modern machines which are more efficient but, apparently, less fun to operate.

GENERAL INSTITUTIONS

THE CHURCH AND THE MOSQUE

The Arab Greek Orthodox Church. The present community of al-Mansūf was founded by Greek Orthodox Christians. If there were any inhabitants in the immediate district at the time of the founding, there is no remembrance of them. The shrines of Mar Tuqla, in Bteghrīnī, and Mar Mūsā are believed to antedate the founding of the village. Who the builders were no one knows, but they were certainly Christian. We cannot feasibly place the culture of the present village in direct continuity with pre-Christian antecedents, nevertheless, the remote ancestors of the present villagers were pagans. Some suggestions of the pagan religion of Lebanon still remain, and this religion was essentially the same, so far as we know, as that in Harrān where the Mansūfīs claim to have originated. It need be mentioned here only that fertility was a major theme in Semitic paganism.

Bikai says that the present Greek Orthodox sect among the Arabs can be traced back, with certainty, only to the Melkite sect which was identifiable in the fifth century (Bikai, 1971, p. 102). The Church itself claims that its oldest patriarchate (Antioch), to which Lebanon belongs, was established in A.D. 33 (Bliss, 1913, p. 41). The Ghassanid tribe of Syria, from which the Mansūfīs claim descent, appears to have been Christianized in the fourth century (Bikai, 1947, p. 70). However, Bikai says that the Melkites, the ancestors of the present Arab Orthodox, must have been recruited from city-dwellers and the descendants of Greek Colonists (1971, p. 102). This material is sufficiently confused and fragmentary to prevent us from drawing any very specific conclusions as to when and how the ancestors of the Mansūfīs became Orthodox Christians. One very important point, however, is revealed. Orthodoxy in the Middle East is almost as ancient as organized Christianity itself; it is not a recent offshoot or backwash from the European Orthodox communities. In this connection, the widely used term "Greek Orthodox" can be misleading. The Orthodox Church as a whole is "Greek" only in the sense that its original liturgy was in Greek, being largely derived from the Greek New Testament. It is also true that Greek nationals have been dominant in the Middle Eastern patriarchates, except the Patriarchate of Antioch (Syria and Lebanon) which has been completely dominated by Arabs for the past hundred years or so. Its liturgy is in Arabic (Shoufani, 1968, p. 126). Jacques de Vitry, Crusader Bishop of Acre, reported in 1217 that the local Orthodox churches used a Greek liturgy which the congregations could not understand (Bliss, 1913, p. 13).

Mansūf belongs to the Patriarchate of Antioch, whose head actually lives in Damascus. The other Middle East patriarchates are Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Istanbul. Both Bliss (1913, p. 44) and Zeidan (1939, p. 19) emphasize the point

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that these patriarchates are "autocephalous" and independent of each other. The so-called "Ecumenical" Patriarch of Istanbul has never been more than primus inter pares, and frequently not even that. Following this pattern, Orthodox Churches in Europe have developed autocephalous patriarchates following national lines.

The strength of the Middle East patriarchates was maintained under the Ottoman Turks who established a system (the *Millet* system) whereby the Christian communities were set apart as more or less autonomous theocratic units, somewhat analogous to the supposedly theocratic rule of the Sultan who was also the Caliph of Islam. At last, the Muslims, understandably enough, lumped all the Christians together and called them "Rum," after the Arabic name for the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Empire (Hitti, 1953, p. 53). At present, the Lebanese Orthodox still call themselves Rum. However, this is often confused with "Roum," the popular designation for the Maronites (because of their connection with the Roman Catholic Church). Consequently, the Orthodox often refer to themselves as "Urthodoksiyy," a term which, like "Quaquiwoski," does not roll easily off Arabic-speaking tongues.

Although it has an elaborate hierarchy of patriarchs and bishops, the Orthodox Church on the local level is notable for what might be called "independent congregationalism." This is characteristic of the Jews and most Protestants, but it is in striking contrast to the authoritarian Roman Catholic organization. "Considered canonically, all orthodox churches represent free communities. Within the bounds of the ecumenical-orthodox rules of doctrine, regulation and cult, every separate orthodox church is free in its inner life and management" (Zankov, 1939, p. 24).

What Zankov says of the Church in general is certainly true of the Arab members among whom local particularism is a conspicuous trait. Tannous says that the church in the Arab village is identified with the village rather than with the outside hierarchy which, in its turn, has very little to do with the village. The priest is a village member, chosen by the villagers, and after his ordination he is left very much on his own. He takes an active part in village life, working his own land if he has any. He is usually married (Tannous, 1946, p. 141). Zankov gives a similar picture of the orthodox priest in general, and he says that the "priestly service in no wise lifts them to a higher order, in which they are changed to another kind of person, or into other kinds of beings who stand between the world of God and the world of men" (1939, p. 66). And again: "The priests have never been themselves an object of faith in the Orthodox Church" (*ibid.*, p. 67).

Churches and Shrines. The church of Mar (Saint) Sarkis in Mansūf is a long, low structure with a flat, concrete roof, and an open belfry (very typical in style of Lebanese village churches). The altar occupies the northeast end. There are two doors in the west wall, one for men, the other for women. In each of the three low walls there is one very small window high up. The ceiling is a barrel vault, plastered, painted pale blue, and sprinkled with small gilt stars. At about eye-level,

running around the room, a design with a view would be best supported from the ceiling, evidently with a rocker-arm device. The altar, a stone table, is covered in an white and is surmounted by a wooden canopy supported on four posts. It is not possible to enter nor to decide very well between the sanctuary (*hagah*) or rather effectively hidden from the congregation by the *kerastasis*, a wooden partition about eight feet high running across the entire width of the nave. There are three doorways, closed by curtains, in the *kerastasis*, each with one step up. The *kerastasis* is surmounted in the center by a large, seven-gilt cross. Immediately beneath this, and extending the length of the *kerastasis*, is a row of pictures in gilt frames, with Jesus in the center, flanked by the Apostles. Between the three doors there are pictures of various saints. All the pictures are in Byzantine style. The rear of the *kerastasis* is ornamented with galaxies and panels and is painted in various bright colors—brown, red, yellow, and blue. Just below the pictures of Jesus and the Apostles, there are four projections, somewhat reminiscent of gargoyles, each terminating in a representation of the human hand. From each is suspended a small, oil lamp.

Hanging from the ceiling in front of the *kerastasis* are several small crystal chandeliers. Beneath them, on the floor, are two *kolonia* (*kerasyyad*, square, wooden tables) and two large brass candlesticks which are on triangular bases. Each is about four feet high, surmounted by a cylindrical representation (fiber) of a candle which is about four feet high. Real candles are inserted into the tops of these. Along each side wall there is a row of high wooden stalls, reserved for the women, and in the middle of the floor were wooden benches.

The priest is a Muslim and has held his office for twenty years. His predecessor (more in his station and entirely inactive) was from Baghdad. There is a priest in Shahana, but he also is largely inactive by reason of age. The priest at Mosul serves his own village and also the others in the Qasr where he is called to them. During the period of this study, a young man was installed as priest in Jabbigh. This priest wears the long black tunic and tall, cylindrical black hat on all occasions, even when he is out in the fields supervising, and partly contributing to, farm work. A full beard and long hair tied up in a bun behind also are insignia of his office.

Each shrine (*dayr*) has the interior arrangement of a church, with altar and *kerastasis*. Mar Mamo is not in good repair, and no longer contains any portable equipment. Mar Jurjis and Mar Mukhael, however, are fully equipped inside. Figure 2 indicates the way in which the shrines are ordered from each other and from the village. Each shrine (as well as Mar Sabbis) is surrounded by land (*ghiwan*) on which are gargoyles) which from time to time has been donated to or bought by private citizens or *waqf*. Mar Mamo, though the building itself is believed to antedate the present village, is surrounded by a sizeable extent of *waqf* donated recently by Mukhael Lineage C, and the site is in the segment of land originally allocated to that lineage. Mar Jurjis and Mar Mukhael are in an exactly similar

position with respect to Moslem Lineages A and B, respectively, except that these shrines themselves were built after the founding of the village—"at least two hundred years ago." However, there are two kinds of *waqf*. The more common is land (or other property) given to a religious institution when an Ashkenazi of a town, and its usufruct is reserved for religious purposes. In other words, it is an endowment. There is another kind of *waqf*, also, however, and this is represented in Mawjil by Mar Jacob and its *waqf*. In this case the *waqf* is a unit of family trust. The usufruct of the land is reserved for the family or lineage (in Mawjil, A,III) which originally established it. Only when and if the lineage dies out is the property turned over to a religious institution. The Caliph Omar (A.D. 634-644) is credited with the invention of *waqf*, but actually the Byzantines had similar legal forms (Brown, 1948, pp. 199-200). It happens that the present priest belongs to A,III, hence he would derive some income from Mar Jacob even if he were not the priest. He is also the custodian of the other *waqf* lands, and the income from them is his. The disposition of *waqf* income is not made in this way everywhere, but this arrangement makes a sizable contribution to the support of the priest and his family. In addition to being paid fees for performing rituals, the priest is also supposed to receive an annual contribution from each head of a household.

Some villages have religious schools attached to the church, but in Mawjil formal religious instruction is conducted by the priest periodically in the village school. For the most part the religious instruction of the children is left to their parents.

SCHOOLS

"Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to an approximate universal literacy" (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, p. 407). Mawjil is certainly one of them, and its condition is due to a long-standing emphasis on education.

In the village itself there are two schools, the government school and the "national" school. The government school is part of the government educational system. Instruction is free, except that the students must provide their own books. There are about seventy students and two teachers, both, at the moment, residents of the village (A,V and C,XX).

The Lebanese public school system is based on the French, but it is incomplete. There is a fairly good distribution of public elementary schools (like that in Mawjil), which offer a six-year program (recently shortened to five years) at the end of which the student receives a *certificat*. There are some public schools (mostly in large towns and cities) which carry the process about three years further, a *baccalauréat* being granted at the end. The student who wishes to continue his education beyond the *baccalauréat* must do so outside the public school system, and he has three courses to choose from (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 417-18). The way chosen

to go to one of the Lebanese private schools which are now often numerous. Each such school is called *al-madrasa al-rasmiya* (national school) because it is nonsectarian and does not regularly offer religious instruction (Ghosoub, 1968, p. 94). Such a school is "national" in the same that it transcends sectarian barriers. If he does not go to a national school, the ambitious student must go to a private secondary school usually sponsored under foreign auspices, usually either French (and invariably Catholic) or American. Many of these are boarding schools.

The French and the Americans each have their own educational system in operation in Lebanon. It was they, in fact, who gave the original impetus to modern religious education, although there have always been schools in the Arab world. Matthews and Akrawi point out that both systems go their own ways, and are based on entirely different philosophies (1949, p. 431). French Catholic or Protestant American are not the best choices in the division between them. The pinnacle of the French system is the Université St. Joseph (Jesuit), and that of the American is the American University of Beirut. For a long time the Government considered the American Master of Arts degree equivalent to the French *Baccalauréat, deuxième partie*, which was the minimal standard required ordinarily of governmental appointees. This put holders of the Bachelor of Arts degree at a considerable disadvantage. St. Joseph prepares for the *Licence ès Lettres* but does not confer it; similarly, the American University of Beirut confers the M.A. degree but not that of Doctor of Philosophy. Both institutions confer the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

In any case, villagers, such as the Mountain, who wish to go to college must first attend a secondary school in order to qualify. Almost inevitably this means boarding school away from the village, which in turn means considerable expense. To some extent the national school fills the gap in the public education system. The one in Mtoqbil, which was started about twenty years ago, has eleven grades, and about one hundred students, many of whom come from other villages in the Qoreh. Graduates of this school must still attend a boarding school if they want to enter college, but the gap is considerably narrowed. There is a moderate tuition fee at the national school, plus books. There are three teachers, the owner and master (A.J.S.), his wife, and a young woman of the village (C.J.K.S.) who was single at the time of the study.

Both schools operate under the severe handicap of a multiplicity of grades and a paucity of teachers. This is handled by holding all, or several, mathematics classes, for example, at the same time. School hours run from about 8 a.m. to 4 p.m. with two hours off for lunch. The national school has an evening study hall.

The curriculum of the government school follows a fixed formula and schedule to which all government elementary schools are expected to conform. Emphasis is on the "three R's," with some geography and history, the latter heavily laden with patriotic exhortations, and elementary civics and moral lessons which emphasize family relationships (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 439-53).

672. Since 1946, public school students have had the option of taking French or English (*Ibid.*, p. 69), and in Mlusah English is the universal choice.

The national school follows more or less the same pattern, at the same and also more advanced levels, but of course the master is free to choose his own texts and to present his courses as he chooses. The one in Mlusah is very much concerned with having up-to-date books (Lebanese and English), and holds his pupils and students up to strict hygienic standards. The school has a modern toilet, and the drinking water is filtered.

THE "SPORT CLUB"

673 The building which houses the government school is also the centre of the 945 Sport Club which was founded by the young people of the village about 1950.

[504] The building has a large central room in which there is a stage and four or five tables for playing cards and other games. There are four side-rooms, one of which has a shelf of books and pamphlets and is the headquarters of the club. The other three are classrooms, equipped with small wooden desks for the students and blackboards. The large room is used as an everyday meeting place for the adolescents and young adults. It is also used for the annual play. So far, it appears that though the club itself is new, it has formed already existing activities, such as the plays and volleyball games, but has not initiated any new kinds of activity. It is active as a unit only in the summer when there are many older students and young adults in the village on vacation, and if cause may be adduced, it can be said that the primary cause of the club's coming into existence is the need of idle vacationers to organize their activities. There was no need for this before the beginning of the recent changes in the culture.

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

634. The village government consists of a mayor (*mukhtar*) and a four-man
643 council of elders (*'aḍa' shiyuwkh*). All five men serve concurrently for a term of four years. They are elected by the men of the village who have attained the age of twenty-one. The present mayor (C.XXI) has held the office for about twelve years. The tenure of his predecessor (B.XX), who was his father-in-law, extended back to about 1930.

[C.1] The present municipal statutes of Lebanon define three types of community. Beirut is in a class by itself. There follow one hundred and twenty "incorporated" towns. The remainder, about 1500, of which Mlusah is one, are classed as "unincorporated" villages. The unincorporated villages are governed according to the *Loi des Moukhtars* of 1930 (Khuḍer, 1955, p. 1). Before 1930, the unincorporated villages were governed under the provisions of the Ottoman Vilayet Law of 1864 which, at the local level, was originally a formalization of the traditional pattern of government by a council of heads of households, one of whom was chosen as *shaykh*.

[illegible]

The name *ewe-ahiba* (*ewedzo*) is applied to the chieftainships, usually immediately followed by the individual's name, whether as surname or as address. It was observed, however, that the title was often omitted in cases where the teacher was being addressed by an older man.

These titles symbolize the respect which is due certain persons, and the criteria for respect are varied: authority and learning. The only other point which needs to be made about them is the fact that they are extended to the wives of the men who hold the statuses to which they pertain. Of the three, *Mawuiyadi* appears to be the one which is taken the most seriously and used the most consistently. The status is very old, of course, whereas *mudzitsenyi* and *dzikenyagli* are new, and the use of *ewe-ahiba* is greatly extended compared to the old days. No other titles are used in the village.

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOR

[illegible]

[illegible]

In the traditional culture of the Middle East (urban, village, or nomad), the status of midwife is a very important one. Midwives are invariably local women past menopause, and most are rightly attributed from the lower strata the birth is taking place (cf. Granqvist, 1947, pp. 39-40).

Only one village was born during the period of study, and the event took place in Beirut (the family is in the Eastern Resident category) some time before the written interest of it. The majority of Muslim's housewives of childbearing age live in the city most of the year, and for the most part they closely prefer the services of physicians and hospitals in important medical matters.

Once born, the modern village infant, judging from the way few cases observed, spends his time in a crib and is not swaddled consistently. After the first few weeks, he may be fed from a modern nursing bottle. Factory-made toys are not very common in Lebanon, but small cars and trucks and at least one tricycle were observed in the village.

Birthday anniversaries are celebrated in a few families. There is a cake with candles, and the whole affair is new, probably inspired by experiences in American kindergarten schools.

Baptism, a performed anywhere from forty days to about two years after the birth of the child. It appeared that the trend tended toward the latter age. The ritual is accompanied by at least a family party, but in some cases, according to our informants, the baptismal party may supersede a wedding party in size.

[illegible]

Engagement. Engagement (*khutbi*) is a more or less formal status. Quite often the couple simply declare themselves engaged, with the tacit approval of the priest. If both parties are members of the village, the priest's only official concern is that they are more distantly related than first cousins. If they are from [illegible] it is his duty to inform them that he will be unable to marry them. In any case, the couple may or may not come to the priest for his blessing. Wedding rings (plain gold bands) are worn by both parties on the right hand to signify engagement. At the marriage ceremony, they are transferred to the left. Engaged couples may see each other alone at any time, and no questions are asked. Young

[illegible]

[illegible] women who are not engaged are supposed to be, in one way or other, [illegible] engaged, either by elders or by the parents of people their own age. Similar attitudes and behavior have been reported from the Jewish town of Ramallah, which is comparable to Mamdi in a number of important respects, although it is far larger (Granqvist, 1935, p. 45ff).

It was quite clear that there is no formal mechanism for parental arrangement of marriage. One elder person said, "It only matters that they love each other." Parents obviously are not disinterested in the matter, however, and their violent disapproval would certainly provoke a family crisis, but it is doubtful that it could prevent the couple from being married if they really were determined. Nevertheless, it is expected that the men will formally request the girl's father's approval before the matter proceeds. The traditional culture provides an escape for couples who face severe family disapproval. This is equivalent to elopement, and it occurs periodically at the present time. Customarily, the prospective groom, with the help of friends, secretly removes the girl from the village. He then returns to the village to attempt negotiations, through an intermediary, with her father. All attempts are made to gain his approval, but if they fail, the wedding is likely to go ahead anyway. The ceremony cannot be performed in the church, or, of course, in the bride's house, but it may take place at the groom's house, and this is entirely in accordance with the ordinary practice which is undertaken by the males: "The women may not come into the men's house until after they are married." The full wedding ceremony symbolizes this concept quite vividly. Marriages by elopement are nothing new, and they are perfectly legal, but doubtless they involve disadvantages: the strain of bad feelings in the family, absence of the fun of the full ceremony, and, probably, lower presents.

The bride price (*mahr* or *mayir*) is still negotiated for among Muslims. It was asked about by some in Mamdi, and the informants, who knew what it was, said that they did not have it now and thought that they had never had it in the village. Chelemis (1913–16, p. 917) and Ilali (1917–18, p. 137) report the bride price among Muslim communities, but this does not necessarily weaken the possibility of the validity of the historical connection of the Mamdites. On the other hand, Miss Zerver (1931, p. 434) says that the bride price was given up only recently in predominantly Greek Orthodox Ramallah. As far as could be ascertained, the couple receive presents—emphasizing household equipment—in equal amounts from both families and from friends.

So far, it would appear that matches are made by the mutual free choice of the parties concerned, and that this is not a new practice. We would be in serious error, however, if we condemned such an impression without qualification. Choice is free, but within the restricted compass of village membership. Exogamous marriages do occur, but they involve doubts, difficulties, and lasting consequences which cannot be taken lightly. (This will be discussed further in the chapter, "Kinship Structure and Marriage Patterns.")

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On the average, the marrying couple of the present day are both members of the village, the man is several years older than the girl, and has been supporting himself for some time. They are married in the church and then proceed to the groom's house for a long and riotous party, if they conform to traditional practices. Lately, however, the party immediately after the ceremony has in many cases given way to the couple's departure on a honeymoon, though a party may be held after they return. If the marriage involves a girl from one of the other villages in al-Qurnī, the ceremony is performed in her parents' house, and the party, if any, is held at the groom's house. Among other things, this symbolizes the adoption of the girl into her husband's village and family.

A Wedding. The following account of a wedding and the party following it is a description of the one wedding and wedding party which took place while the writer was present in the village. This wedding was different from most because the bride (*al-'arūs*) was from one of the other villages in al-Qurnī. The ceremony, therefore, took place in her father's house to which the party of the groom (*al-'arīs*) traveled in a short procession of automobiles. Many acts in the series of events were later checked for their generality of practice, and the description omits various items of behavior which appeared clearly to be of a purely individual nature. There was also a peculiar mixture of old and new—an old ceremony and old customs, yet the automobiles and the clothes were all evidence of the cultural change that had occurred.

As the Mansūf party got out of their cars and gathered themselves together, members of the bride's party, who had been on the terrace of her house, moved down and stopped at a point on the narrow path halfway between the house and the road. The *darbukkeh* (drum) was being beaten inside the house, and there were many high-pitched cries and shouts.

The visitors moved down to the bridal group and stopped. Owing to the narrowness of the path, neither group was in a cluster. An older man in *shirwal* and *sabaseb* seemed to be leading the way with a long stick. One younger man was firing blanks from a pistol. Young men on both sides sent up the cry, heard constantly from then on: *li-yay, al-'arīs azwar* ("Cheers for the excellent groom")! —and the same for the bride. There were many informal shouts and calls between various persons—evidently all welcoming phrases.

The groom's party stood still for perhaps five minutes, and then moved ahead between members of the bride's party who shook hands with everyone—*akkar ya sahlen; mbarak; sahallak tishawwa*. All the members of the greeting party were men except for a couple of old women. All the younger women remained in the house. "The groom's group may not enter the house until it has been bid welcome," someone said afterwards.

There was a large throng milling around inside. The bride, not yet in wedding dress, was standing in the center of the *mafraj* surrounded by girls her own age—sisters, cousins, and friends. Her head was bowed and she was crying. Some

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[585] members of the groom's party sat down on chairs on the right wing of the *maq'ad*. The rest of the *maq'ad* was occupied mostly by women and children from the bride's village. The bride was soon hustled off behind the cabinets, and she did not reappear for about half an hour, at which time the ceremony began.

After some shifting around, the central section of the *maq'ad* was occupied by, among others, the best man (*shāhir*), the groom, the Mamdū̄ priest, and the elderly priest of the other village, who is now largely inactive except for special occasions.

The waiting people seemed to divide themselves into three groups. One was gathered around the bride, the second at the *maq'ad*, the third (rather formless) moved in and out from the porch and stood around talking in the part of the house near the entrance. Occasional shots and fire-crackers were heard from outside.

[525] The *dirbakkī* was passed around from hand to hand several times, and perhaps six women did solo dances in the center of the *maq'ad*. A handkerchief in each hand, the woman either holds them aloft, twirling them, or waves them together as she dances. In most cases, there was little body motion, and the step simply carried the woman around in slow circles, but in one case—a woman who had to be persuaded to dance—some movement of the pelvis was apparent. Usually, the faces of the performers were rather expressionless, and the women, mostly young, but one or two middle-aged, seemed to be dancing merely as an expected part of the proceedings.

[539] While this was going on, there were repeated cries, especially by older women, to the group in general, of *il-yay al-'arūs wal-'arūs*, followed by a shrill and very rapid "lu-lu-lu-lu-lu," with hand held to mouth. A third type of cry arose repeatedly from groups of men. They would sing some praise of the bride and groom and end it with a long-held high note, hands raised high, one finger pointing upwards. This was done at the greeting outside the house.

The solo dances did not follow immediately upon one another, and the intervals were marked by little or no activity in the *maq'ad*, people either sitting quietly or talking with each other, some changing places, others coming in. One feature in general of social gatherings is sitting rather quietly in a circle—no pressure, apparently, to bubble if one does not feel like it. Small glasses of 'araq and wine, with small candies and unpeeled almonds, were passed around at one point.

[574] Finally, a round wooden table was placed in the center of the *maq'ad*, and a white cloth was put over it. The two priests stood at one side together, with a lay assistant (a nephew of the bride although her contemporary in age). The bride, dressed in white with veil, was escorted to the table, her arm held by her *shāhira* (maid of honor). Her eyes were downcast, her arms folded across her stomach, and she stood in this pose throughout the entire ceremony. The groom stood beside her, and the *shāhir* was to his right—bride and groom flanked by *shāhir* and

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ibbiini. The people pressed closely in on all sides, but many stayed on the periphery, 515
and at every moment throughout the ceremony there was talk among them.

Before the proceedings had gone far, the *abbiin* took some packages of small candles out of his pocket and the candles were distributed among some of people people close by—mostly children and a few women. The *abbiin* and the *ibbiini* (wife of bride's brother, and also a second cousin of the groom) each held one. After the ceremony, there were all blown out informally. They were simply held during the ceremony.

In the ceremony itself all the principals stood throughout. The *ibbiini*, bride and groom took little active part, and there were few responses. The ceremony opened with both priests chanting—one chanting (reading from the Missal), the other responding with "*amiine*." The lay assistant chanted alone at one point—no other activity taking place then, the priests simply standing by. The two rings lying on the table were blessed, and then the priest made the sign of the cross with each of them in turn on the foreheads and chests of bride and groom. He then put the groom's ring on the bride's finger and the bride's ring on the groom's finger and then exchanged them.

At this point, someone in the crowd handed the *abbiin* two small white wreaths, made on wire. He put them on the table. They were blessed, and the priest made the sign of the cross again with them as he had done with the rings. Holding each over the heads of the principals, he called them by name as servants of God and repeated this over and over as he several times first held one wreath over one head, the other over the other, and then exchanged them, simply by crossing his own wrists. The wreaths were then set on the bride's and groom's heads. The two principals, *abbiin* and *ibbiini*, the lay assistant, and the two priests then joined hands and marched around the table seven times, returning to their original places. The casual babble in the crowd increased considerably as this went on. There was more chanting to follow, and finally the priest gave each three sips of wine from an ordinary glass tumbler.

The end came with no particular announcement—everyone knew; the babble rose to a roar. There were renewed la-la-la's and il-yuy's and the high-one-note cheers of the men. Everyone pressed forward to say *mabrūk tkhaawee* to bride and groom. The bride began to cry so earnestly that she seemed to have to lean for support on her brother and *ibbiini*. Others clustered around, and some of the women were also crying openly. There was nothing that would be recognized as comfort per se. Nor did anyone show recognizable signs of being either surprised or upset at these outbursts. Someone said, "Well, she is sad because she is going away to another village—Look, her relatives are crying, too." Aside from this, there was a great deal of kissing and embracing—kissing on both cheeks alternately and repeatedly, particularly among the men. People began drifting toward the door

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after about ten minutes, and about ten minutes more elapsed until the bride, still in bridal dress, and her party got into their car. They led the procession to Mumjil.

In Mumjil there was a large group observing the proceedings outside the groom's father's house. Upon arrival, the bride, standing on a chair in the door, stepped a piece of raw dough on the lintel above the door, molded it into a round bun shape, and made a cross on it with the heel of her hand. While still standing on the chair, she was provided with oranges which she threw at the people standing around. Then she walked inside. Two automobiles filled with relatives came with her from her village, and they included spouses of siblings who were stranger to both villages. The bride, the groom, and his father stood in the *maq'ad* to receive congratulations.

Again, with the principals in the center, people sat themselves down in the *maq'ad*. *'Araq* and wine were offered around. A large crowd of children gathered at each door to watch—staring silently.

The same dance performance as at the ceremony was carried out. However, the soloists included young men as well as women this time. After some solos, five persons, mostly of middle age, locked arms and danced a set of the *dabki*, the principal folk dance of Lebanon; and during the evening it was done several times more.

The bride disappeared for a long period, during which two large tables were brought in and placed parallel to each other in the upper and lower parts of the *maq'ad*. They were set with plates and glasses and bottles of *'araq*. *Tabbouli*, cold *kibbi*, beans and bread were served.

When the bride reappeared, after changing into an ordinary dress, she took her place at the main table. The groom's sisters were active all the time bringing in food and collecting dishes. A large number of persons sat, neither eating nor taking active part—just watching. These included the children. At one point, a woman sitting near the cabinets opened the front of her dress and began nursing a small baby. Later, another woman did the same with one of her small ones, sitting in the same place.

The activity at the head table was enlivened by songs in praise of the bridal couple sung either by men standing behind the chairs or by others sitting down. At the end of each, arms would be raised and the high musical note, mentioned before, sung in unison. One man after another seemed to pick up the solo part rather casually after the previous phrase was finished. Some were well-known and conventional. In others, there would be laughter or nods, as if the singer had made up a clever verse impromptu, or said something with an apt and original turn of phrase. These songs of praise (*mawlya*) were usually phrased in terms such as those which likened the bridal couple to the stars or the light of the sun. Many seemed to be known by heart by everyone, just as everyone seemed to know the dance steps.

The bride no longer wept, and for a long time, she sat next to her father-in-law, who sat in a corner, conversing quietly with him.

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The table in the upper part of the *maq'ad* was moved away first, and dancing continued as before in the space provided. In moments when there was no dancing, solo songs were sung by one or another sitting around the circle. A complete silence fell over the crowd while the *shâbbât* sang many verses in numerous Classical Arabic of the tragic tale of Qays and Layla, whose plot, though set among Bedouin of the Umayyad period, bears striking resemblance to that of the story of Romeo and Juliet. During the recitation, familiar to all, the peoples' faces seemed thoughtful and reflective, and there was applause when the song was finished. Usually there was no applause after the dances during which everyone was clapping in time anyway.

The couple[1] subsequently took up residence in the groom's own house. Neolocal residence is not uncommon at the present time, and it appears to be preferred by most young couples.

This account requires comment at a number of points.

1. In contrast to funerals, weddings are attended only by those who are invited. In this case the number of those invited by the groom was said to be limited because it was his second marriage, and because two large families happened to be in mourning, hence it was not fitting for their members to attend. Weddings are forbidden outright during the major part of Lent. There is a general sense of the incompatibility of happy and sad events or periods, and these rules and practices have the purpose of avoiding conflicts in emotions.

2. Peghali (1955, pp. 296–97) writes in some detail of what he calls a mock battle, of a verbal sort, which takes place in Maronite mountain villages when the groom's party approaches the bride's house. The incident reported above might not deserve to be called a verbal "mock battle" at all, but there was a definite sense of the groom's party being stopped for a time before it was allowed to approach and enter her house.

3. Writing of marriage practices in a Palestinian Muslim village, Granqvist (1935, p. 40) says that since they are losing a daughter, the bride's family do not rejoice at the wedding, and the bride herself is supposed to behave in a sad and subdued manner during the ceremony and must weep before leaving her father's house (*ibid.* p. 65). The same concept appears to be held by Lebanese Christians, and the behavior of the bride was undoubtedly largely conventional. The conventional aspect of this matter would explain the general lack of concern for the bride's tears. In this connection it should be mentioned that, like the European Mediterranean peoples, the Lebanese see no reason to suppress the expression of strong emotions in public. In fact, they interpret the inexpressiveness of North Europeans and their American cousins as evidence of either heartlessness or "deepness." By the same token, women in labor are free to scream loudly even when they are not actually suffering acute pain.

4. In the Middle East generally, the chief traditional solo woman's dance is some variation of what is commonly known as the "belly dance," the basic move-

1 - [A newly married couple of the village -- Analyst]

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ment of which consists of rolling the pelvis. When performed by a professional dancer, it has indubitable sexual significance for the audience, although it is important to emphasize that the dancer's skill, grace, and general beauty are appraised and valued per se and that her performance never descends to the vulgar level of the contemporary American "exotic" dancer's "bumps" and "grinds."

The women's solo dances at this wedding were not professional performances, and they cannot be described as being pelvic dances at all. The important point, however, is that these dances are performed in the village *only at weddings*. Granqvist (1935, p. 35) reports the same practice in a Palestinian Muslim village, although she does not describe the dances themselves. It is altogether possible that this culture element is standard in the general area. If these dances are merely decorative, why are they not performed at other festive occasions besides weddings? There is no immediate answer to this question, and so the way is left open for the assumption that they have some special significance for weddings. Taking all the facts into consideration, it appears possible that dances of the type observed were originally pelvic dances which have been conventionalized almost entirely out of recognition by the demands of Christian propriety. Indeed, according to Mr. Alan Horton (who received an eye-witness report), unmistakable pelvic dances are still performed nonprofessionally at weddings in at least one Palestinian Muslim village.

Curt Sachs (1937, p. 36) writes that although pelvic dances on some occasions may have merely the purpose of sexual stimulation, they can also have a symbolic meaning connected with the interest in fertility. It is well known that fertility symbolism is regularly found in the wedding ceremonies of many cultures, and there could hardly be a more appropriate occasion than a wedding for fertility symbolization (however much sublimated), especially in a culture where large numbers of children are explicitly valued. Furthermore it is known (see, for example, Frazer, 1906) that in Semitic paganism fertility themes and sexual symbolism were very important. These were, in fact, among the "Canaanite abominations" so abhorred by the leaders of the ancient Hebrews.

We are, therefore, tempted to reach the admittedly tentative conclusion that the women's solo wedding dances are vestiges of very ancient fertility themes, reinforced by an on-going concern with the matter of fertility itself. Probably most of the dancers is conscious of the symbolization, but neither are the throwers of rice at Western weddings. Readers may certainly be excused if they are skeptical of the validity of this reasoning, and any better explanation of the various observed phenomena is very welcome.

5. The bride's putting of a lump of raw dough (*mafrūḥ*) on the lintel of her husband's house is evidently a widespread practice. Granqvist reports on it from her Palestinian village, saying that it is supposed to be handed to the bride by her mother-in-law. She adds, "Although the women did not say so, it seemed as if they had a vague idea of some similarity between the sour dough which rises and swells as it ferments and woman who becomes pregnant and increases the

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family by giving birth to children" (1935, p. 100). This impression, if valid, may be instructively contrasted with the opinions of a young married woman of Mutnif who, although she put the *mukhlā* over the door and performed other traditional acts at her wedding, said that she thought such customs were ridiculous. She had conformed only on the insistence of others, apparently, and she seemed frankly contemptuous of those who took such things seriously.

6. The rapt, almost respectful, attention which was paid to the recitation of the Classical Arabic poem was significant behavior—not so much in regard to the wedding itself, but to the values which are attached to Classical Arabic, a matter which is discussed elsewhere in this work.

FUNERALS

General evidence indicates that in Mutnif the younger generation is more willing to practice innovations than the older, and less prone to cling to the old. And it is true in Mutnif as it is elsewhere that the wedding is a rite which evokes, largely in the younger people, hopeful thoughts about the future. On the other hand, the funeral evokes, mostly in older people, wistful thoughts of the past. If these surmises are founded in fact, they would help to explain why it is that attitudinal and formal changes are quite evident in the rite of marriage; and why the funeral, dominated ordinarily by older people, appears to maintain its old forms and significance. Furthermore, to a greater degree than the wedding, the Lebanese village funeral always has been, and still is, more than a rite of passage. It is also a rite of intensification which serves as a focus for the solidarity of the entire village, and, to some extent, the district. It is of great significance that the vigor of this second function of the funeral appears to persist unabated among the younger people as well as the older.

One funeral service was attended during the period of study. It took place in the afternoon, somewhat more than twenty-four hours after the death had occurred. The deceased was an elderly widow who had very few close relatives. For these reasons, someone said, "There will not be many people there."

The body was immediately taken care of by neighboring women. They laid it out in the family house and kept vigil over it until the time of the service. During the evening before the service, a large number of women paid their respects at the house, and at least twenty men at a time gathered solemnly in a neighboring house owned by a cousin of the deceased's late husband. They sat in a large circle in the *maq'ad*, conversing very quietly.

On the day of the funeral, the priest was in attendance at the house, making arrangements during the morning. At about two thirty the men, certainly about fifty of them, gathered at one house while the women were with the body. At about three the men went outside and gathered in groups outside the house of the deceased. There was considerable shaking of hands with men from other Qurni villages. Within the deceased's house there was some wailing.

764 The priest, joined by the elderly men from Bodnam and the men coming out from Jabbapil who was carrying a cross draped in black, led the procession out of the house. They were immediately followed by the men, including the corpse, who carried the coffin on their shoulders. As they reached the open part of the road all the rest filed in behind, the women behind the men, and proceeded directly to the church whose bell was being tolled by someone. Some groups of people remained outside during the service. The coffin was placed in the centre of the church under the chandeliers, and the priest stood in a row on the far side of the dance. The men gathered, as usual, around the front of the church, while the women were seated at the back.

As in ceremonies at funerals, there was no dance, only movements by the priests and a lay reader. There were several verbal interventions made by the elected priest to his assistant especially in regard to keeping the score in, and there was some talking among the women in the rear. The coffin, previously wrapped with a cross affixed on top—was on a plain wooden table, with a number of artificial flowers on top. Someone just about sundown on the coffin a final and last and was busy lighting the church candles as the early part of the ceremony.

At the end of the service each priest blessed an additional cross which had been laid on top of the coffin. The women remained seated while the coffin was carried out, followed by the men. Some stayed around the church, while others went to the cemetery which is always attended only by men.

The village graves (*dog, mogbore, pbo, mpaddo, or dog maddo, pbo' mdaqbo*) are of two kinds. There are also external lineage tombs in their own or separate cemetery. These are generally pyramidal or rectangular structures of clay, mostly unornamented with a cross on top. The bodies are buried into earth-pit tombstones vaults underneath them. Those of these are no longer used because they are near the school. There were five lineages (LVIII, LIV, and LXII). The others are for one of the dominant lineages of D, and for LVI, LXIII, LXVII, A,X and A,III. The other graves merely have an unmarked earthen mound and are dug in a row in a common cemetery before the tombs which is on all to an area gave. This burial ground is not new.

The burial was in the far cemetery, not in one of the tombs. A grave about three feet deep had been dug. After some chanting over the coffin it was put into the grave. Stones were placed between it and the sides of the grave and then the earth was filled in. This took some time, and those standing by started down with things as the quality of the grayve and fge which were spinning around them, while some lit cigarettes. When it was nearly covered, someone patted the area at the top of the coffin. When it was completely covered as a level with the ground, stones were heaped on the grave ("to keep animals off," said someone), and the cross was propped up at its head. As the last stone was placed on the grave, the priest said, *Alaah yakuwa* ("May God have mercy upon us"), and the group

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returned to the church where there was a large assemblage of men and women greeting each other. There were about three cars from other villages. 764

The mourners (*al-mufawwiḍīn*) lined up outside the church—the deceased's son, two cousins (patrilateral) of her husband, and four of her nephews. Everyone went by, shaking hands with each mourner and saying *Allah yirḥama*, or some other conventional condolence.

Such was the funeral of an old woman with few relatives. Comparatively few people came from outside the village, but al-Qurni was well represented, nevertheless, and certainly Munqil was. "Most of them are busy working today," said an informant, "but they will come on Sunday to say *Allah yirḥama*."

Funerals are followed by a period of forty days during which the immediate family of the deceased do not attend church and such happy rituals as weddings are not performed for anyone. This mourning period is terminated by another church ritual called *al-jmaaz al-ʾarbaʿīn*, which was usually translated "the forty days' remembrance." The ceremony brings to a close the period during which those who were unable to attend the funeral are expected to pay at least one formal call on the chief mourners. Those who did attend the funeral are of course free to make additional visits also. One goes in the evening and stays perhaps half an hour in company with a dozen or so others. The conversation is on general topics. The double significance of these condolence visits in the villagers' eyes is revealed by the following statement: 765

> "If someone or more than one from every family does not go, it is an insult, and people will be angry. There was a man here who lost his only son. He cried and ate nothing for a week. This is not good. At such times, they must have someone with them, to talk to them and help them forget."

The writer attended one ceremony of *jmaaz al-ʾarbaʿīn*. The deceased had been a widower in his early forties who had three adolescent children. The death was unexpected, and the loss was very keenly felt in the village because of the general circumstances and because the deceased had been very well liked and highly respected not only in the village but also at the American University of Beirut where he had been employed for many years. A priori we would expect such a loss by death to elicit a maximum response in the village and the district. It did. The report was that over four hundred people attended the funeral itself, and "there were many, many cars." 764 765

The "Remembrance" took place on a Sunday, after the regular service, two and a half months, rather than forty days, after the funeral. This deliberate postponement put the Remembrance into the summer, when mobility is easier, so that all who wanted to would be able to come. Apparently there was a delay in some arrivals coming from a distance, and the procession did not arrive at the church till nine thirty. Since ordinarily the attendants for the Remembrance are present at the mass, too, they had to wait for those coming from Tripoli and Beirut. 765

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The procession had formed at the house of the deceased. It appeared around the corner of the church led by a large group of women, all in black, one carrying a circular arrangement of flowers and candles on her head. The women were followed by the men, and certainly well over a hundred and fifty were present. One person said later that he thought "the whole village" was there. The effort expended on the part of many to contribute far away attests to the strength of this secondary rite of passage in drawing the community together.

The church was filled inside. The flowers were placed on the lectern in the middle of the church, and the priest prayed for about five minutes. That was all. The whole crowd left the church again. There was no riotous ringing of the bell afterward, as is ordinarily done after a regular service.

As at the funeral, the chief male mourners lined up outside to receive condolences, while the women mourners swathed in black, withdrew by themselves. The minimal lineage of the deceased appeared to consist only of his own immediate family and that of his first cousin. The mourners consisted of the first cousin, who had automatically become the guardian of the children, the brother of the deceased's wife, and the heads of household of the two minimal lineages most closely connected, genealogically, to that of the deceased.

After this, everyone repaired to the house of the deceased where coffee was served and there was quiet, general, conversation.

The unifying effect of the primary and secondary funerals should be clear from these accounts. The fact that its effect extends outside the village to include the immediate district, which in the case of Munqid is very clearly defined, is also significant. Here we might note an additional event which took place during the period of study. When a young maman only son, died in one of the other villages of al-Qurai during the winter, a large number of *summer residents of Munqid* were among those who attended his funeral. Colonnili (1909, p. 59) says that even in districts where there is considerable mixture of religions (unlike al-Qurai) funerals serve to bring together people of *different* religions in an event of common concern, thus somewhat easing interfaction tensions.

Young and old alike, the Munqidis were unanimous in declaring that everyone was obligated to attend funerals, regardless of any difficulties which might be involved. Witness the following statement by a young adult: "When someone dies in the village, all of us *must* go. He man goes only for the funeral, still it may mean great inconvenience for him. Let he goes—we go—everyone goes—because we must. I do not know why we do this, but we do it just the same."

ECCLESIASTICAL RITUALS

PRAYERS AND THE USE OF SHRINES

In the area of ritual behaviorwhich is of a private, personal nature, it is clear that there is considerable individual and family variation of practice in the village.

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In some households religious pictures are in evidence, while in others there are none at all. In some families there are formal religious observances for the group. In others there may be none, or family members may be individually given to silent prayer. However varied the pattern may be, qualitatively it is one which allows for the action of individual choice and conscience.

There is definite evidence that village opinion concerning the efficacy of recourse to the saint's shrines is sharply divided, and there is good reason to conclude that this multivocality is of recent development, a part of the acculturation process. Saint's shrines are very common in the Middle East. They are used by Muslims and Christians alike, and in many cases they probably stem from pagan prototypes. Among the Lebanese Christians, shrines are visited by the faithful primarily in the fulfillment of vows usually made in connection with the curing of disease, the inducement of conception, the determination of the sex of an unborn child, and so on—in other words, the emphasis is on medical problems. The visitor may perform the ritual for his own sake or on behalf of someone else.

In Musqil, the shrine ritual consists of prayers—sometimes written on the walls—and the offering of candles or olive oil which are burned in the shrine. One informant also suggested a penitential element—walking to the shrine barefoot or crawling to it on hands and knees. The shrines are located at some distance from each other and from the house cluster, and a person is not likely to go near them except with deliberate intent and effort. Presumably the effort is not made except by those who believe in what they are doing.

There definitely are such individuals in the village. On one occasion the writer saw two persons make offerings of candles at one of the shrines ("because someone is sick," an informant explained); fresh paper candle wrappings were observed in the vicinity of all the shrines, and there were bottles for olive oil in all of them.

In contrast, there were the statements of several informants, none of whom was in the habit of using the shrines. One said (before the subject had really been investigated) that the shrines were no longer used at all. Another, more specifically, denied any personal belief in the help which the saints were supposed to give the sick and went on to express the opinion that no one else in the village believed in it either. When this informant was faced with undeniable evidence to the contrary, the general claim was modified, but the basic attitude had been revealed. A third informant stated flatly that some believed and some did not, and that among the former there were those who even had dreams about being visited by saints checking up on the fulfillment of vows. But this informant added the opinion that though some people were believers, they might very likely deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Ignorance of what? it might well have been asked. Presumably, ignorance of, and lack of faith in, modern medical practices which, to be sure, do not eliminate all

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dangers to health but do definitely take a lot of chance and accident out of the problem of the prevention and cure of disease.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the wide variation in beliefs concerning the shrines represents a decline in the use of them which has been brought about by the widespread acceptance of modern medicine. Certainly there is evidence of decline in the statement that only recently were annual processions to each of the shrines, on the saints' days, discontinued. In this general connection, it should be mentioned that no one was observed wearing or using amulets or religious medals (contrast Chéhadé, 1910, pp. 742–44).

ORDINARY MASS

Mass is said once a week, on Sunday mornings. The church is also open every Saturday evening for prayers. Otherwise, the building is ordinarily closed and locked. Speaking generally, Bliss (1912, p. 58) says that in Syrian Greek Orthodox Churches daily mass is very rare. He also says that although ancient Greek is the official language of the church, the native language of each particular region is the one actually used in the service (*ibid.*, p. 123). Zankov (1929, p. 109) states this to be true of the Orthodox Church as a whole. In Mtoufé, according to expectation, the liturgy is in Arabic, with the exception of a few special phrases. According to Bliss, the liturgy is:

> . . . teeming with passages of profound spirituality clothed in language noble and poetic. Large parts of the services are rendered in weird Oriental chants. The service books of the Greek Church are in fourteen quarto volumes. They would appear to cover every possible occasion. There are, for example, prayers to be used by the priest when a corner stone is laid, when a threshing-floor is constructed, when a well is dug, when a well is polluted, when insects must be conjured from the vines, when devils must be exorcised, when silk worms are being cultivated, when a sick man cannot sleep, when one has been harmed by the evil eye. (*Ibid.*, p. 124.)

None of these uses outside the church building was observed in the village.

Zankov says that the Orthodox Church is more like Protestantism than Roman Catholicism in the following points: (1) extensive use of the Scriptures; (2) Christocentrism; (3) the inner and personal effect of the Sacraments (*ibid.*, pp. 158–59). He could well have added to this list the participation of laymen in the service. There is no congregational singing, but solo chants by laymen are a conspicuous element.

The priest performs all rituals only as an instrument of God, and, significantly, never uses the first person singular. For example, he says "so-and-so is baptized" not "I baptize so-and-so." (Zankov, 1929, pp. 87–88.)

Zankov says that there is in general a feeling in the Church that other Christian sects have not fallen from Grace. "This broad-minded attitude and practice," he concludes, "explains [its] mild attitude toward other churches and their mem-

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here" (1929, pp. 80-83). As far as doctrine alone is concerned, this generalization appears to be true of the Arab Orthodox, but among them, nevertheless, sect affiliation as a focus of in-group loyalty is strong. 715 715

Bliss describes the Mass and Sacraments of the Syrian Greek Orthodox Church at some length (1912, pp. 130-47), and it is not necessary to repeat his material here in a body. The practices in Mansūf appear to conform to his generalizations. 716

Ordinarily, the priest goes to the Church about seven in the morning on Sundays, but the congregation does not begin to come in till about eight o'clock. In the intervening period he prepares the elements behind the ikonostasis. Each Sunday one housewife presents five loaves of holy bread (*qurbaan*) which are used in the service. Apparently all the women in the village take their turn at this. The loaf is about the same size as a regular loaf but is about an inch thick. In the middle of each loaf a device is impressed with a wooden stamp (*taabi'*). The device bears four pairs of Greek letters arranged crosswise which are an abbreviation of "Jesus Christ conquers."

The following is a brief description of one Sunday mass which was attended early in the summer. It is representative of several which were attended.

At eight fifteen only the priest and an elderly man were in the church, chanting responsively. At that point, a middle-aged man entered, took his post at one of the lecterns and began chanting. About five minutes later, a young man came in, went to the other lectern and joined in. Next, three small boys entered and sat down in the wooden stalls. Then another young man arrived and went behind the ikonostasis to assist the priest. After that, several more young and middle-aged men came in in short order. In all, about fifteen men were present, together with about an equal number of children of both sexes and about half a dozen young women, one of whom had prepared the *qurbaan* for that day.

The chanting was maintained continuously, with certain individuals who are regular attendants taking noticeable part. Toward the end of the service, the priest took the Host into the congregation, carrying the chalice and plate, which held small pieces of *qurbaan*, on a silver tray. His assistant walked backwards in front of him, holding up a cross. Each member of the congregation bowed as the Host approached him. After this, the assistant took up a collection and distributed *qurbaan* to each person present as well as to several who had been sitting outside all the time.

After the service, the young men, as usual, took turns ringing the bell, leaping off the ground and pulling the cord with all their weight. Others stood around chatting.

The stores are open every Sunday. [444]

FEASTS AND FASTS

Every day of the year is a saint's day, but special observances are made only on a few. Besides Easter and the various special holy days in Lent, the Syrian Greek

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796 Orthodox Church sets aside twenty days during the year, one or more in every month, when there is a special mass in the church, and work is supposedly suspended. Fourteen of these feast days are common to the Maronites and the Orthodox; six are exclusively Orthodox—St. George, Decapitation of John the Baptist, Demetrius the Martyr, Archangel Michael, St. Nicholas, and the Conception of Hannah (Bliss, 1912, p. 342). It was fairly evident that in Munşif only some of these feast days are given special recognition, in addition to some others, not on Bliss's list.

Exclusive of Lent and Easter, the special feasts celebrated in the village which correspond to some of those in Bliss are as follows:

1. Christmas. (*'Id al-milād*)
2. December 26. Commemoration of the Virgin. (*'Id as-sayyida*)
3. January 1. New Year's and Circumcision of Jesus. (*rass as-sine*)
4. January 6. Baptism of Jesus (*'Id al-'ams*)
5. March 25. Annunciation. (*'Id bishāra*)
6. April 23. St. George (*'Id Mar Jarjis*)
7. August 6. Transfiguration. (*'Id al-'eid*)
8. September 14. Finding of the Cross (*'Id as-şalība*)
9. November 8. St. Michael (*'Id Mar Mikhāil*)
10. December 6. St. Nicholas (*'Id Mar Niqoula*)

Those feasts which appear to be special to the village are:

1. January 30. Feast of the Three Moons (*'Id al-thalaatha qumur*)
2. June 24. St. John (*'Id Mar Hanna*)
3. September 2. St. Mauna (*'Id Mar Mauna*)
4. October 7. St. Sarkīs (*'Id Mar Sarkīs*)

In addition, Palm Sunday, Easter, and the day after Easter are special feast days.

On these seventeen holy days, one or another village family "catches the feast." The wife prepares *qurbaan* for the special mass, and the family entertains the priest and his family at a sumptuous dinner. It was not possible to ascertain from the priest himself why certain families had certain feasts and not others, why some had feasts and others none at all. His explanation only suggested that catching the feast was traditional in some patrilines. However, the feasts of SS. John and Nicholas are "caught" by men whose names are Hanna and Niqoula, and this is true in principle also of the Feast of the Finding of the Cross whose "catcher" is named Ṣaliība (Cross). Other of the local holy days are celebrated obviously because they are the days of the saints of the village's church and shrines. The significance of the Feast of the Three Moons was not discovered. In listing these feast days and those who "caught" them, the informant remarked that one of the catchers was a Protestant, "But he does it anyway, for his family."

The ten feast days of the Church which are not given general recognition in the village are celebrated by a special mass, but no one stops work and no one

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"catches" the feast. For example, the Feast of Elijah, Mar Elyas, (July 20) usually without much remark. It was said that many people often went on this day to Bukfaya of whose church Mar Elyas is the patron saint, but this activity was not observed. At Ghazmun, there is a man who every year summons the poor to help him "catch" the Feast of the Forty Martyrs (*'id al-arba'in shuhada'*), March 9. It may be that all twenty of the Church's feast days are given special recognition in al-Qurnī, if not in each of its individual villages.

The most important part of the religious year is unquestionably Easter, "the Great Feast" (*'id al-kabir*), preceded by Lent which is the longest of its numerous fast periods enjoined by the Church. Orthodox fasts forbid the eating of meat, eggs, cheese, and milk. Lent is preceded by a week (*marfa'*) during which meat is eaten every day, which is not the ordinary practice. The Thursday of *marfa'* is known as *al-khamīs as-sakīn*—"Drunken Thursday." On this day tipsy intoxication is expected and excused.

The first week in Lent, following *marfa'*, is *fasl'a al-beyaad*, "the week of whiteness." Eating meat is strictly forbidden. Only "white" things—eggs, cheese, and cheese are supposed to be eaten. The following week, these and meat are forbidden until Easter. Until Easter, no one is supposed to eat breakfast; many refrain from coffee and from drinking water in the morning. It was stated, however, that many people do not adhere absolutely to fast regulations, and there is considerable variation in this aspect of religious behavior.

On Palm Sunday (*aḥad-shaʿānīne*) palm fronds are prepared by the head of every household in which there is a child under seven years of age. Once a little child has had this done for him, it is not done for him again. The fronds are hung with cakes and candles, and placed in the middle of the church. After mass, the people go outside with the fronds and gather around the priest for a further blessing. Then everyone rushes on the fronds and pulls off all the cookies. Between Palm Sunday and Good Friday there are evening prayers every day in the church.

On Good Friday (*al-jumaa al-maqīl*) everyone goes to church, even those who are in mourning, since it is a sad occasion. Mourners do not ordinarily go to regular mass nor to mass on Easter. It was said that even mourners of a year's standing or more may not go to mass at all—except on Good Friday. If there is no priest in any of the other Qurnī villages, the people there come to Mazrīf for the service.

The Good Friday mass was attended by at least four hundred persons. It is featured by the placing of a table (*mazīl*) in the center of the church. This is used at ordinary funerals for holding the coffin. Each house prepares a crown of flowers and candles which is placed on the *mazīl*. Towards the end of the mass, the *mazīl* is held aloft by four to six tall men near the door. All the people pass underneath it, out the door, and enter through the second door again.

On Easter eve of the year of this study, a special party for the adolescents

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and young adults was held in the school—tickets sold for the benefit of the club's projected volleyball court. The party lasted all night long, and before four in the morning the revelers began ringing the church bell. Mass on Easter is regularly at eleven, but this was an innovation. At the party there were only European dances, no *dabki*.

On Easter, even more villagers were in attendance at mass than there had been on Good Friday, and they included all the city residents who could possibly come.

Easter is a regularly scheduled *site of* intensification. The day after Easter the priest goes to each house with holy water and blesses it, sprinkling the house with the water from an olive branch. During Holy Week he acquires a great surplus of *qurbans* which he distributes to other villages in al-Qurnā.

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SECULAR RECREATION

IT should not be necessary to read very deeply between the lines of the two previous chapters in order to understand that there is much of what Americans would call "recreational behavior" which is tightly integrated with economic and religious behavior. Shows and bakeries are foci of social interaction. Rites of passage and other rituals are occasions for parties and celebrations.

The purpose of the present chapter is to describe what might be classified as "recreation for its own sake," behavior which is certainly recreational but does not appear to be closely integrated with any of the other cultural categories which have been discussed.

THE CLUB

The "Sport Club" of Munşif is a new institution which appears to have been started for the sole purpose of organizing the leisure activities of adolescents and young adults. If it has any other purpose, such as political activity, no hint whatever was given of it.

PLAYS

We have seen that the club's headquarters is regularly used as an everyday gathering place. It is also used for giving the annual village play in August. The village play antedates the club by many years, but the club seems to have taken over the greater part of the responsibility in putting it on. It is not clear exactly when the play was introduced into the village. Middle-aged adults seem always to have remembered it, but though traditional Arab culture has storytelling resembling plays—actually narrative poetry recited by several individuals—the observed phenomenon in the village seems closely to be part of the recent acculturative process.

Perhaps the account of the introduction of plays into Bidaimmin early in the twentieth century gives some idea of what happened in Munşif. Tannous says that the play was introduced into Bidaimmin through the inspiration of returned emigrants, contact with city customs, and the encouragement of mission-school teachers. After a couple of years, girls started taking part, though over the strong objections of some elders. The play soon became a village festival with guests invited from other villages, the whole community taking part in one way or another. The plays were all in Classical Arabic, the plots all taken from Western novels or plays, or derived from Arabic historical events (Tannous, 1943, pp. 341–42).

Presumably the development in *Mansif* was similar. The plays are given on the stage in the government school, which is equipped with footlights (similar with reflectors) and a painted backdrop (European forest scene). Arab themes have been used extensively, but *Hamlet* has been presented several times. (One young adult said he thought it was not a good play to give because the lion's share went to only one actor. It was better, he thought, to give a play in which six or seven, at least, took an equal part.) At the time of the writer's final departure from the village, the question of what play to give was being vigorously debated at all age levels. There appeared to be two opposing schools of thought, and tempers were running high in some cases.

COMPETITIVE SPORTS

Competitive games such as weight-lifting and javelin throwing have always been popular among the Arabs, but team athletics are something new, introduced by the American mission schools.

In *Mansif*, volleyball is *the* game, and it appears to date, like the plays, from early in the twentieth century. At present, the village has three teams, ranked in order of the collective skill of their respective players. Most of the games are "intramural," within the village, but a regular series is played with the teams of other villages in the Qurnī. In 1951, the first team played a team from Beaconsaw, a large resort town above Beirut. The club appears to take a major role in organizing the teams and arranging games. The girls have their own team.

The following quotation, introduced here for comparative purposes, is taken from a chapter in Dodd (1940) which is credited to Alī Tannous, and probably the village mentioned in it is Bshennīnīn.

> A few years ago, a group of us started the game of volleyball in our village in Northern Lebanon. The game was new, and the villagers were at first lukewarm about it. However, it did not take long before the enthusiasm for the game began to touch one individual after another and lead him to request the privilege of participating. Even old farmers, who would not hear of the idea at first, began to feel proud of having their boys belong to the village team. . . . The following summer, the girls of the village caught the spirit and organized their own team. From our village the idea spread to several neighboring villages and in these volleyball teams were also organized. The next step that naturally followed was the interchange of volleyball matches among these different teams. Each week a match would be arranged for in a different village during which time hundreds of villagers would come from neighboring villages to attend the match. Volleyball became the game for the district, supplying the villagers with an excellent opportunity for recreation. (Dodd, 1940, pp. 838-39.)

DANCING

Although no one put it into so many words, the impression was given that such traditional dances as the *dabkī* are looked upon at best with sentimental attach-

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ment by most of the middle-aged people and with unfeigned derision by many, though not all, younger people. One middle-aged woman said that of course everyone knew how to do the *dabki*, and that "it is done sometimes, and at weddings." "But," she said, "it is better when everyone does it dressed in *shirwal* and *aqal* and *kefiyyah*." The only interpretation which the writer can give to this remark is that the *dabki* is associated with the old days which are no more. There is some evidence that the dance is done far less now in general than it used to be. An acquaintance of the writer's in Beirut, an American of Lebanese ancestry, said that for two years he had looked around unsuccessfully for a performance of it in Beirut. On at least one occasion his inquiries were met with the scornful remark: "Oh, the *dabki* is just for peasants in the mountains."

For the most part, the adolescent and young adult Moslems seem to be committed to the rejection of the more obvious concomitants of their peasant background, and their de-emphasis on the *dabki* is probably an aspect of this. Rather than the *dabki*, it is the samba, rumba, and tango which please the young people most. In this respect, Mowşil is by no means an isolated case. Spanish and South American rhythms are immensely popular among the Lebanese. That well-known tune, "La Comparsita," was a popular classic in Lebanon in 1940, and it remains so today. The appeal appears to be more rhythmical than melodic, and of course Spanish music has for a long time been influenced by Arab modes.

The social gatherings in the club are, in turn, featured by the playing mostly of Spanish and South American dances and songs on the phonograph. In traditional Arab culture there is no "concert" music. Music is either to be danced to or it is merely background for a poetic recitation. The second function is maintained today by the traditional forms, but the first has been expanded and taken over by Western forms. Dancing to Western music involves close physical contact between the sexes, and this is very much at variance with traditional norms. One older man, in fact, said, "All this touching is not good for the young people." In general, Western free social intercourse between the sexes has been a difficult kind of behavior for young people of the Middle East to adjust themselves to. To many of them it suggests an invitation to free sexual intercourse, an understandable misinterpretation which has led to much pain and embarrassment, for example, among students in the city.

THE HOME

Hospitality is a virtue which the Arabs value very highly, in part because it implies generosity, another trait which is explicitly valued. At whatever time a guest may arrive at a house, a cup of coffee is made specially for him; and if the occasion requires it, he is invited to dine and even to spend the night. All this is, as often as not, done without any prior notice at all.

The principle of hospitality applies among the villagers in their daily lives, although ordinarily it involves no further effort than making coffee. In the absence

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of a cultivator, the bulk of evening sociability takes place in private houses. There are several rather fixed groups of friends in the village who constantly interact with each other.

Those evening gatherings may involve mostly gossip or small talk, but more often conversation is in addition to games. In one circle the most popular game is bridge, played according to Culbertson rules. Some years ago someone returned from America with the book. "Before that we had our own rules." The play is fast and skewed and also rather noisy. American technical terms such as "pass" and "no trump" are intermingled with Arabic numbers and side-comes. No money is ordinarily bet on these games. Pinochle is another popular card game, and there are many others.

Board-games are traditional in the area, and the most popular are backgammon (*tawli*) of which there are three versions, *daama* (essentially the same as checkers but with elaborations), and chess (*shitrany*) which seems to be played less than the others because the games are so slow.

Word-games are very popular also, and very frequently writing is an essential element in them. For example, someone will write a dozen or so letters in their unconnected forms in a row. The others are then asked to make sense out of what appears to be meaningless. The principles involved in such games are optical tricks (e.g., the series of unconnected letters—somewhat analogous to a row of unconnected/illegible letters in English), puns, and obscure grammatical technicalities.

Of more interest and, sometimes, more emotional involvement, are poetry games such as the one called *qafa*. In this, contestant A recites a stanza or so of Classical Arabic poetry. Contestant B must then respond with a stanza which begins with the same letter that the first one ended with. A must then recite lines which begin with the last letter of B's. And so it goes until one of the contestants either repeats something which has been given before or cannot think of anything. Impromptu verses, provided they scan and rhyme properly, are legitimate. The writer once heard this game played at a rapid rate of speed for half an hour without a break.

In these small gatherings of close friends the two sexes intermingle freely and equally.

NIGHT LIFE IN THE CITY

Those villagers who live and work away from Mtoqil in the winter maintain very close contact with each other. For example, in Ras Beirut, the fast-growing western section of the city where the American University is located, there is a tight little group of six or seven nuclear families, all headed by young adults, who, it was said, visit together as a group almost nightly. Each takes its regular turn playing host to the others. One member said he thought that their separation from the village brought them closer together than they would be otherwise. The group is known as "little Mtoqil" to outside acquaintances, and it appears to have estab-

lished no identification with its urban surroundings nor to have established any strong ties with non-Munsifiin. These people are, of course, by no means cut off from the village. People come and go from the village constantly for brief visits. The evening gatherings of this group are similar in form to those in the village proper.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The majority of men and women smoke cigarettes, and the rate of consumption appears to be high. European briar pipes are not smoked at all, but the old-fashioned water pipe is still enjoyed both by men and women.

It has been mentioned before that foreign influence has been particularly strong in the field of communication. Communication and means of entertainment overlap in such things as radio, the movies, books, magazines, and newspapers. Owing to its lack of electricity, Munsif has only three battery-run radios, and this instrument is not particularly important in the village as a means of entertainment. The available programs are limited in scope, consisting mostly of news and "disk-jockey" broadcasts. From his limited observation, the writer was impressed with the esthetic appeal of the spoken word (radio broadcasts are in Classical Arabic) to the listeners.

Cities like Beirut are over-equipped, if anything, with movie houses which show Egyptian, European, and American pictures indiscriminately. There is no question but that they provide welcome diversion and enlarge the villagers' horizons, although the American movies have spread some very erroneous impressions of life in America. To some degree there is a cult of movie-star worship, but this is far less pronounced than it is in America, and it appears to be limited to the leading lights of the Egyptian screen.

Illustrated weeklies and paper-bound novels are very numerous and widely distributed. Their format seems crude to eyes which are accustomed to slick periodicals. The novels, for example, tend to have garish illustrated covers which are reminiscent of "pulps." However, this impression is deceptive, for most appear to be serious works by Arab authors or translations of Western best-sellers and classics. For example, Wilder's *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* and Maugham's *Of Human Bondage* were two which were being read in the village. In addition, there is in Munsif some distribution of imported American paperbacks. No generalizations can be made here about the effect of this literature on the villagers. It can be said, however, that it seemed clear that Classical Arabic, spoken, retains a great deal of affective force which transcends the actual content of what is being said or recited. Western literature, on the other hand, is read merely out of intellectual curiosity or for sheer diversion, but it carries no emotional or esthetic charge.

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KINSHIP STRUCTURE AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS

THE INVISIBLE SKELETON OF THE COMMUNITY

THE LINEAGES

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IN the chapter "Population" the kinship structure of the village was discussed in a preliminary way. It was pointed out that everyone in the Core Group except those in the Affiliate Families, is patrilineally descended from the founder of the village. Most are also matrilineally descended from him. These descendants are divided into three so-called Maximal Lineages which at the present time appear to have little more than genealogical significance. Membership in a given maximal lineage is based on patrilineal descent from one of the three sons of the founder. These three brothers were the founders of the three maximal lineages. Each maximal lineage is subdivided into a number of so-called Minimal Lineages which are of unequal size and generational depth. Membership in a minimal lineage is, again, based upon patrilineal descent from its founder, and the name of the founder is the name of the lineage. The names of the minimal lineages are the "family" names which the villagers give when they are required to in administrative situations outside the village. Among such situations are the filling out of government forms like identity cards, school and college registrations, and so forth. Traditionally, family, or lineage, names were rarely used in the village itself for personal identification, and this remains true today. Every individual, male or female, has his own name to which he adds his father's which, by rule, is always different from his own. (In Mazraʿ, there is only one exception to this rule, and in this case the birth and naming of the child after his father occurred in Australia.) Thus, if Jurjis is the son of Hanna, he is known as Jurjis Hanna. In principle, this usage is exactly the same as that of the Bedawin who would call him Jurjis ibn Hanna. In Mazraʿ, the ibn ("son of") is omitted, but it is certainly understood.

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Theoretically, Jurjis Hanna, if asked, could complete the naming of himself by adding his grandfather's and great-grandfather's names, and so on, until he came to the name of the founder of his minimal lineage, and this name is the name of his lineage. In practice, the intermediary steps are omitted, and he would give, if required, his own, his father's and his lineage-founder's name (cf. Tannous, 1942, p. 234). Occasionally a man will be known by his own and his mother's, rather than his father's, name as a second name. Such cases are considered idio-

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spurious, and are usually due to some such fact as the death of the father in his son's infancy. After she is married, a woman continues to be known by her own and her father's names, but if she is asked to give a family name, she will give her husband's rather than her father's family name (cf. Granqvist, 1950, p. 39).

The minimal lineages, then, are name groups. Each lineage name identifies its various bearers as members of a common descent group who are, *ipso facto*, relatives. When pressed, everyone who was asked admitted that he was also related to all the members of his maximal lineage, "and of course *all* of us in Mamjil are (*mitjal'*) to Manşur Jurjis al-Khuri." Of these two widely connections, the latter, wider one seemed to be the stronger. In fact, many young adults were quite vague as to the maximal lineage affiliation of many of the minimal lineages. To put the matter in another way, it appears that in many cases a stronger identification is felt with the village as a kin group than with the maximal lineages. Even here, the writer would suggest that the sense of village identification is based possibly more on the interests of common residence than on the kinship bond of common descent from a very remote ancestor. At this point, the possibility must be raised that common descent from Manşur Jurjis al-Khuri and the various descent patterns indicated in Table 8 and Figure 5 are partially or wholly fictional. As it is, it can be seen that the ultimate descent of Minimal Lineages XX and XXI are unknown or in dispute. But if it is fiction, it is nonetheless a significant symbol of the conceptual unity of the village, a conception which is put in terms of kinship. A basically similar concept is held by the people of Ramallah in regard to their genealogical origins (Zenner, 1953, p. 432).

Returning to the minimal lineages, we have seen that they *identify* by name people who are considered to be relatives. Several people said that the only relatives "who count" are the members of one's minimal lineage. In addition to this, however, matrilateral first cousins appear to count about equally as relatives. Discussion of this exception to patrilineal emphasis must be postponed till later in this chapter.

If, for our immediate purposes, lineage-mates are the only relatives who count, what do they count for? In a negative function, lineage-mates are people who should not marry each other. There is no strict rule about this, and marriages within minimal lineages do occur. They are, in fact, significantly numerous in lineage VIII, which is by far the largest lineage in the village (see Table 10). Having said this much, it must nevertheless be emphasized that marriages within a minimal lineage appear to be avoided in general. They could be much more frequent than they are without violation of the definite rule against the marriage of first cousins. In a positive function, lineage-mates may inherit from each other, whereas matrilateral relatives, no matter how close they may be, can never do so.

It cannot be said definitely that the minimal lineages have any more functions than those which have just been outlined. There are, apparently, no lineage heads, and if lineages ever act as units on any issue, no such behavior was observed or re-

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TABLE 8. LINEAGE DEVELOPMENT AND NUMBER OF MALES, ACCORDING TO GENEALOGICAL GENERATION

GENERATION:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
		A-1	1	2	I-1	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	1
						II-1	1	2	3	6	3		
					III-1	1	1	3	3	4	15	19	6
						IV-1	1	2	3	5	6	7	
							V-1	3	6	14	3		
							VI-1	2	3	5			
							VII-1	3	8	10	4		
							VIII-1	4	11	24	21	12	
						1	IX-1	4	2	3	4	3	
						X-1	2	2	4	8	12	8	4
								XI-1	4	7	7	1	4
		B-1	1	4	XII-1	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	
					1	3	3	3	3	5	7		
					XIII-1	1	2	3	11	7	5		
	1						Dec.-1	3	13	9	1		
					Dec.-1	1	2	4	6	6			
					Dec.-1	1	1	2	2				
					Dec.-1	3	6	8	7	6			
					XIV-1	3	3	8	9	11			
					XV-1	1	6	5	10	1			
		C-1	2	2	(XVI)-3	2	7	12	16	15			
						XVII-1	2	2	3	3			
							XVIII-1	1	2	2	3		
							XIX-1	1	2	6	3	2	1
				XX-1	1	1	2	1	2	4	11	17	
					XXI-1	2	1	2	3	8	11	12	
							Dec.-1	2	3	2			
NUMBER OF LINEAGES:				2	11	7	3						

ported. If a feud, or some other crisis calling for group loyalty, occurred, quite possibly loyalty lines would, minimally, follow lineage lines. In this connection, one informant said with evident pride that there were never any feuds in the village. The writer has no evidence that the present behavior associated with the lineages represents any recent change, with the exception of a possible change in marriage patterns which will be discussed later.

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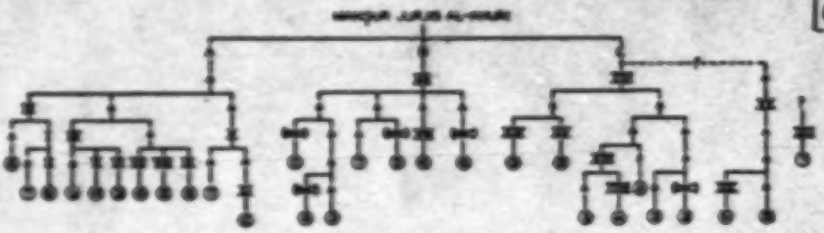
Origin of Minimal Lineages. A word concerning the origin of the minimal lineages is in order (see Table 8 and Fig. 5, both of which are abstractions from village genealogies, showing males only, which were in the possession of the priest). The minimal lineages are clearly segmentations of the maximal lineages, but beyond this we cannot, unfortunately, make any very conclusive statements.

The writer asked several informants, on many occasions and in many different ways, why certain ancestors were the eponymous founders of the minimal lineages. Were they, for example, famous men? No one was sure, even in regard to his own lineage. The only suggestion was that perhaps when the families grew too large, they divided. It was also repeatedly stated that it has only been during the last fifty years or so that lineage names have been used at all, because the govern-



A, B, C = Eponymous Ancestors of Maximal Lineages
I-XXI = Eponymous Ancestors of Minimal Lineages
(Dec.) = Eponymous Ancestors of Deceased Lineages
Numbers in O = Number of Generations Descended from the Last Specifically Indicated Individual in Each Patriline

FIG. 5. GENEALOGY OF LINEAGES

ment began to insist that everyone have a "family" name. "So they all returned to their grandfathers." (The term "grandfather" was used loosely in the village, and Manşur Jurjis al-Khuri was often referred to as "our grandfather.") No one could say why they "returned to" a particular "grandfather" and not to another one. Thus, for some time the writer thought that perhaps the minimal lineages were recent arbitrary creations for the sake of providing names. It is possible, but it seems unlikely. Minimal Lineage III, for example, with its *waqf* trust, is an ancient institution, and there is no reason to suppose that it is exceptional in this respect.

Table 8 indicates that the patrilines of the village were not very large or proliferated at the time when most of the eponymous ancestors were actually alive, and hence the formation of the minimal lineages may have been an arbitrary procedure on the part of the descendants of certain men, though not nearly so recently as some informants seemed to suggest. Size of groups or enmities between them might have been deciding factors. The present sizes of the lineages, since there is such a wide range of size, offer no clue. Lineage VIII, which might have been expected to divide long ago on account of its size has not done so, and there are

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613 no indications that it will. Yet there are possible signs of division in XI and XII. Two men in these lineages are using rather than their father's name as a second name, one his grandfather's, and the other his great-grandfather's, name. The children are following this pattern, which may be the beginning of two new lineages. No explanation was available.

Both Table 8 and Figure 5 show that the lineages are of very unequal generational depth. In some cases this is because some lineages are older, genealogically, than others. In other cases, it is because some lineages have reproduced faster than others. These two factors combine to give a range of depth of from four to ten generations, if we follow Figure 5. The mode is six generations; the average is nearer seven than six.

It will be observed that the eponymous ancestors of lineages XII and XVI are placed in the fifth generation of descent from Manṣur Jurjis al-Khouri in Table 8, whereas they appear in the third generation in Figure 5. The reason for this discrepancy is this: in both cases there are on the original genealogy men with the appropriate name and in the proper position in both generations. In each case, either man, the first or a grandson, could have been the eponymous ancestor, and no one knows which. The maximal lineage names, represented by the letters A, B, and C, are all teknonymous, being Abi Yunis, Abi 'Awwad, and Abi Naṣr, respectively. Their sons were Yunis, 'Awwad, and Naṣr, respectively. 'Awwad and Naṣr are represented as XII and XVI, respectively, because these two men (or two grandsons who were their namesakes), were the ancestors of present minimal lineages which bear their names. Figure 5 places the eponymous ancestors of these lineages in the earlier of the alternative generations to emphasize the following fact: The names of Maximal Lineages B and C are retained in the names of present minimal lineages, whereas the name of Maximal Lineage A, the largest, has been obliterated. This fact was recognized by the villagers, but they could not see any reason for it, or significance in it.

Figure 5 suggests that there are three patterns of derivation of minimal lineages: (1) derivation from sets of brothers; (2) derivation of one lineage from a father, of others from his younger sons; (3) derivation of one minimal lineage from another, e.g., the derivation of a lineage from one man, of another from his grandson.

This entire argument has been severely handicapped by the fact that we must either accept the genealogy on which Table 8 and Figure 5 were based at its face value, or not give it any detailed consideration at all. The former course has been followed, but the possibility must be kept in mind that the genealogy may be very [173] inaccurate. The Arabs, and other Semites, have always been fond of explaining history in genealogical terms, with great distortion as a result. Daghestani (1952, pp. 178–79) warns explicitly against taking Arab genealogies of any size at their face value.

613 601 The generic term for lineage which is used in Munṣif is *'aʾili* (properly:

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بيت). Sometimes, when a minimal lineage is being identified, the word *bayt* (house) is prefixed to the name, but in general reference *'ayli*, in Munşif as among urban dwelling Muslims of Syria (Daghestani, 1932, p. 147), serves equally well for "maximal lineage," "minimal lineage," and for kinship units smaller than minimal lineages. To the last we shall now turn our attention.

THE FAMILY UNIT

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It is the firm impression of the present writer that in Munşif it is the nuclear, or conjugal, family which is far more important than the extended family. This is quite at variance with the conclusions of other writers on the Middle East in general. For example, both Tannous (1944, p. 537) and Weulersse (1946, pp. 216–17) declare emphatically that the nuclear family is of little consequence compared to the extended family as a social unit. The single example of Munşif, assuming that the interpretation given below is correct, cannot be used to refute the conclusions of recognized authorities. The present writer may have misinterpreted what he observed, but he hopes that the division of opinion may be based, in fact, upon varying practices in the Middle East as a whole. For example, Lichtenstadter has recently reported (1952, pp. 382–83) a specific case of the extended family among acculturated Egyptian Muslim villagers.

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Tables 1 and 2 reveal that the Core Group consists of eighty-seven households, each an independent residence unit. The alternative figure, eighty-nine, indicates the fact that in winter, two of the households are each split into two independent households. In summer, these pairs—they are brothers—and their families live together in the village; in winter they live separately in Beirut. These are two or four residence units depending on the season.

Of this total of independent households only two constitute true extended families. In one case there live under one roof the head and his wife, their only son (a commuter), and his wife and children. In the other, there is the head, his mother, his wife, an unmarried son, two unmarried daughters, and a married son with his wife and children. Table 1 shows that all the rest are essentially nuclear families, though some are defective, and many include some additional dependents.

Before he was aware of the existence of these two extended families in the village, the writer inquired of an informant whether extended families existed or ever had existed in Munşif. For this purpose a hypothetical extended family was described. The informant replied that he had heard that the Muslims sometimes had such families, but that they did not have them in Munşif, and that he had never heard that they ever had had them. "It would be impossible," he said. "You see, sometimes it happens that a woman and her son's wife must live together in the same house for a while. When they do, they are always enemies because each one wants to run the house her own way, and they never agree. About this *hamab-kinnab* trouble we have many sayings. And it is the same with the wives of brothers

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592 if they must live together. So you see, if they *all* lived together in one house, it would be a terrible thing." Later, it appeared that the two technically extended families in the village were looked upon as temporary arrangements. As a residence unit, then, the extended family is absent from Munṣif in the theory of the villagers themselves, and it is very exceptional in practice.

596 This does not mean, however, that we can dismiss the possibility of the power of extended families *as social units* regardless of residence. In fact, considering the violent stresses and strains which the common residence of in-laws is believed to cause, it is reasonable to suppose that an extended family living in separate conjugal groups might be a *stronger* social unit than an extended family living under one roof. As a matter of fact, by way of comparison, among the sedentary Bedawin living around Aleppo, several generations of one family never live together under one roof (Dagbestani, 1932, p. 188), yet it is safe to assume that among these people strong extended families as social units are the rule.

BROTHERS

593 There are, indeed, some indications in Munṣif of in-group mechanisms extending beyond the conjugal family, but not, in this particular context, inclusive of the minimal lineage. These are all cases of the close relationship between adult brothers, most of whose fathers are dead or so old that they have made over their property to their sons. Note has already been made of the two pairs of brothers who live together as pairs in the summer, but live separately in the winter. In addition, there are three pairs of brothers each of which lives under one roof. These are listed as six independent households in Table 1 because they are so regarded by the villagers. In all cases the shared houses have been partitioned down the middle inside, and thus the families live independently of each other. We thus have five pairs of a total of ten conjugal families, each pair of which shares, in one way or another, a single house. In every case, these situations have arisen because the brothers have not yet "divided their inheritance," as the villagers say.

[428] Inheritance patterns will be discussed later; here it is enough to point out that inheritance is equal among brothers. Ideally, one brother—often the youngest—gets the family house, with consequent adjustments in the settlement of the rest of the property. The final settlement is often delayed several years—but never permanently—with results that have just been discussed (see Tannous, 1942, pp. 232–34 for a discussion of the solidarity of close kin).

593 There are several more cases of brothers who own and occupy adjoining
613 houses, or houses very close to each other. This is considered a "nice" arrange-
621 ment, but it is often impossible, and there are many exceptions. Projected over many generations, however, this ideal has resulted in the tendency for the houses of maximal lineage mates to have remained clustered together (see map, Fig. 6) after the original division of the village territory among the three sons of the founder.

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FIG. 6. AL-MUNŞIF: HOUSE OWNERSHIP BY MAXIMAL LINEAGE

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[page 111 is a figure]

The exceptions, which are relatively recent, are sufficient to have obliterated most minimal lineage clusterings.

It is quite evident that brothers are expected and honor-bound to help each other throughout life, and very frequently they cooperate in business or other enterprises. Many of the remittances from emigrants appear to be based on the brother-brother relationship. The situation may be in part similar to that reported from India by Mandelbaum (1948, p. 137), in which it is now rare for extended families to remain unified after the death of the parents.

If this material can be interpreted as sufficient evidence of the "presence of the extended family" in Munşif, this writer has no objection, but he himself is not entirely convinced. In part, to be sure, the problem is a terminological one, for the common usage is to equate "extended family" with "patriarchal family." The latter can only be rare or, in individual cases, of fairly short duration in a culture like that of Munşif in which, owing to the general lateness of marriage, a man is not likely to become a patriarch over sons and grandchildren until he is rather near death's door. The family organization in Munşif is possibly similar to that of the Chinese *chia* (Fei, 1939, p. 29).

NAMING PATTERNS

Related to the matter of lineages and families is that of personal names. Something has already been said about naming patterns, but more should be mentioned about the names themselves. Particular names do not seem to run in certain patrilines despite the reported ideal of naming the eldest son after his paternal grandfather (cf. Granqvist, 1950, p. 13). The names of the men are more conservative and less variable than the names of the women. There were one hundred and eighteen different male names recorded as against one hundred and forty-six different female names. Only eight of the male names (involving nine persons from five different conjugal families) are of recent foreign origin, whereas there are twenty-three female names of this type (involving thirty-one persons from twenty-seven conjugal families). The remainder of the female names are Arabic nouns and adjectives which generally have no religious significance. The most popular are Layla (Night), twelve examples; Munah, seven; Nabiiha, Fariidi, Badr, and Sa'ada, five each. Most of male names are also Arabic nouns or adjectives, but thirteen of them (involving sixty-five persons) are specifically Christian and/or of Greek origin. Nearly ten per cent of all the males in the village are named Jurjis (George). The other most popular male names are Na'iim, ten examples; Ilyaas (Elijah), Mukhail or Michel, and Fu'ad, nine each; Hanna (John), eight; Iliia (also Elijah), seven; Wadii', six; and Nakhli, five.

In eleven conjugal families the names of the children form some sort of rhyming or alliterative pattern. For example:

*[See preceding 3 pages -- Analyst]

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Fu'ad
Fahim
Fawzi
Fuad

or,

Na'im
Na'im
Nabih
Nabi
Nabiha

or this, the most elaborate,

Rafiq
Shafiq
Samir
Munir
'imad
Ziyad
Mamdh

Informants said of this, as they said of some other types of behavior, "There is no rule; it is just a custom." For the most part, their attitude seemed to be that it was just a pretty notion which some people put into effect. One wonders, however, if it is not significant, at the implicit level, of two important cultural patterns: (1) the fascination with the sound of words, and (2) the concept of siblings as a solid unit rather than merely a collection of individuals who happen to have the same parents.

Teknonymy, a well-recognized item in Arab culture, is used to a considerable extent in the village, particularly by younger people who are referring to or addressing their elders. In such situations a teknonymous appellation is the only alternative to a kinship term (see Part Two).

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The most recent and concise statement of the Arabic kinship system is by Davies (1949). In the paper cited, the author lists and very briefly discusses the systems of kinship terminology used by a Palestinian Christian and a Syrian Muslim. The two systems are essentially the same, though there are a few substantive differences. The system used in Munqif is almost identical with Davies' Palestinian Christian system, there being between them only a few dialectical differences which need not be discussed here. Since this material is so readily available, it is not necessary to reproduce here a complete paradigm of the terminological system. This section will, instead, consist of comments upon some facts and opinions stated by Davies and some original statements as well. The purpose is to elucidate certain problems which study of the Arabic kinship system raises, and, in so doing, to carry forward the discussion of patterns of kinship behavior in Munqif.

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The Arabic kinship terminology, which appears to be basically the same wherever Arabic is spoken, allows for the very precise designation of a large number of close relatives. Morgan included it in his "descriptive" category of kinship systems, and it is certainly a better example than many of those he put into this now obsolete theoretical category. In more modern terms, it is bifurcate collateral in type: each parent is distinguished from his siblings, mother's siblings are distinguished from father's siblings, "aunts" are distinguished from "uncles." These distinctions are continued into the children's generation simply by prefixing *ibn* (son of) or *bint* (daughter of) to the appropriate term. Thus, eight different first cousin statuses are linguistically defined: male and female patrilateral and matrilateral cross and parallel cousins. With these fine distinctions in mind, it is rather surprising, perhaps, to discover that there is only one term for "grandfather" and "grandmother," respectively.

Turning to the affinal system, it has long been a point of interest that in Arabic, "ego" calls his or her father-in-law *'amm*. The basic meaning of *'amm* is "father's brother." However, in Munqif, and probably elsewhere, *'amm* is used for "father-in-law" vocatively only. There is a special referential term, *ḥamm*, for "father-in-law," whose feminine form, *ḥamā*, means "mother-in-law." So much for general characteristics, wherein, actually, lies the substance of controversial theoretical interpretations.

Everyone is agreed that kinship terms are linguistic symbols of kinship statuses. Different kinship statuses, and the many different interaction patterns between them, call for various types of behavior and attitude on the part of any one individual. This much agreed, the longstanding anthropological controversy over the functional significance of kinship systems seems to revolve around this question: Must there be a one-to-one correspondence between the patterns of "lumping" and of differentiation of certain relatives in any one kinship system, and the prevailing behavioral and attitudinal patterns concerning relatives in the culture which uses that system? One side of the controversy tends to insist on "yes" as the answer to this question. The proponents of this view have produced many brilliant analyses of kinship systems, but they always encounter some difficulty in explaining a few usages whose functional significance is elusive. The other side of the controversy in effect seeks to solve this difficulty by answering the basic question with "Not necessarily always." The reason for this view has been expressed as follows: "In modern parlance, kinship terminologies are pattern systems of semantic logic, highly variable in detail and historically derivable, but also classifiable." As such they cannot be "construed as *mere* reflections or indices of marriage or other social institutions." (Kroeber, 1952, p. 172. Emphasis mine.) In this connection, we are reminded of Sapir's remark that "all grammars leak," and if the present writer's understanding is correct, Kroeber's opinion is that kinship terminologies are grammars of kinship behavior. If we put Sapir and Kroeber together, we have a linguistic "explanation" of what seem, from the sociological, "functional," point

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of view, to be difficult inconsistencies. In the discussion which follows, both the "linguistic" and the "functional" approaches (these particular terms are used merely for the sake of convenience in identification) will be used.

Let us look first at certain aspects of the kinship terminology which do not appear to correlate very closely with kinship behavior. Eggan, for whose work this writer has the most profound respect, says that the burden of proof is now on Kroeber's theory of linguistic priority rather than on his own "sociological" approach (Eggan, 1950, p. 295). These Arabic data might give heart to Kroeber and pause to Eggan.

First, the distinctions between all the various types of first cousin, which are carried to the ultimate in precision, are mostly "unnecessary" from the functional point of view. In Munṣif, only patrilateral parallel cousins appear to be set apart in any way from the other first cousins of ego. This is because they alone are necessarily members of ego's lineage, with all the behavioral implications which this status carries. But even this distinction does not appear to obtrude very much into everyday relationships. In the latter, ego seems to regard *all* his first cousins as people to whom he is bound equally closely by blood and affection. (This is a rather important matter, discussion of which cannot be completed until we come to the subject of marriage regulations.) Why, then, has not some "blanket" term been adopted for all first cousins? The answer is that to introduce such a change would do violence to the kinship system as a "system of semantic logic." All things considered, the most likely procedure would be to extend the term *ibn* (or *bint*) *ʿamm* (father's brother's son or daughter) to all first cousins, thus eliminating *ibn* (or *bint*) *ʿammit* (father's sister's son or daughter), *ibn* (or *bint*) *khaal* (mother's brother's son or daughter), and *ibn* (or *bint*) *khaalit* (mother's sister's son or daughter). This would result, for example, in the son of a *khaal* being called *ibn ʿamm*, and this would seem so grotesque and absurd that either the whole idea would be rejected or the term *khaal* itself would be replaced by *ʿamm*. This last would be very unlikely. To Arabs *khaal is* "mother's brother" and *ʿamm is* "father's brother." They are two different statuses, conveniently distinguished and impossible to equate. Besides, there are behavioral distinctions. Ego's *ʿamm* is automatically expected to render his nephew assistance. His *khaal* is not.

Most of these difficulties could be avoided, of course, by the adoption of a foreign term such as the English or French "cousin." But this seems unlikely because the Arabs could not be expected to replace an element of their own beloved language with a foreign word, especially in such an affect-laden area as this.

During many conversations in English, informants made frequent use of the term "cousin," and it soon became obvious that as often as not they were referring to cousins more distant than first cousins. Upon investigation, it was learned that in Arabic *ibn* (or *bint*) *ʿamm* is regularly used in such cases, even when the relative in question is related to ego through his mother, although a matrilateral kinsman (*ʾaqrib aqaaribi*) more distant than first cousin is often not felt

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601 to be very much of a relative. This is, of course, a classificatory device employed largely for the sake of convenience. It is possible to designate exactly a patrilateral second cousin, for example, in English by something like "my father's father's brother's son's son." In Arabic it is exactly the same, in reversed order: *ibn ibn khayy abu hayyi*. Obviously such awkward designations are to be avoided if possible, and usually they are unnecessary. If pressed in such a case as the example given above, a Munqifi would say, "Yes, he is *my ibn 'amm*, but of course everyone knows he is not my father's brother's son (*ibn khayy hayyi*). He is *my ibn 'amm*, but there are six faces (*sitti wujuuh*) between us."

"Face"-counting is a short-hand device for reckoning the degree of relationship between two people. Between first cousins, for example, there are four faces, ego (1), ego's father (2), ego's father's brother (3), and ego's father's brother's son (4). The principle of the thing is to count up and down two lines of direct descent, crossing from one to the other at the point of closest connection between them. This is a sibling relationship, rather than a common ancestor.

In any case, we now see that *ibn 'amm* can be an ambiguous term. It happens, however, that there is a method for insuring that when one says *ibn 'amm*, one means first cousin only, and this is by aiding the word *laazim* to the base term. Hilma Granqvist (1931, p. 80) encountered exactly the same usage among Palestinian Muslim villagers. The word itself is derived from the root LZM which denotes compulsion, and Granqvist says that its use in this context is a reference to the preferential parallel cousin marriage of the Muslims.

This brings us to other suggestions of this marriage pattern in the kinship terminology used in Munqif. It is possible that the single pair of terms for both sets of grandparents is a reflection of it. Patrilateral parallel cousins, of course, have one set of grandparents, their fathers' parents, in common. In a strongly patrilineal organization, these statuses are far more important than mother's parents, and it may be that one set of grandparent terms is sufficient simply because reference to and interaction with grandparents is almost always with fathers' parents only. This, however, is speculative, and the argument is admittedly tenuous.

582 Much more striking is the use of *'amm* in address to the father-in-law
601 Davies (1949, pp. 249–50) seems to accept this without question as an indication of patrilateral parallel cousin marriage. For the Muslims, among whom this type of marriage is still preferred and very often practiced, this interpretation seems clearly to be correct, for in such a case, the father-in-law of one spouse is necessarily also his or her father's brother. Now, however, consider the Munqifi who says *'amm* to his father-in-law, yet whose Church forbids, ordinarily, the marriage of *all* first cousins, and whose forebears have been speaking Arabic for at least a thousand years. Davies reports his Palestinian Christian informant as saying that Palestinian Christians tend to regard their parallel cousins as potential spouses, at least. The present writer finds it difficult to believe that this is true, as a general rule in any case. Certainly there were no indications of it in Munqif.

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If we think in terms of kinship and marriage behavior only, the use of *'amm* for father-in-law and of *laniye* to specify first cousin appears to be nothing less than the "leaking" of kinship grammar or the result of some sort of linguistic inertia. It is not necessary to leave the matter at this, however, in the case of *'amm*.

'Amm meaning father-in-law may have originated as an extension from "father's brother," but its continued use in Christian Arab cultures is, in this writer's opinion, due to the fact that *'amm* has an extra-kinship use. It is the standard term of address used by a younger person to a man of his or her parents' generation, even if they are not relatives at all. Very frequently, in this use, the term is prefixed to the addressee's name. The usage is obviously not due to mistaken assumptions of kinship, nor is it a means of establishing fictional kinship. It is an honorific. Brenda Seligman (1925, p. 57) reports this use of *'amm* among the Sudanese Kababish, and she says that it is universal among Arabic speakers.

Jiddi (my grandfather) is sometimes addressed to a man so much older than the speaker that he seems like a grandfather, but the occurrence of this is not very common. (*'ammit*, "father's sister" and *sitt*, "grandmother," are used analogously with women.)

Concerning this usage, a young adult informant pointed out that unless one uses a teknonymous form of address, *'ammi* is the only way in which an elder villager can properly be addressed. To use his name only, as to a contemporary, would be disrespectful. On the other hand, he said, it would be inconceivable to use such titles as *sayyid* (Mr.), *sitt* (Mrs.), *ustaz* or *fadrtak* (sir) to a fellow villager of whatever age. These terms are used by the Arabs in cities and among strangers. They connote the formality of strangeness and distance equally as much as, if not more than, respect.

It is not uncommon in modern America to encounter "uncle," with the individual's first name, used by younger people for very close friends of the family, to whom the use of the first name alone would be unseemly because of great difference in age, but with whom "Mr." would be too formal. To a limited extent, the Arabic and American usages are analogous, but of course the extension of it in the former to include nearly every older person in the community is peculiarly Arabic. Perhaps it would be going too far to say that this particular usage in itself indicates a general conception of the entire village as a sort of kinship unit, but nevertheless it is important to note the use of a kinship term in definite preference to a formal title among the villagers.

We may now consider three kinship terms whose functional significance is clear and, in one case, rather important. All three are affinal terms.

The first is *silfat*. This term is used by women only, and it is a reciprocal term. Two (or more) women are *silfat* to each other when they are married to brothers. In addition, each *silfat* refers to the other's husband as *silf* (the masculine form of the word). This term seems to serve the function of giving recogni-

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tion to the special connection which is created between two women when they marry into the same family.

Somewhat similar in function is the reciprocal term *'adiil* which is used only by men, two or more men who are married to sisters. There is, however, no term *'adiilat*, which might be applied to the wives of *'adiil*, as *nîf* is applied to the husbands of *nîfat*. This difference is a significant one. Whereas two *nîfat* become members of the same family by their marriage to brothers, two *'adiil* do not become members of the same family by marriage to sisters. Rather, these sisters become members of their husbands' families, respectively. (Village phraseology aptly covers these conceptions: a man *takes* his wife *from* her family which *gives* her to him, and, up to a point, to his family.) Nevertheless, as has been pointed out before, the marriage of a woman does not entirely dissolve the bonds which have tied her to her parents, brothers and sisters. It seems to create for her an ambivalent, or double, set of bonds. And so, two men who marry sisters *do* establish between them a sort of vicarious bond, through the close connection between their wives. This bond is symbolized by the reciprocal term *'adiil*.

Concerning the uses of *nîfat* and *'adiil* Davis writes, "Marriages such as these create bonds between otherwise unrelated persons and usage of these reciprocal terms usually implies intimacy and affection. Yet the Palestinian informant felt that these terms as often imply strife and tension between such individuals, since problems of distribution of property rights on the death of the spouses' father frequently arise" (1949, p. 251). The opinion of the Palestinian informant would, in the present writer's view, be especially applicable to *nîfat* and their jealousies.

Of more significance than *nîfat* and *'adiil* is the term *zalv*. When the writer first encountered this term, the informants said that it meant only ego's (male *or* female) sister's husband or daughter's husband. Further investigation revealed that it refers to many other statuses, though very likely it is *most often* employed in these two senses. Ego can use the term in the following ways:

zalvi, "my *zalv*"	sister's husband daughter's husband granddaughter's husband
zalvna, our *zalv*"	husband of matrilateral and patrilateral first cousin
zalvna (vocatively) *zalv al-'eyli* ("family *zalv*," referentially)	husband of any member of lineage, provided he is ego's age or younger and not himself a member of the lineage
zalvna (vocatively) *zalv al-dal'a* ("village *zalv*," referentially)	husband of any member of the village, provided he is ego's age or younger and assuming that he is an outsider

It is clear that the basic conception behind this term is the identification of any man who takes in marriage a member of ego's lineage, provided he is a con-

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temporary or younger. It is of particular importance, of course, if ego's lineage mate who is so taken is a member of his or her immediate family. *Sahr* is used in exactly the same way by men and women. After a woman is married, she continues to use the term as she did before, but she also very often calls people *sahr* whom her husband calls *sahr*. This last point is another indication of the double family allegiance of a married woman.

Beyond this, we see that the use of the term is extended in two ways. First, it is extended to the male spouses of *all* first cousins. This is another indication of bilateral solidarity to the degree of first cousin but not beyond it, a striking phenomenon in a supposedly very strongly patrilineal system. Second, it is applied to any outsider who takes a wife from among the villagers. This usage is, in the writer's opinion, of the utmost significance. It says, in effect, that an outsider who marries a village girl is an in-law to everyone in the village, or, to the whole village as a collectivity of individuals. Either way it is phrased, it implies that the village as a unit is conceived of, or at least symbolized, as a single kin group. Of course, from the point of view of genealogy alone, this extended use of *sahr* is a perfectly logical projection from minimal lineage, through maximal lineage, to encompass the entire Core Group, which, by reason of universal descent from one man is, actually, a single superlineage. As a matter of fact, ego does not call *sahr* the husbands of his *maximal* lineage mates. This is another indication of the present-day conceptual weakness of the maximal lineages, a matter which can be readily accounted for (see Chap. 9).

One set of data on kinship terminology remains to be discussed. These are the reciprocal uses of *baaba* (cf. "daddy") and *maama* (cf. "mummy"). Within the immediate family, grown sons and daughters address their parents by these terms as well as the more formal *bayyi* and *?immi*. In their turn, the parents reciprocate these terms in addressing their children, so that before one becomes accustomed to the practice, one is regularly startled to hear a mother address her son as *maama*. Reciprocation of the formal parental terms is much less common. Parents also use, of course, the formal terms for son and daughter in addressing their children. Davies, in fact, says that actually fathers do not address their daughters as *baaba* at all (1949, p. 251), but this usage was heard in Munşif. There is undoubtedly considerable individual variation in this practice. Davies says that there is a similar reciprocation of avuncular terms between aunts, uncles, and their nieces and nephews. The present writer has no evidence, one way or the other, of this usage in Munşif. Davies does not mention, however, a practice which does occur in Munşif, viz: the reciprocal use of *jiddi* and *sitti* (cf., in this context, "granddad" and "grandma") between grandparents and grandchildren. The terms *hafid* (grandson) and *hafidat* (granddaughter) are referential and are never used in direct address.

These familiar and familial usages are striking in that they seem to do violence to the facts of generation and sexual statuses. The phrase "seem to do violence" is

601 used purposely here, for the reciprocal use of avunculate, parental, and grandparental terms by their respective referents is not meant literally by them nor is it to be taken literally in interpretation. These reciprocal usages are, it would seem, clear evidence of the semantic logic aspect of kinship terminology. In this case, the situation which is handled by the logic is the intense unity which is felt to bind close blood relatives together. And so, the argument with which this discussion began has come full circle. We can easily perceive that the reciprocal use of close familial terms is, from the functional point of view alone, "inconsistent," "dysfunctional," "non-functional," and so on. Viewed in terms of a semantic system, however, the usage turns out to be the source of significant insights one of which is that the usage serves a consistent function. Where, then, is the controversy? The answer should be that there really is none, that both the functional and the linguistic points of view are valid and necessary in the interpretation of kinship systems.

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[574] One final point should be made. In actual practice, in Mesopil, the use of personal names by elders addressing juniors and by contemporaries addressing each other is more frequent than the use of vocative kinship terms.

MARRIAGE

MARRIAGE PATTERNS

572 The Orthodox Church explicitly forbids the marriage of all types of first cousin. In Mesopil this means that if two first cousins wish to be married, they cannot be married by the village priest. They may, however, appeal to the bishop of the district, and he is empowered to grant a dispensation. If he does, he performs the ceremony himself.

There is no formal rule for or against the marriage of a person to a member of his own minimal lineage. In Mesopil, however, it is considered a better idea to marry outside the minimal lineage. The reason for this, according to one informant, is that all members of the minimal lineage are close relatives, and it is a poor idea for close relatives to marry because the children might be defective. The investigator volunteered the idea that, for example, a second cousin related to one through one's mother (wholly acceptable as a spouse) is more closely related as far as "blood" goes, after all, than a lineage-mate who is a fourth cousin. The informant did not deny the truth of this, but its significance was denied. Lineage-mates are all close relatives; matrilateral kin, except first cousins and their parents, are not. This is the villagers' definition of the situation.

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572 615 At the present time, one's particular matrilateral lineage affiliation appears to have no bearing whatever on the choice of spouse. It is insignificant whether one marries inside or outside one's matrilateral lineage.

At this point, let us consider briefly Table 9 which indicates the closest degree of relationship, reckoned bilaterally, between the members of eighty-four married couples in Mesopil. *Closest* degree of relationship is specified because many of

the couples are related to each other in several ways. These data were obtained by asking the informant to state the number of facts between the husband-wife pairs on the census sheets. His immediate reaction was to count the facts patrilineally

TABLE 9. CLOSEST DEGREE OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPOUSES

Degree	Number	Number of Husband	Type of Marriage
First cousin	2	B.XII. 43	Out. Mar. Lin.
		A.XI. 45	In Mar. Lin.
First cousin, once removed	5	B.XII. 44	Out. Mar. Lin.
		A.VIII. 20	In Mar. Lin.
		C.XVI. 56	In Mar. Lin
		C.XIII. 76	Out. Mar. Lin.
		C.XX. 67	Out. Mar. Lin.
Second cousin	5	A.I. 1	In Mar. Lin.
		A.III. 4	In Mar. Lin.
		B.XII. 48	Out. Mar. Lin.
		A.VII. 19	In Mar. Lin.
		C.XIV. —	In Mar. Lin.
Second cousin, once removed	6	A.X. 38	Out. Mar. Lin.
		A.VIII. 26	In Mar. Lin.
		A.VI. 16	In Mar. Lin.
		A.III. 3	In Mar. Lin.
		A.X. 42	In Mar. Lin.
		C.XVI. 59	Out. Mar. Lin.
Third cousin	11	A.VIII. 21	In Mar. Lin.
		A.VI. 13	Out. Mar. Lin.
		A.VIII. 22	In Mar. Lin.
		A.VIII. 25	In Mar. Lin.
		A.IX. 34	In Mar. Lin.
		A.VIII. 29	In Mar. Lin.
		A.VIII. 30	In Mar. Lin.
		C.XXI. 77	Out. Mar. Lin.
		C.XV. 55	Out. Mar. Lin.
		A.V. 12	Out. Mar. Lin.
		A.IV. 9	In Mar. Lin.
Third cousin, once removed	1	A.VIII. 27	In Mar. Lin.
Fourth cousin, or more distant	34	—	—

with the husband as the primary reference. When it was explained to him that the *closest relationship patrilineally or matrilineally* was desired, he did so, though it was clear that he thought it was unnecessary. He also admitted that he wasn't certain of all the relationships "through women." Between many of the spouses he said simply that the relationship was "far" or that there were "many" facts. These

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582 cases have arbitrarily been put into the "fourth cousin or more distant" category, 63 which may well be inaccurate. Table 9 indicates the fact that a sample of close biological relatives (i.e. third cousins and closer) includes pairs of people who are not only members of different minimal lineages, but of different maximal lineages as well; and this suggests sufficiently well the intricate web of kinship and marriage ties which connects different families and lineages.

621 582 Marriage within the village, that is, local endogamy, is very definitely preferred. Although exogamous marriages are now fairly numerous, this is a recent development which will be discussed later. For the purposes of this study, marriage with members of other villages in the Qurei, which have always occurred but relatively infrequently, are considered locally endogamous. (Defense of this definition will be presented in Part Two.)

Now let us turn to Table 10, which gives statistics on the present marriage patterns of the villagers, and consider, first, the intra-village marriages. The table does not illustrate the marriage patterns between lineages at the minimal lineage level. This is because no such patterns could be discovered in analyzing the census data.

Considering the column which represents the types of intra-village marriage which have been contracted, from the primary reference of men, we observe that:

1. "A" men take "A" women 2 to 1 as against "B" and "C" women.
2. "B" men take "A" or "C" women 8 to 1, as against "B" women.
3. "C" men take "A" or "B" women 3 to 2, as against "C" women.

Looking at these same marriages from the point of view of the women concerned, it is seen that:

1. A large proportion (44 per cent) of "A" women have been taken by "B" and "C" men.
2. Of "B" women seventy-five per cent have been taken by "A" and "C" men.
3. Of "C" women forty-six per cent have been taken by "A" and "B" men.

To put the matter in another way:

1. There are 43 women who have been taken *from* their own maximal lineage.
2. There are 45 women who have been taken *by* their own maximal lineage.
3. There are 42 men who have taken wives from their own maximal lineage.
4. There are 40 men who have taken wives *from* other maximal lineages than their own.

(The discrepancy in the total number of men and women is due to the occurrence of second marriages. Intra-village marriages do not seriously affect the roughly 51–49 ratio of women to men in the total population because they involve an approximately equal number of men and women. In other words, there is an approximately equal number of men and women available for intra-village marriage.)

TABLE 10. CORE GROUP: MARRIAGE PATTERNS BY LINEAGE

LINEAGE	MARRIED MALES			MARRIED FEMALES			TO AF	TO QUSAS (IDENTITY MARKS)	TO OUTSIDERS (IDENTITY PENDING)	TOTAL NO. HOUSEHOLDS	TOTAL POPULATION
	In Min. Lin.	In Max. Lin.	Out. Max. Lin.	In Min. Lin.	In Max. Lin.	Out. Max. Lin.					
A	8	19	14	8	20	22	2	15	10	44	272
I	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	10
II	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	6
III	—	4	1	—	3	2	—	—	2	4	25
IV	—	1	3	—	2	1	—	—	3	5	30
V	—	—	3	—	3	3	—	3	4	5	31
VI	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	1	3	22
VII	1	—	1	1	3	1	—	—	1	3	19
VIII	5	7	1	5	5	9	—	4	3	14	85
IX	1	2	1	1	2	2	—	2	1	3	17
X	1	1	2	1	—	3	2	3	1	6	35
XI	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	4
B	0	1	8	0	3	9	0	2	3	6	40
XII	—	1	6	—	2	7	—	1	3	4	30
XIII	—	—	2	—	1	2	—	1	1	2	10
C	2	10	10	2	12	12	0	2	0	31	184
XIV	1	—	5	1	1	1	—	1	1	3	20
XV	—	1	3	—	1	1	—	—	—	3	11
XVI	1	—	3	1	4	2	—	1	2	3	23
XVII	—	3	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	14
XVIII	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	2	11
XIX	—	1	2	—	—	1	—	—	1	3	13
XX	—	3	3	—	2	3	—	—	2	6	36
XXI	—	2	3	—	2	4	—	—	1	3	21
Deceased								—	1		
AF 5-7								—	3		
AF 1-4								—	6		
AF 1-2								1	—		

To put the matter in another way, for the village as a whole, marriages outside maximal lineages and inside them are almost exactly evenly divided. This is

what would be expected on the basis of chance alone in view of the following facts: (1) Individuals who choose spouses from inside the village, have a fifty-fifty choice, either to marry inside their matrimonial lineage or outside it. (2) By village marriage rules, this choice is entirely free.

The deviations from this overall pattern in the figures for the marriage patterns of the individual exogamous lineages are, in all probability, due to the differences in group size of the exogamous lineages. "A" includes forty-eight per cent of the total population of the village. For "A" men, therefore, about half of the available women are also from "A" in the first place, in addition to the fact that there is a fifty-fifty chance of their choosing from "A." "B" is overwhelmingly exogamous, both in regard to its men and its women. "B" has only six per cent of the total population of the village, divided among six households. Marriage within any one household would be virtually impossible because of incest regulations, and although it happens that members of any one of the households could, theoretically, marry into any of the others, there is no instance of it. (The one case of an intra-"B" marriage was between a man of XII and a "deceased" lineage.) Like "A" and "C," "B" people have a theoretical fifty-fifty choice between "B" and "non-B," but because of the small size of "B" its men and women are really forced to take from and marry into the other two exogamous lineages. "C" has thirty-five per cent of the total population, and, as might be expected, its marriage patterns reflect its middle position. In contradistinction to "A," "C" men show a moderately strong tendency to take their wives from the other two exogamous lineages, but this tendency is not nearly so strong as it is in "B." In regard to its women, however, about the same situation obtains in "C" as in "A," that is, slightly under half of the women are taken by men from other lineages.

To summarize: "A" men tend to take wives from "A" because "A" is so large. "B" and "C" men tend to take their wives from "A" for the same reason. An actual count confirms this generalization. "B" men have taken eight from "A" and one from "C." "C" men have taken fourteen from "A" and three from "B."

One informant was conscious of these tendencies and was of the opinion that in the past, more than fifty years ago at least, they were more pronounced than they are now. This was explained by saying, in effect that "B" and "C" wanted to marry "A" because "A" was more distinguished. "And how did 'A' feel about it?" "Oh, some did not care, but some others minded a great deal." And a story was related of a person in the past with whom the family refused to have anything more to do after the person's marriage to a member of another exogamous lineage than "A." No further examples could, however, be adduced. The informant also remarked emphatically that the conduct of the family had been shameful, and that it would never happen in the present day.

For some time, the writer seriously considered the hypothesis that until recently "A" was specifically endogamous, and that "B" and "C" were relatively exogamous, but necessarily endogamous with regard to "A." The probability of

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the truth of this notion of a dichotomous social organization was seen in several factors, viz: (1) The even split in population between "A" on one side and "B" and "C" on the other. (2) The indisputable fact that there is a conceptual division of the village into an upper half (dominated by "A") and a lower half (dominated by "C"). (3) The reports of all authorities that Arab kin groups tend to be endogamous and that Arab villages tend to be split into two factions (cf. Zaretsky, 1935, p. 432). (4) The apparent tendency for the present clique groups to fall into the lines laid by the supposed dichotomies. (So many exceptions to this were discovered, that this factor was discarded before the main theory was.)

On this theory, the present patterns of intra-village marriage were interpreted as a recent "breakdown" caused indirectly by acculturation. It was guessed that if the villagers felt that the integrity of the village as a unit was being seriously threatened by foreign influences, especially the lure of the city, there would be a tendency for the village as a unit to assume an even more important position *as such* in the villagers' eyes, so much so that exogamous lineage lines would be greatly weakened. The relaxing of exogamous lineage, hence of moiety, endogamy rules would be consistent with this tendency toward retrenchment.

This was a tempting and plausible theory. As time went on, however, it remained impossible to support its line of reasoning with behavioral evidence. Moreover, the theory was found to run afoul of two sets of objective evidence as follows:

1. During the period in which the postulated "breakdown" of lineage marriage barriers and concomitant solidification of village unity would have occurred (c. 1910 to the present), marriages to outsiders became a definite element in village life. (Previously they had been sporadic and had consisted entirely of village men marrying Orthodox women whom they had met in other districts while doing wage-labor there. These women were eventually brought into the village and entirely assimilated.) These marriages to outsiders are, at present, well distributed among the lineages, and with only a very few exceptions those who have contracted them have been persons of solid repute and status in the village. Marriage to an outsider is not, therefore, by and large, the behavior of persons whose social status is marginal, nor does it lower the status of such individuals. Attitudes toward it range from indifference ("I'll marry whomsoever I fall in love with. If she is not from the village, it does not matter."), to mild disapproval couched in practical terms ("It is unwise, it is taking a big chance."), to moderately strong disapproval ("The children of the girls who do it will be lost to the village, and we will not be able to see them often."). As far as could be observed, however, there is no violent objection to it, and at most, only token social pressures are brought against it. It is not a social offense. Consequently, it is difficult to rationalize away the conflict between postulated village endogamy and marriage to outsiders by suggesting that the hypothesized retrenchment in village unity (represented by the development of free marriage choice within the village as a whole in place of division moiety endogamy) was a violent reaction to the behavior of social mavericks.

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2. Data on marriages contracted between 1860 and 1900 indicate that the present patterns in intra-village marriage were in operation in full force from the beginning of that period, and presumably before it. In this period, according to the fragmentary figures at hand, "A" contracted thirty-one marriages. Thirteen of these were within "A" itself. Of the remaining eighteen, there were ten men who took two wives from "B" and eight from "C"; and there were eight women, two of whom were taken by "B," six by "C." "B" contracted eleven marriages. Two of these were within "B"; three men took from outside, two from "A," one from "C." Eight "B" women were taken by "A" and "C." "C" contracted twenty-four marriages, nine within itself, fifteen outside. Six men took from "A," one from "B," and eight women were taken by "A." This is virtually the same pattern as that illustrated by the figures for present marriages.

It should be added that even if all the evidence fitted together properly, it would be difficult to conceive of so radical a change as a change in marriage patterns taking place in so short a time on so large a scale—unless there had already been so large a number of exceptions to the rule that its reality would be open to serious question anyway.

It is held, then, that the present patterns of intra-village marriage are not a product of recent acculturation; that they are, in fact, of long standing. Presumably they have been in effect ever since the very early days when the village had grown to be more than a single family group. Except for the very limited range of absolutely prohibited relatives, the marriage system in Munejif is one of free choice within the village. The apparently different patterns among the maximal lineages revealed in the figures are, in reality, functions of mathematical chance and therefore are not social or cultural patterns at all.

In Munejif, specific marriage prohibitions apply within any group of relatives which consists of a married pair, their children, the original pair's siblings and their children. In other words, they apply to all first cousins, to aunts and nephews, uncles and nieces (very often of the same age in Munejif), and, of course, to parents and children. Marriage is also forbidden between any person and his godparent's children, between whom a conventionalized siblingship is recognized.

The restriction on marriage between any kind of first cousin has been alluded to before. Inasmuch as it is an important aspect of the bilateral emphasis in the social organization, it requires considerable comment.

The extension of marriage prohibition to all first cousins is a Church rule. Presumably, it is of as long standing among the Orthodox Arabs as their Christianity is. Originally, however, it was imposed upon the pagan Arabs approximately at the same time as their conversion, and it apparently displaced the system current at the time, which Mohammed formalized and incorporated into Islam. The key to this latter system is the preferential marriage of patrilateral parallel first cousins which is necessarily lineage endogamy.

In a strongly patrilineal system, patrilateral parallel cousins are the closest

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possible relatives, except siblings, who can ordinarily be expected to be of similar age (see Barth, 1954, p. 167). The prohibition on the marriage of siblings is one of the few unequivocally universal traits in the behavior of human beings which have so far been identified, and the Arabs are no exception.

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This marriage system is a reflection of one of the most fundamental concepts in Arab culture. If the Arab-in-the-street could fully verbalize this concept, he would say something like this: "The strongest tie which binds one person to another is the tie of blood, reckoned in the male line. The only people in this hard world in whom I can put my full trust are my relatives. Therefore, the best people in the world are my relatives—my brother, my father, my father's brothers and their sons, and beyond them, everyone in my father's lineage. When one marries, one chooses the best person one can find, and the best person is to be found among one's kinsmen—the closer the better."

A rigid functionalist might well reject this formulation, dismissing it as unverified sentimentality. He would say that lineage, and better still, extended family, endogamy exists because (a) it is a means of keeping property within the family (cf. Latron, 1936, p. 132), and (b) because it means that the bride price is materially reduced (cf. Daghestani, 1932, p. 22 and Barth, 1954, p. 168). These elements *are* associated with the system of marriage of close relatives, and they undoubtedly serve to reinforce the desirability of the system in the peoples' minds. But primary dependence upon hypothecated *causal* relationships of this sort can be a most misleading procedure. The fact is that the Arabs *are* sentimental, in both the literal and the common meanings of the word, about their kinsmen (cf. Tannous, 1942b, *in toto*). All the attitudes and emotions involved in this stem from the key conception of human relationships which has been noted above. This conception for the majority of Arabs probably exists largely at the implicit level, at least in its fully developed form.

Its power is no less among Christian Arabs than it is among Muslim Arabs. But the Christian Arabs have a special problem, a conflict between, on the one hand, their conception of the kinsman and his role in marriage and, on the other hand, the dictates of their religion. For strong sectarian sentiments, solidified here as everywhere else by meticulous adherence to clearly specified rules, are another behavioral cornerstone of Arab culture, equally important as kinship. In fact, so strong are both that one cannot be sacrificed for the other, even temporarily, without great discomfort, and certainly not in a continuous system like the marriage patterns of a community.

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Obviously the conflict comes to a head in Mutqif in the matter of the prohibition of marriage of all first cousins. The resolution of the conflict appears to be a sort of compromise which is revealed in the rather ambiguous general status of all first cousins as a group. In some respects they appear to be undifferentiated, which is a violation of strict patriliny. In other instances, patrilateral parallel cousins alone have special status.

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582 588 The term "incest" is most meaningful when it is restricted to the denotation of the mating and/or marriage of relatives so close that knowledge of the act excites horror and revulsion among the other members of the community to such a degree that the guilty pair may be disgraced, ostracized or even killed. On this definition, the marriage of first cousins in Munqif is *not* incest. This is indicated by the status of the two pairs of first cousin spouses now living in the village. As far as could be observed, they suffer in no way because of their special relationship, not even from mild ridicule. The fact *was* singled out for remark as being unusual, against the formal rules, and therefore requiring an episcopal dispensation, but this was all.

582 605 Nevertheless, the marriage of first cousins is restricted, and though not absolutely impossible, difficulties are put in the way of its achievement, and it is rare. In terms of this restriction all first cousins are of equal and undifferentiated status. It is the guess of this writer that (1) the concept of all first cousins being equally close relatives in terms of affective relationships, and (2) the extension of the kinship term *ibn* to the male spouses of all first cousins are developments from the pseudo-sibling status of all first cousins which the Church marriage rules established. These three elements of behavior are not in accord with what we would expect to find in a strictly patrilineal system. However, in regard to inheritance and other rights and privileges associated with lineage membership, patrilateral parallel cousins alone have special status, and none of the other types of first cousin count at all. It is important to note that the importance of matrilateral kin is limited to first cousins and their parents, especially the mother's brothers.

Such is the "compromise" between Church regulations and kinship rules as reflected in the various types of behavior associated with first cousins. The theory is admittedly speculative, but in the absence of a better alternative, it is the only interpretation which this writer can give the variously inconsistent phenomena which have been discussed.

RULES OF INHERITANCE

478 The rules of inheritance are relevant to the subject of kinship and marriage. Preferably, inheritance among the Arabs goes from father to children. According to Koranic and Ottoman law, all sons receive equal shares, and all daughters receive equal shares, but a daughter's share is equal to half a son's. As the villagers say: "One son is worth two daughters."

In Munqif, however, daughters customarily do not take their shares, but, instead, make them over to their brothers. Zarour (1953, p. 437) reports exactly the same practice in contemporary Ramallah. Several informants of both sexes [585] said that this was not an unfair arrangement because most brothers give their sisters substantial presents when they are married. Since daughters do not, in actual practice, ordinarily inherit property, their marriage to members of other kin groups does not contribute to any dispersal of family property.

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Women in general, however, can and do inherit property in their own right. 428
For example, a widow, even if she has children, gets one-eighth of her husband's property, and if there are no children at all, she gets one-fourth. If there are daughters but no sons, the daughters inherit, in equal shares, a total of fourteen twenty-fourths of their father's property, while seven twenty-fourths go to his brother or brothers. There appears, nevertheless, to be a tendency for such heiresses to make over their inheritance to men of one status or another, or at least to relinquish all responsibility for it. For example, one house in the village was reported to be owned jointly by two men who were not close relatives at all. By marriage, however, they were *'aliil*, married to sisters, and these women, who had no brothers, had inherited the house from their father.

For purposes of inheritance, a man's property is theoretically divided into twenty-four equal parts, on which basis the shares of various heirs can automatically be computed. One can imagine, however, the difficulties and disagreements which arise in trying to divide what is mostly real property, rather than money, into twenty-four equal parts. These difficulties are one reason for the frequent postponement of the actual division of inheritance among brothers.

GODPARENTS

It has been mentioned that godparenthood establishes a ritual siblingship in 608
the second generation. Ordinarily the *sbbiin* at the wedding becomes the godfather (*'arraab*) of the children, while the *sbbiini* becomes their godmother (*'arraaba*). Between the godchildren (masc., *fal'yaan;* fem., *fal'yaani*) and the children of their [582]
godparents marriage is forbidden, as between siblings, and sometimes they use sibling terms. However, in actual practice, this prohibition does not greatly widen the range of persons with whom marriage is forbidden because many of the brides and grooms select their own brothers or sisters to be *sbbiin* and *sbbiini*. Consequently, in these cases the children are first cousins. In this culture, the godparent complex is largely a means of reinforcing the solidarity of an already solid group of kinsmen. Most informants did not seem to take these ritual statuses, as such, very seriously.

VILLAGE ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

We now turn to the important topic of village endogamy and exogamy. No 621
one is remembered to have married outside the village or the Qurni (marriages 582
within the Qurni are to be considered as locally endogamous) before about one hundred years ago. It has been mentioned before that most of the early cases were men who took wives from villages in which they were doing wage labor. These cases were apparently sporadic and had little or no effect on the social structure of the village since the wives were absorbed into it.

Table 11 indicates that village exogamy did not become a real trend until

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621 582 after World War I. It will be remembered that it has only been during this period that efficient long-distance communications and residence away from the village on a large scale (giving opportunity to meet outsiders) have developed. The table also shows how the tendency is steadily increasing, though of course the percentage for 1950–52 is not comparable to those for entire decades.

About half of those now married to outsiders are women, and in only a few cases have the husbands of such women settled in Munqif (thereby establishing affiliate families). In other words, the present trend to exogamy is removing a large number of women from the village, and the children of these women belong to their fathers' families and villages, not to Munqif. The marriage of women to out-

TABLE 11. MARRIAGES OF ALL TYPES, CONTRACTED 1860–1952

	Endogamous		Exogamous					
Date	Village	Qarai	Greek Ortho.	Other Christian	Muslim	Total Endog.	Total Exog.	% Exog.
1860–1869 *	3	—	—	—	—	3	—	0.0
1870–1879 *	7	3	—	—	—	10	—	0.0
1880–1889 *	17	4	—	—	—	21	—	0.0
1890–1899	21	3	1	—	—	24	1	4.0
1900–1909	9	4	1	—	—	13	1	7.0
1910–1919	7	0	—	1	—	7	1	12.5
1920–1929	23	6	2	1	—	29	3	9.0
1930–1939	22	3	8	4	—	25	12	33.0
1940–1949	14	3	3	5	3	17	11	39.0
1950–1952	1	1	—	5	—	2	5	71.0
Total	124	27	15	16	3	151	34	18.4

* Figures for these decades are fragmentary.

siders means a real loss to the village. One might, therefore, expect the villagers to prevent it. There is evidence that the phenomenon is regretted and some of the expressed opinions about it have already been noted. However, most of the husbands in these cases appear to be young men of reasonably good prospects who are working in the city, not in their natal villages. The parents of the girls seem to recognize that the chances are good that their daughters will be as well cared for by the outsiders as they would be by local husbands. Besides, if it came to an economic show-down, the parents in most cases would be unable to deliver any ultimatum to their self-supporting daughters. The whole trend is quite clearly correlated with the current acculturative process, wherein the city with its material conveniences has a particular appeal to the young housewife. And a girl's marriage to an outsider *living in the city* is quite a different matter from her moving to his village where she would remain a social outsider for some years.

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There is a definite difference between marrying an Orthodox outsider and an outsider of different religion. The saying is: *Al-mar'a tithat zawjha*, "The woman follows her husband." This means that in the case of mixed-religion marriages, the children will be raised in the religion of the father, a custom which is a major deterrent to such marriages. Such cases in Munṣif constitute a minority of the outsider-marriages. They are all very recent. The first (which for a long time was the only one) occurred about 1914 when one of the village girls married a Maronite wage-laborer who was living in the village. He settled permanently, and one of the third class affiliate families was thus established. In general, the reaction to the marriage of village girls to men of other religions seemed somewhat sad but passively resigned.

However, on one point in relation to mixed marriages village opinion is very strong. If a village man wished to marry a girl of another religion (necessarily also of another village), it is assumed that the children would take the religion of the father. Suppose, however, that the girl's parents refused to agree to this? In such a case, village opinion is that the man should give up any idea of the marriage. If, however, he insisted on acquiescing to the girl's parents' demand, he would be strongly condemned and very likely ostracized, at least for a time. Such an action would be a violation of religious and community mores as well as of those relating to the proper relationship between man and wife. And it is certainly true that if a number of men should adopt this practice, the religious structure of the village would be seriously undermined.

CLIQUES

The existence of cliques in Munṣif has been mentioned before, but it has also been mentioned that data on them is wholly inadequate. This much can be said: There are two clear-cut groups of close and constant companions, and during the course of the study, various members of each group made unflattering remarks about members of the other. It is possible that the whole village is split into factions with the two groups as nuclei, but only some inconclusive suggestions of this were encountered. Others who have had experience with Middle East villages generally agree that this type of faction-split is frequently encountered. (cf. Gibb & Bowen, 1950, p. 268). It is important to note that the members of each of the two groups do not belong to any one minimal lineage or maximal lineage.

SOCIAL CLASS

In Munṣif there is not now, and apparently never has been, a particular family which owns a large proportion of the village, on whose land other villagers work as tenants. In some parts of the Middle East, this type of organization results in a rather clear two-class system.

In Munṣif, as in many other Lebanese villages, the social structure is equali-

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565 tarian. Though *individuals* are rated on a scale of values from excellent to worthless, such judgments do not seem to be applied to groups of people. Every person and every family are social equals because everyone is descended from the same man, the founder of the village. No one is a tenant on the land of anyone else, and it is important in this connection to recall a statement made earlier to the effect that villagers do not like to work for each other in menial tasks.

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Families are to some extent distinguished from each other in terms of prosperity, but this seems to apply only to conjugal, or at most, to extended families. Numerous examples were given of families now well off which a few years ago had been poor, and vice versa. Notable prosperity or poverty both seem to be regarded as transitory situations mostly due to "luck." No patriline or lineage seems ever to have become entrenched for a long period either in poverty or in wealth.

The only groups which appear to be blanketed as socially inferior are some of the affiliate families whose founders came as outsiders to work as wage-laborers. (cf. Barth, 1954, p. 166.)

There *are* some suggestions that in time there may develop a distinction which could definitely be called a class distinction between villagers who are well-educated workers and those who remain in the village as manual laborers and farmers. The distinction would be the result of a wide divergence of interests and values.

CONCLUSION

621 A few important points which have been made in the course of this chapter should be isolated and fixed in mind before we proceed further.

1. Genealogically and conceptually, ...nqif is a single superlineage, segmented into maximal and minimal lineages.

2. Village endogamy is the traditional pattern and, in general, is still the ideal. The fairly numerous exogamous marriages are concomitant with recent culture changes whose impetus is external to the village.

3. In terms of function, the maximal lineages appear to be vestigial institutions.

4. The minimal lineages are name groups, they define ordinarily the maximum range of inheritance privileges, and they probably serve as solidary units in times of crisis.

5. There is inconclusive evidence of a dual organization of the village both in the past and the present, but it cannot be satisfactorily correlated either with lineages or cliques.

6. Marriage choices are free within the village, except that the marriage of all first cousins, and closer relatives, is prohibited.

7. The specific marriage prohibition is an aspect of the fact that every individual is a member of a strong bilateral kindred of two, but usually not more than two, generations.

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8. This divergence from the otherwise strongly unilineal organization of the village is interpreted as a compromise between incompatible religious and structural principles, neither of which, owing to the nature of the culture, can be wholly sacrificed for the other. 621

9. As a unit of residence, at least, the conjugal family is far more important than the extended family.

A recent paper by Meyer Fortes (1953) provides some additional theoretical perspective to some of these points. Fortes' argument is based largely on his own and other British anthropologists' work in certain African cultures whose principle of genealogical segmentation of lineages in general appears very similar to that in Munşif.

The following quotation throws some light on the situation in Munşif:

> A Society made up of corporate lineages is in danger of splitting into rival lineage factions. How is this counteracted in the interests of wider political unity? One way is to extend the lineage framework to the widest range within which sanctions exist for preventing conflicts and disputes from ending in feud or warfare.
>
> Another way . . . is for the common interest of the political community to be asserted periodically, as against the private interests of the component lineages, through religious institutions and sanctions. (Fortes, 1953, p. 28.)

The genealogical structure of *Munşif* as a whole would appear to be just such an extension of the lineage framework. We do not know for sure whether universal descent from the founder is a historical fact or a fiction. It is, in either case, taken seriously by the villagers, and the emphasis on village endogamy, the de-emphasis on lineages as units of marriage regulation, and certain usages of kinship terminology lend support to Fortes' generalization as applied to *Munşif*. Furthermore, we have seen in the chapter "Socio-Religious Behavior" that periodic rituals clearly serve the function of uniting the village as a whole.

Again, Fortes generalizes from his African material to say that the bilateral family is a focal element even in unilineal systems, being a tie through sibling filiation between ego and his closest relatives who are not members of his descent group (Fortes, 1953, p. 33). This generalization appears to be clearly supported in *Munşif*.

Lastly, Fortes states (*ibid.*, p. 31) that the maximum depth of lineages seems to be about fourteen generations, which is very close to the depth of *Munşif*'s Core Group as a whole, but that five or six generations is more common, and these figures are not far from those for the average minimal lineage in *Munşif*.

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VALUES. A CONCLUSION OF PART ONE

600 THE purpose of this chapter is to rephrase and reemphasize a number of phenomena which have been dealt with in one way or another in Part One, so that these matters will be in the forefront of our minds as we proceed into Part Two and approach the conclusion of this work. This chapter is, then, a reclassification under a new heading of data which have already appeared under a number of different headings.

The principle on which these data are reordered is the concept of value which has only recently been closely defined for anthropological purposes by Kluckhohn. His definition is as follows: "A value is a conception, explicit or implicit, distinctive of an individual or characteristic of a group, of the desirable which influences the selection from available modes, means, and ends of action." (Kluckhohn, 1952, p. 395.) To put the matter another way, a value is a code or standard which organizes a system of action, and places everything concerned on an approval-disapproval continuum (*ibid.*, p. 395).

An extension of the concept of value is that of value-orientation. "A value-orientation is a generalized conception, influencing behavior, of nature, of man's place in it, of man's relation to man, and of the desirable and nondesirable as they may relate to man-environment and interhuman relations." (Kluckhohn, 1952, p. 411.)

This chapter is not, however, a values analysis as such; rather, it is an ordering of certain types of behavior in Munqil under the heading of "values." Therefore, while values and value-orientations obviously play an essential role in these behavior patterns, no claim is made that any one of the latter necessarily *is* in itself *a* value or *a* value-orientation. Such an analysis undoubtedly could be made, but it is not necessary for the purposes at hand. When we say that values obviously play an essential role in these behavior patterns, we mean that the descriptions of them have included three, in particular, of Kluckhohn's "operational indices" of values: (1) Approval or disapproval being made explicit by word and deed; (2) acts which elicit strong emotional responses; (3) consistent directionality in certain ways (*ibid.*, p. 404).

This writer undertook no systematic research in Munqil upon the intricate and important topic of culture and personality, and he would not attempt to make any generalizations of his own in regard to Munqil. He has, however, encountered a number of statements by various authors on what appear to them to be charac-

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teristic personality traits of a large number of Arabs. A few of these statements seem to be pertinent to this discussion.

Tan[illegible] (1944, p. 326) lists a number of Arab cultural themes two of which, in particular, are constantly reflected in individual personalities. One of these is hospitality, and the other is the predilection for the personal touch in human relationships.

Bonne (1948, p. 255), quoting from Huvelin, characterizes the Syrians as spontaneous, impulsive, versatile, endowed with excellent memories and capacities for assimilation, but somewhat less endowed with initiative and perseverance.

Kohn (1956, p. 73) characterizes the Middle East villager as a "hard worker, cautious and suspicious, but with great natural intelligence." He also remarks on the "personal element" which, he says, coupled with "the tendency of likes and dislikes to outweigh rational and practical considerations, often leads to nepotism and to the granting of personal favors which interfere with the quality of administrative service" (*ibid.*, p. 83). He also notes quickness in comprehension, the gift of oratory, and deftness in the handling of other people (*ibid.*, pp. 83–84).

Thoumin (1936, p. 29) writes: "Neither Christianity nor Islam could ever modify the Syrian mentality, its mysticism (ascetic and voluptuous by turns), its passion for talk, and the pride of the individual in possessing a different faith from that of his neighbor" [author's translation.]

IN-GROUPS

The matter of in-groups in the culture of *Munsif* is one of central importance. A large amount of material has been given on it already, more will be said in Part Two; here the situation will be summarized very briefly.

There are three criteria for the formation of in-groups—three standards, as it were, around which the passions of loyalty and identification cluster. They are kinship, locality, and religion. These three criteria have led to the formation of four units of social structure. Kinship is the basis of the family and the lineage; locality is the primary basis of the village; religion is the primary basis of al-Qumi. To some degree the village is also a religious unit, and al-Qumi is also a local unit from the point of view of all its inhabitants.

Family, lineage, village, and Qumi—for any one individual these four form a series of in-groups of ever increasing inclusiveness from his family outwards. We should ordinarily be inclined to assume that the cohesiveness and solidarity of these units would vary inversely as their size and inclusiveness. In one respect, at least, this generalization does not appear to hold true for *Munsif*, for there are strong suggestions that to the average *Munsifi*, the village as a whole is more meaningful as a unit than his particular minimal lineage, and this is unquestionably true as far as the maximal lineage is concerned. In this connection, it must be

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remembered that genealogically and conceptually (the villagers' concept), Munşif is a single kinship unit.[1]

This structure of in-groups is traditional, and it appears to have maintained its vitality in the face of great culture change, to which a limited amount of local exogamy seems to be the only major concession. When, however, we turn to the other areas of behavior which are reviewed in this chapter, we find that none of them can be discussed at all without reference to the problems of acculturation.

MONEY

The villagers' need for, and great concern about, money is very clear indeed. This is entirely understandable since the expense of education and manufactured products, alone, require much of it.

Money as it is known in the Western world is very ancient in the Middle East, in fact it apparently originated there. However, before about seventy-five years ago its use in most villages was limited, since for most needs barter and mutual help in a regime of local self-sufficiency were ordinarily enough to motivate exchange of goods and services.

Money began to come in large quantities into villages like Munşif from emigrants in America. At the same time, Lebanon began to receive foreign manufactured articles which could only be obtained through payment of cash. Today, money is the only means of exchange in the village, and prices are an incessant topic of conversation among the villagers. This is, of course, due in part to the fact that the country has suffered severe inflationary trends during the past ten years, in part, according to Murray, to "a natural speculative proclivity on the part of most of the people" (1947, p. 15).

However, there are some indications that this recent emphasis on money as a thing in itself has set up disturbing conflicts in many people. For example, it is often heard that the Western powers are obviously bent upon buying the friendship of the Arabs, but that true friends cannot be bought. Such an attitude might either be a projection of attitudes and behavior prevalent among the speakers themselves, or it might be an expression of sincere and objective distaste for one of the unpleasant consequences of overemphasis on money. In any case, a conflict in values relating to money is consciously recognized.

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

"In Munşif you will find many people who live in poor houses but have much education. This is because we would rather, if we must choose, use our money for a fine education than for a fine house." This was one of the first remarks that was made to the writer about the culture of the village, and, as time went on,

[1] For additional perspectives on the structure of the village see Gulick (1955, pp. 339-71).

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its validity as a generalization was confirmed, although different individuals and families seemed to vary somewhat in their emphasis of it. The efforts and sacrifices made by the Munqidhin in the pursuit of education are truly admirable, yet modern education has created problems as well as opened new opportunities.

The desirability of learning and the prestige of the learned are ancient traits in Arab culture, but the opportunity for the attainment of them used to be limited to very few individuals. Hence, the foreign educators who invaded the Middle East in the nineteenth century met no resistance to education as such, although they did meet resistance to some of their course material, particularly that which bore upon sectarian beliefs (cf. Tannous, 1943a, p. 339). The American educators, by and large, before long demonstrated an admirable perception of cultural reality in setting two basic policies in their schools: (1) religious education as such (i.e. missionizing) to be minimized; (2) full coverage of Classical Arabic grammar and literature to be provided—in fact required—in addition to all the new subjects and lines of thought introduced from the West.

One result was the tremendous enthusiasm and hunger, as Kohn puts it (1936, p. 84), for education which is characteristic of the Arabs, and of which the Munqidhin are a very good example. Freya Stark gives some perspective on the matter as follows:

> The Arabs' passion for education is, I think, one of the most interesting things about them. To it we owe much classic culture that has been saved and handed down.
>
> The Turkish occupation threw a blight on this love of learning. . . . But love for the beautiful language remained latent, and in the first half of the nineteenth century two great leaders of culture, Nasif Yazji and Butrus Bustani, both Christian Arabs of the Lebanon, inspired and helped by the early American teachers, once again brought it into the open. (1945, pp. 119–20.)

It should be apparent that although the new education in the Middle East has created serious acculturative problems, it is a rather different phenomenon from the introduction of literate education into previously non-literate cultures (cf. Redfield, 1930, pp. 170–72).

The other side of the educational coin is not quite so pretty as that shown us by Stark. It is fairly obvious that Western-style and Western-inspired education, while aiming to broaden all the students' horizons and to train some of them in Western techniques like medicine and engineering, has also led to confusion, to superficial understanding of the West, and to conflicts in values. In general, information on technological matters has been great, but understanding of the spiritual interests of the West has lagged so far behind that it is often believed that they do not exist. Kohn finds that the process of transition is full of disruption in which morality slackens, taste deteriorates, and only the externals of European culture—often undesirable ones—are assumed, without penetrating the nature of that culture (1936, p. 89).

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It is, of course, no surprise to the anthropologist to learn that acculturation in the Middle East, as elsewhere, shows that material cultural traits are more readily transmitted than non-material ones. Nor is it any surprise to him that these material traits, the automobile for example, though readily *accepted*, cannot be *assimilated* without some major social readjustments. Before the latter are completed, there is bound to be turmoil and discomfort. But the turmoil in the Middle East is greatly aggravated through education by the introduction of a motley assortment of Western ideas, ideals, and concepts which cannot be ignored yet which the average student does not have the background to evaluate. If this were not confusing enough, the Arab student has become keenly aware of the frequently extreme discrepancy between Western ideals and some Western actions.

At the village level, one effect of modern education which has been of great significance in Munqif, is summarized by Kurani, ". . . the kind of education which is being offered in the public and most of the private schools tends to draw youth away from the villages and renders them unfit for work on the farms" (1951, p. 163).

In one respect, however, as we have already intimated, modern education has not, except in extreme cases, weakened the great value which the Arabs place upon their beloved native language. The very sound of the words is a profound delight to them. This has always been true, but one suspects that in recent years their pride in it as something uniquely their own has been greatly emphasized. Here is one treasure that the Westerners, for all their material skill and wealth, do not possess, which they can never make their own, which most Westerners who are given the opportunity fail to master even as a tool, which a few Westerners do master but only after considerable effort and application. And so, to its native speakers, Arabic is more than just a semantic tool; it is a source of everyday pleasure and inspiration; and it is a symbol of cultural integrity.

Associated with this is the cultural trait of elaborate verbalizing. There are countless verbal formulas which cover every conceivable occasion from giving condolences to asking for, giving, and receiving a drink of water. Preferably, one does not come directly to the point on any issue; one approaches it circuitously, not because one is necessarily evasive in personality, but because it is the thing to do. And it is the thing to do because it is enjoyable. One Arab has put the matter thus: "Brevity is the soul of singleness." (Ribbany, 1916, p. 208.) In the present writer's opinion, not enough thought has been given to the possibility that the great difference in this respect between Arab and, particularly, American values has been responsible for a noticeable portion of the mutual irritation and misunderstanding which has occurred in recent years.

In Munqif, as elsewhere, Arabic retains its paramount status. The wide knowledge of English is not to be interpreted as a breach in the villagers' cultural defenses, for English is learned, used, and looked upon as a tool only.

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VILLAGE LIFE VERSUS CITY LIFE

It should be apparent by now that the village as an institution is a significant focus of loyalty and identification for everyone in it regardless of age. This unity of sentiment is not, however, matched by unity of opinion as to which is better, living in the village or living in the city. On this three different points of view were expressed: (1) regret at the passing of the "good old days," coupled with complete resignation to the present situation; (2) regret at the passing of the "good old days" coupled with the desire to revitalize village life, by bringing in irrigation; (3) outspoken preference for the material advantages and comforts of city life, without, however, much spiritual satisfaction in it. By adhering to any one of these views, the average Mizeifi necessarily finds himself afflicted with nostalgia, frustration, or both.

Illustrative of the first point of view is the following quotation from the remarks of a middle-aged resident. The occasion was a moment when the investigator had stopped to ask about an enormous mound of small stones, one of many in the village.

> Our grandfathers worked very hard. They took the stones from the ground and put them here, so they could plant. Now people do not work hard. Our grandfathers worked hard, and they lived well. Now we are poor. They were not rich, but they were strong and well.

The second point of view was expressed by another middle-aged man as follows:

> Most of these young people now don't want to work the way their grandfathers did. They want to go to Beirut and make a few easy piasters. And when they get a job there, what happens? It costs so much to live there that they are not any better off than they would be here.
>
> I would like to see these young people settle down here on the land again. Most people here don't want to make a lot of money. All they really want is to make enough so they will not be hungry and without clothes. That is why we need to bring water to the village. Not many can live on the land here now because the land is so poor, because it needs water.

One can read into this statement the problem which many of the young people face: educational emphasis leading away from village life and its satisfactions over and beyond the problem of adequate financial return.

The third point of view was revealed, in significantly ambivalent form, by a young adult who had received the highest type of education. He once remarked: "I think those of us who live in Beirut appreciate the ways of the village more than those who live in the village all the time." But he immediately added that there was very little to do in the village, and for a person of his interests and ambitions, this was certainly the truth. He went on to voice the concerns of many young fathers

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who worked in the city over where they would send their children to school, back in the village or in the city.

Another young adult was completely explicit in his expression of preference for the material and mechanical conveniences of city life which are not available in the village. The scorn for manual labor on the part of Western-educated Arabs has been noted by other students, and is clearly in evidence. In Beirut, for example, Arabs of the most modest means employ a housemaid if they possibly can. This "effendi-complex" is symbolized by many men by a practice whose resemblance in both form and meaning to a proverbial Chinese one is really quite striking—the nails of the little fingers are allowed to grow conspicuously long. This practice is not followed by everyone, but it is very common.

NATIONALISM AND XENOPHOBIA

The rise of nationalism in the Middle East, especially since 1918, is a much written upon topic, full details of which cannot and need not be given here. But we are concerned with the way in which the rise of nationalism has affected the Lebanese village in general, Mansfil in particular. Tannous sums the matter up in the following words:

> Peth, yr the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. *National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon* [our italics]. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. *Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities* [our italics]. (Tannous, 1940, p. 162.)

The penetration of nationalistic sentiments into villages such as Mansfil would, of course, have been impossible without modern techniques of communication, particularly the press and radio. Rapid surface transportation also has drastically reduced the number and extent of isolated communities. And nationalism itself is a consequence of, and a reaction to, the culture contact situation. (Cf. Kluckhohn, 1955a, p. 31.)

As has been pointed out, the public school curriculum includes regular exhortations in the interests of patriotism, national pride and unity. Small national flags are frequently seen displayed in such unconventional places as automobiles and buses. The national emblem (a cedar tree with triangular foliage and a thick, short trunk) is often seen, in Mansfil and elsewhere, scrawled on walls. It is by no means true, however, that national loyalty has replaced local loyalties in the manner, for example, of modern Japanese villages (cf. Embree, 1939, p. 302). In terms of the in-group analysis in this chapter, the nation has become, for the individual villager, the fifth in the series of in-groups which engage his feelings of loyalty and identification.

Middle East nationalism is, among other things, very definitely an in-group/out-group sentiment, and it is most frequently expressed in terms of opposition to foreign powers. This opposition is not entirely unjustified, but it very often exceeds reason and becomes purely emotional hatred. There is much truth in Khoury's contention that this xenophobia is a general reaction to the many frustrations inherent in the acculturative situation, that it is, in many cases, a scapegoat mechanism (ibid., pp. 33–34).

Lebanese Christians, such as the Maronites, appear to have especially painful ambivalent feelings in this matter. Much of the xenophobia at present has particular reference to the United States because of its role in the establishment of Israel. But before World War II, the United States and its citizens enjoyed a remarkably fine reputation among the Lebanese, which could not be completely erased by subsequent events. Many villagers attempt to resolve the conflict by trying to persuade themselves and each other that *all* the doings of the Americans are, in some way or other, motivated by hostility towards them. This attempted persuasion does not appear to have been entirely successful, and the process continues.

THE MEETING OF EAST AND WEST

Charles Malik, the distinguished Lebanese philosopher and statesman, has recently written that the trouble with Northrop's book, *The Meeting of East and West*, is that it does not take into consideration *the* meeting of the two, namely the Middle East (Malik, 1955, p. 4). Malik, whose own career is an outstanding example of the acculturative process, is deeply troubled, as everyone concerned is, by the disruption which acculturation has caused in the Middle East, and he seems to feel, to put his words into anthropological terms, that mutual understanding and the reduction of tensions will only be achieved when and if the cultural premises of the West are perceived and appreciated by the East. We hope that he is not implying that these cultural premises should be *imposed* on the East, but in any case, he is correct in pointing out that Western influence has so far been disproportionately on the material side. The Arabs appreciate the practical advantages of the products of Western inventiveness, but in general they have been given little opportunity to learn that the West has anything more to offer than tools, techniques and money. Consequently, one hears frequently the bitter remark that while they, the Arabs, are a spiritual people, the Westerners are crass materialists. Though many have been exposed to segments of Western thought in school and college, few have been able to achieve a genuine rapport with this necessarily disembodied material.

And so, the meeting of East and West in the Middle East at the present time can be viewed as a conflict of values. According to Kimmel (1955, p. 137), there are a few who would resolve the conflict by having the Middle East break away completely from its own culture (which they themselves have done). This view

is as naive and visionary as its opposite—the deliberate prevention of all further acculturation and a general turning back of the cultural clock, a procedure advocated by certain groups.

For the most part, the Maronites appear to belong to a much larger group than either of the two extremes, whose approximate situation has been described, as follows:

> They (the Syrians and Lebanese) are peculiarly aware of the "tension" between East and West and between Islam and Christianity. This is partly because their minds are exceptionally subtle, flexible, and sensitive; but partly also because Syria has always been exposed to influences coming in from Mediterranean lands and needs to be alerted by them sooner and more profoundly than the other Arab countries. Through the mission-schools, through emigration, and in other ways, there has been built up in Syria an educated class westernized in spirit as well as in economic, but still Arabic in language and for the most part sympathetic and feelings. Thus the conflict between East and West has become a conflict inside their own souls; as such it raises problems which press themselves with peculiar urgency. (Hourani, 1946, p. 75.)

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PART TWO

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STABILITY AND CHANGE IN THE CULTURE OF AL-MUNṢIF

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THE PATTERNS OF CULTURE CHANGE*

THE PAST

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LEBANESE VILLAGE

TANNOUS has described the social life of the traditional Middle East (including Lebanese) village as revolving around three major themes each — which organizes action and focalizes emotions and values. These themes are the land (Tannous, 1944, p. 330 ff.), kinship (*ibid.*, p. 337 ff.), and religion (*ibid.*, p. 339 ff.).

Under "land" Tannous subsumes subsistence techniques, which are mainly agricultural techniques, and in general the actions, attitudes, and values of rural economic life. The major point is that the traditional peasant, who draws his entire subsistence from the land, feels toward it a rather intense personal devotion and sense of identification. In Lebanon, where individual private ownership is common, and based in large degree on inheritance from ancestors, these feelings are particularly intense.

In regard to kinship (we have previously discussed its importance as an organizing mechanism), the following quotation from Tannous, describing the social unit called minimal lineage in the present study, is a good summary:

> It consists of all those who claim descent from the same paternal ancestor. The number of joint families that make up a kinship group varies from village to village according to the age of the community and the occurrence of disruptive factors that may split the group at a certain stage in its development or retard its growth. Its influence is felt by the individual in a variety of situations. From the start, the child learns that he should address every member of the unit as "cousin," or "uncle," or "aunt," or "grandfather," or "grandmother." As mentioned above, it is expected of a young man to marry within rather than outside the kinship group. [Tannous is generalizing on *all* Middle East villages, and most of them, of course, unlike Muspil, are Moslem.] In times of serious conflicts or feuds within the village, kinship loyalty asserts itself and is binding upon every member. (Tannous, 1944, p. 339.)

Of religion, Tannous says that it is a way of life in the traditional village, that it permeates life completely. In this connection, he writes about the peasant and his religion: "He may not know much about its dogmas or subscribe to their

* The main points which are treated in this chapter have been published elsewhere (Gulick, 1954) in somewhat different form.

[illegible] latter, but he conforms loyally to the community feelings and modes which have been inspired unduly by the rules of the church." (Touma, 1968, p. 340.) We can safely assume that prior to about seventy-five years ago at most, Mtaniḥ and the Mtaniḥis conformed to all these traditional patterns. Many of them still continue to [illegible].

[illegible] It has been described in Part One, to indicate the differential effects of change on the three major themes of village life as they have been outlined by Touma, and, in the two following chapters, to put these differential effects into theoretical perspective.

Before we enter upon this three-part analysis, we must say something about the origins of the village and the sequence of events in its development.

THE FOUNDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF AL-MUNSIF

Of the founding of the village we have only the rather vague beliefs of the present villagers for information, namely, that the founder was an emigrant from Syria, and that there were apparently no other inhabitants in the present territory of the village-to-be when he arrived. We have seen that a maximum of twelve generations (= ?, according to the genealogy, descended from the founder. If we allow thirty years for each generation, we set the founder's birth date at approximately 1590, and deduce that he must have come to the village site sometime during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. This reasoning is based on some arbitrary assumptions, and it would be absurd to insist on too detailed a reconstruction as far as dates are concerned.

However, there are two related sets of evidence at hand which lend credence to the notion that the village was founded sometime in the early part of the seventeenth century. Ḥitti (1924, p. 374), in discussing the origins of the town of Ras al-Matn, which is somewhat north of and inland from Beirut, says that the ancestors of several of the Orthodox families there came from Damascus in the seventeenth century to escape the religious persecution in Syria. From 1590 to 1635, Lebanon was ruled efficiently and justly by a Druze Amir, Fakhr al-Din II, and during this period, which is considered one of the golden ages in Lebanese history, Ḥitti (1924, p. 422) says, "According to Volney, Christian families migrated to Lebanon 'daily' from Syria to escape Turkish rule." It is reasonable to assume that Mansour Jurjis al-Khouri and his family were among this throng.

Why did they settle in al-Qurnā? This no one knows. It may be that they had been preceded there by relatives. At the present time there are four large, prominent Orthodox families in Beirut all of which "return to" a common ancestor named Sukkār who supposedly came from Mtaniḥ or its site. It is thought that Sukkār must have been either a brother or a cousin of Mansour Jurjis. Whatever the real circumstances were, there is a plausible explanation for the settlement of

a particularly welcomed district in the physical sense—most favored districts had already been occupied by others.

We have seen that the village territory was subsequently divided into three equal parts, each of which came in time to be dominated by a particular lineage, each descended from a son of the founder. The main house cluster was said to have been first located somewhat below the crown, on a [illegible] the community completely invisible from the coastal highway, and this was described by one informant as a necessary defensive measure. He added that he had heard that in the old days, when men went down to Jibbul to work their fields, they went in armed groups to protect themselves against marauding bands of Muslims. This was presumably during the century and more of virtual anarchy which followed the reign of Fakhr ad-Din II. As the village grew in population, the house cluster was extended up and along the crest of the ridge, lineage A occupying the upper part, lineage C the lower part. Lineage B members lived mostly at Nuqfa, surrounding the shrine of Mar Mikhael, and only very recently moved entirely into the eastern and upper portions of the main house cluster.

We have seen that at present the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects the clustering of the houses by matrilineal lineages. Some of the exceptions to this patterning, especially in the highest part of the village, are due to very recent purchases of land and new construction. Those in the center, however, were explained by one informant as follows: "Maybe a hundred years ago many people were very poor. They sold their land to people in 'Ainabsa. Then later some others bought it again. We don't know who they all were. People went to America to make money and then they came back."

There is at hand what might well be external evidence of this episode. Churchill (1855, vol. I, pp. 72–73), writer of the spectacular rise of one Michael Tushon, a Maronite from 'Ainabsa, "Making his native village of Ainabsa the centre of his operations, he conceived a system which soon brought him into intimate relations with the entire neighboring population—that of making advances of money on the silk crops. . . . Tushon has become an extensive landed proprietor, and as a landlord his character is unimpeachable."

Until about seventy-five years ago, Mtoleil was a very nearly self-sufficient and self-contained community. We can assume that a good proportion of its wheat always had to be imported. As a matter of fact, Jibbul used to serve as a point of entry for imported goods which were brought in by boat, this mode of transportation being cheaper, safer, and easier than overland transport. It was also, apparently, a regular practice for a number of men to do seasonal wage labor in other districts. One specialty of this type, which was hazardous but profitable, was sponge-diving.

But these activities do not seem to have essentially lessened the village's external isolation. It was common in those days, according to one informant, to en-

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[Munsif]

974 counter adults who had been to Beirut or Tripoli not more than once or twice in their entire lives. As another informant said, "Everyone was *fellah*"—meaning, in effect, that everyone was either a farmer or had some part-time or full-time specialty which was directly connected with rural subsistence. One person guessed that at any given time no more than ten men, and no women, in the village could read and write.

615 621 As the population of the village increased and the generations passed, the three original lineages became segmented into sub-lineages. This was evidently a gradual process; the three original lineages did not all become completely subdivided at the same time. Eventually, the three original lineages lost nearly all their significance as in-groups since this function had been taken over by the new, smaller lineages. It has been noted before that while the name of the original lineage now identified as Maximal Lineage A is no longer used by any of the minimal lineages derived from it, the names of Maximal Lineages B and C are preserved as names of two minimal lineages. It may be that a more accurate view of this matter, of which the villagers were aware but could not explain, is as follows: The kin group now identifiable as A became completely subdivided into smaller lineages, and its name was thus obliterated. B and C, however, were never completely subdivided, possibly because of their smaller size. Then, although several new lineages did develop from or split off from the original B and C, remnants of these latter continued on, retaining the original name. This interpretation, if valid, might explain why Minimal Lineages XII and XVI, which bear the names of B and C, show a greater diversity of patrilines than their fellow minimal lineages. In the view of the Munsifin in 1952, however, lineages XII and XVI are regarded in no different light from the other 'ayil.

177 At some time around 1880 the outside world began to force itself upon the circumscribed life of the village, in not one way, but several ways. First, American Protestant missionaries brought some education, with its prospects of prestigeful and possibly lucrative employment, within reach of everyone in the village. Then, America became known as the land where one could go for a few years to work, make more money than one could possibly earn in the village, and then return to the village to live an easier, more comfortable life. Emigration, at first and for a long time conceived of only as a temporary expedient, began about 1890. And, finally, Western manufactured articles began to be imported.

175 621 By 1914 profound changes had been wrought in the village. Many of its members had gone to America, some of them never to return. A decline in the price of silk had led many to replace their mulberries with olives, but the financial loss in this respect was overbalanced by the financial gain of money made in America, or sent from America. While the houses of the emigrants stood empty and began to fall into ruins, more and more new houses, with tile roofs glowing proudly in the sun, were being built. Native villagers had taken over the school founded by the missionaries, and others had established their own. Literacy and

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[Munsif]

knowledge of English were becoming commonplace. The village school had become a primary agent of culture change in marked contrast to the situation recently observed in Tangier (cf. Schorger, 1952b, p. 234). With widened horizons and increased financial means, a demand for Western material goods, particularly household furnishings and clothes, was created and satisfied, as far as possible, by the villagers.

The first World War brought an abrupt and temporarily devastating halt to this process of change. Lebanon, though a province of the Turkish Empire, was blockaded by the Turks because of the well-known Allied sympathies of many of its people. During the blockade, both emigration and emigrants' remittances were stopped and many segments of the rural population, including Munsif, were reduced to near starvation. (See Hourani, 1946, especially pp. 33–49, for a general review of this period.)

When the war ended, the Munsifiin could neither turn back the clock nor could they quite pick up where they had been forced to leave off in 1914. Silk production never regained its former pre-eminence. Emigration resumed, but in 1924 emigration to the United States was virtually ended. Emigration to other parts of the world correspondingly increased, but never on the same scale as it had been to the United States.

Meanwhile, the French had assumed the League of Nations Mandate over Lebanon (and Syria) and had embarked upon a program of modernization of the country, a policy which was exactly the opposite of their attempts in Morocco at preventing acculturation (cf. Coon, 1949, p. 451). The French established in Lebanon a constitutional form of government which strongly resembled their own, and it included a public school system also modeled on their own. One of the chief purposes of these activities was to disseminate specifically French culture. This was not particularly appreciated by many of the sect groups in the country.

The French were responsible, in another line of endeavor, for the building of a system of paved highways, and the beginning of a network of telephone lines, of airports, and of rural electrification in a few districts. The establishment of rapid communication and transportation systems created a profound change in the entire country. In Munsif, as in many other villages where economic problems had become acute, the change consisted of the beginning of an intensified drift of villagers to the cities to earn their livelihood. Life in the cities tended to make the villagers more aware than before of foreign artifacts and values and to elevate their notion of what constituted an adequate standard of living (see Bonne, 1948, especially pp. 271–72). For the first time, villagers now had the opportunity of meeting and interacting with outsiders on a large scale, and village exogamy, a rarity before, began to become rather frequent (see Patai, 1947, especially p. 15, for an insination of the types of change which have occurred in Palestine, but also Lebanon).

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THE PRESENT

George Haddad has recently summarized in some detail the changes which have occurred in Lebanon (and Syria) in the past half century. His emphasis is on material and institutional changes: "Syria and Lebanon have known a real revolution in transport in the last 30 years with the appearance of automobiles (3 in 1914, about 12,000 in 1945). . . . In less than half a century, the urban centers of Syria and Lebanon have changed from medieval towns to modern cities." (Haddad, 1950, pp. 140, 146.)

It is unfortunate that Haddad does not deal at all with the problems, psychological and otherwise, which these revolutionary changes have created. Implicitly, however, he recognizes that change has not directly affected all aspects of life in equal measure: "The traits for which the Syrian Arab and the oriental in general has been known: sense of honor, strict morals, manliness, courage, loyalty, hospitality, reverence of old age, strength of family ties, have not changed much" (*ibid.*, pp. 186–87.) Gibb has phrased the matter somewhat differently: "But in the Near East the changes have not been homogeneous; they have often followed from a violent breach in the continuity of economic and intellectual life and the interference of an external system; they have seldom and only exceptionally embraced even a majority of the population; *and therefore old and new have frequently gone on existing, and still go on existing side by side* [our italics]." (Gibb, 1942a, p. 35.) Let us see how these generalizations can be applied to Munsif.

MATERIAL CHANGES

As we observed, Westernization in clothes has been very noticeable, though not complete. In this respect, Munsif appears to be more acculturated than the Egyptian community partially reported upon recently by Lichtenstadter (1952, p. 382), in which the people wear traditional clothes in the village and at all times except when in a wholly acculturative situation such as, for example, working in a modern office. Those Munsifiin who have adopted Western clothes wear them at all times. In the younger people who are city workers, there is even a tendency to look down on those who wear all or part of the traditional costume because of its connotation of peasant status. But their tendency to reject *kush* traditional and European headgear, also noted in Palestine by Patai (1947, p. 22), can be taken as a symbol of the culture conflict which they are undergoing. Also very noticeable is the Westernization of household and personal equipment—furniture, cooking utensils, wristwatches, flashlights, and so on.

These types of material acculturation seem to have taken place under the following conditions:

1. The change does not involve excessive expense.
2. The change is clearly conducive to greater comfort and convenience.

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3. The change is not in conflict, functionally or symbolically, with other, firmly established or unchanging norms.

The second condition provides the adequate motivation essential to learning, and, as Hallowell (1945, pp. 182–83) has pointed out, "learning is the psychological crux of acculturation." Using Barnett's terms (Barnett, 1940, p. 31), we can say that if the *function* of the new item is apprehended and appreciated by the villagers, they will accept it, provided that it does not involve too much expense, does not necessitate elaborate readjustments in otherwise stable systems, and that its *meaning* is neither odious (for example, a part of foreign imperialism) nor in conflict with the meanings of other, stable traits.

Perhaps this analysis will be clearer when we consider two areas of "material culture" which have remained almost wholly unchanged. One of these is diet which has remained unchanged because any fundamental alteration in it would meet with situations which would be contrary to any or all of the three conditions which are necessary to successful change. It would be enough to say that change in diet would involve extra expense and a major alteration in eating habits and cooking methods (violation of conditions 1 and 3). But besides this, the villagers see no purpose in changing their basic diet. It satisfies them physically and gustatorially (violation of conditions 2 and 3). It is probable also that they derive no little spiritual satisfaction in being able to maintain old patterns in this area of behavior where no change is forced upon them.

The other area of material conservatism is in farming techniques. Although farming itself has deteriorated markedly in terms of the number of men who practice it (a negative sort of change), farming techniques remain the same. This is largely because conditions 1 and 2 do not obtain. To introduce, for example, tractors and modern plows and harrows, into a terrace village like Muṣṣif, would not only involve great expense, it would also be rather absurd from a practical point of view. There would be the problem of moving the equipment from one terrace to another, and most of the terraces are so small and irregular in shape that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to use when it was in place. Chemical fertilizers have been adopted to some extent, probably limited by expense. Certainly the villagers are most eager to obtain an irrigation system, but here their desires are thwarted by external conditions.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

In the economic or subsistence sphere, the village has obviously undergone a profound change. A number of rural specialties, such as weaving and shoemaking, have completely gone out of existence. Farming, formerly *the* primary occupation, now occupies a very small number of men. A large proportion, if not most, of the village income is now derived from urban occupations.

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The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types, economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the importation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

3. The drift of villagers *en masse* to the city for employment—in part in consequence of factors 1 and 2.

4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

The intellectual factors in the economic change in Munqil were brought about by the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In this connection, three consequences must be noted:

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village and urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied *both* with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well-recognized by L. any. Malinowski (1945, pp. 67–68) has remarked on its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Wenlerme (1946, p. 268) refers to education as unfitting people for village life. Keen (1946, p. 43) speaks of a pervailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Richardson and Batal say:

> Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The technical backwardness, the contrast of enormous wealth and extreme poverty, the group hatreds, nepotism, the apathy of peasant millions and overlords alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West form small listless "middle-class" groups talking progress, but either powerless, unwilling, or thwarted in their attempts to change a millennia-entrenched system. (1949, pp. 489–90.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts in values among the Munqilin, as among other Middle Easterners. The various changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of traditional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Munqilin are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a means of sub-

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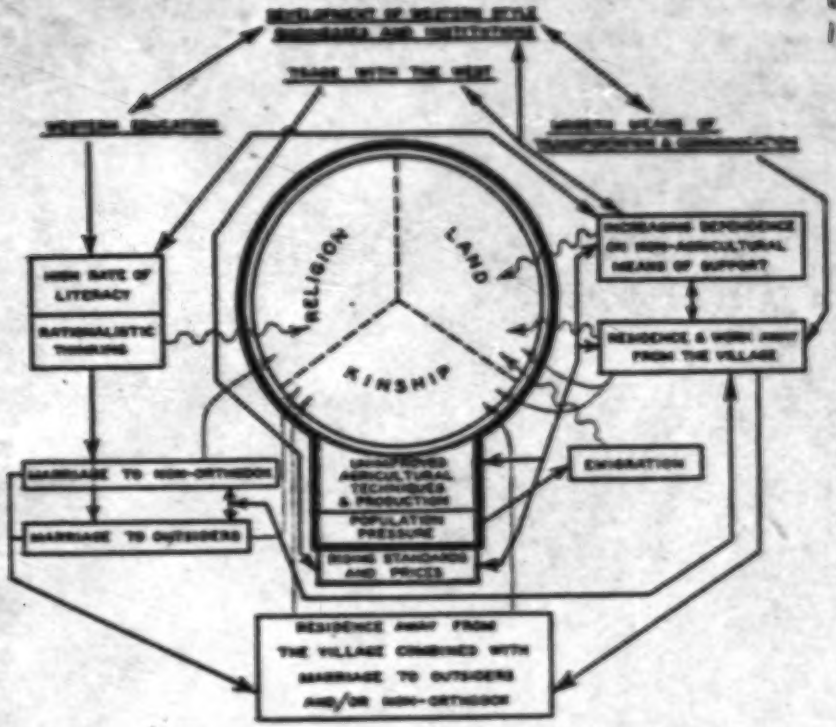
PATTERNS OF ACCULTURATION IN AL-MUNSIF



LEGEND

- Culture elements before westernization
- Socio-economic problems
- Changes external to village
- New factors in the village culture
- Directions of influence
- Potentially disruptive forces
- Actually disruptive forces

Fig. 7

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177 178 621 181 sistence. We have also seen that the villagers' opinions vary considerably on the question of the desirability of village life—which is necessarily centered around agriculture—as a "way of life," in the abstract sense. Some people, mostly older people, cling to the belief that it is desirable. Many more are undecided, and their expressed attitudes and behavior tend to be inconsistent with each other, as a result. Still others, mostly young people on whom the future of the village depends, seem to be convinced that village life is *not* the ideal way of life, but they are experiencing considerable difficulty in finding a satisfactory substitute.

Despite these qualifications, it is safe to say that in Munqif the principle of 177 devotion to the land has been very seriously undermined.

178 181 771 *Religion.* It is necessary to distinguish two aspects of religion as it affects the Lebanese village. One aspect is that of religion as a system of theology which gives rationale to ritual behavior. The other aspect is that of religion as a focus of group loyalty. In the traditional culture both aspects are strong, and to some extent they interpenetrate each other.

What appears to have happened in Munqif is that religion as a system of belief has been weakened. We have seen that rituals per se tend to be viewed rather casually by many, and religious techniques for the prevention and cure of disease have largely, though not entirely, given way to modern medical practices. One certainly cannot say that religion permeates every aspect of daily life, as it should according to Tannous's view of traditional patterns.

Several writers on the Middle East have remarked on a growing tendency towards secularism there. What they seem to mean is secularization of the type indicated above, secularization which is primarily due to the influence of science in education. Among these writers, Fisher has made the following statement which seems to confuse the two aspects of religion: "Religious feeling, once the mainspring of most forms of cultural and political activity is now in eclipse; instead, a spirit of materialist nationalism is taking its place, not always with advantage" (1950, p. 7).

The truth, in the present writer's view, is that religion *retains* its potency in the political (i.e., group loyalty) sphere, both in Lebanon in general, and certainly without any question in Munqif. We have seen that the Munqifin clearly identify their village and their district as Orthodox, that periodic rituals serve in the most obvious fashion to unite the village, and we have seen that actions which threaten religious solidarity elicit strong punitive responses.

[178] The mild attitude toward Protestants is not inconsistent with these patterns. The few villagers who have become Protestants have done violence to religion only in the theological sphere which is not a matter of serious concern to the average villager, but they have scrupulously carried out all their other obligations as members of the in-group. Another point worth mentioning is that there has never been a direct association in the villager's minds of Protestantism and progress (i.e., disruptive change). (Cf. Redfield, 1950, p. 90.)

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We can say, in summary, that the traditional theme of religion has in one aspect been weakened by acculturation, but that in another aspect it retains its traditional vigor.

Kinship. In the values surrounding kin groups, and by logical extension, the entire village group, *there have been almost no changes whatever.* In saying this, we arrive at the denouement of this work. The family and the lineage maintain their function of serving as a link between the individual and the village as a whole, which is, itself, a kin group toward which feelings of utmost loyalty and unity are directed.

The only suggestion of a weakening of the village as an in-group is the recent and increasing tendency toward village exogamy mostly on the part of women. This seems to be accompanied, however, by no diminution of feelings of village loyalty on the part of most of these women. Potentially, this tendency is a threat to the strength of the village because the children of these marriages will have no more than a sentimental attachment to it through their mothers. What effects this will have, or whether any counter-effects will be developed—these matters lie in the future.

Thus, that aspect of religion which has remained the most vigorous is precisely that aspect which, along with kinship, serves to define and identify loyalty groups. The remainder of this work will be devoted to an analysis of the question of why these in-groups, exemplified in multiple fashion by the village of Munjid, have maintained their strength in a period of momentous cultural changes.

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SOME THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS

IN-GROUPS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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We have seen that Mamlif has preserved its integrity as a social unit at the same time that other aspects of its traditional culture have been greatly altered in the process of acculturation. Before we develop a theoretical approach to this rather striking example of persistence, we must put the village in cultural perspective. We must see it not as a single, unique group of people, but as just one example of numberless units of the same general sort which constitute an essential part of Middle East culture.

Of all these units in the Middle East the same basic fact holds true: each one is an in-group. An in-group is a well-defined unit of people which has a very high degree of esprit de corps. This esprit is maintained by the constant operation within the unit of behavior and values which can generally be described as altruistic. But toward persons or groups who do not belong to it, any particular in-group (or individual member thereof), entertains essentially negative attitudes which range from reserve to hateful hostility. Murdock (1949, p. 83) thinks that this characteristic out-group behavior is due to the fact that since the frustrations of daily life cannot be relieved by aggressive actions directly within the group without destroying esprit de corps, they are therefore relieved by aggressive actions *outward*, resulting in intergroup antagonisms. The writer believes that this generalization is valid—though it is not very encouraging to anyone who tries to maintain a sanguine view of "human nature."[1]

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One might expect that an in-group might be effective as such *only* if it is small, and if it is the sole focus of loyalty and identification of its members. Perhaps the in-group is *most* effective under such conditions, but, as the Middle East plainly demonstrates, they are not essential to the operation of the in-group principle. As we shall see, the average Middle Easterner belongs to not one, but to a multiplicity of in-groups.

Lest the reader gain the notion that the importance of in-groups in the Middle East is a chimera, a figment of the obsessed mind of a social structuralist, he is invited to peruse the following quotations. First, for historical perspective, it appears likely that the final victory, in the Hellenistic Period, of non-anthropo-

[1] For a lucid discussion of the types of in-group frustrations, and their possible genesis, which have been observed in another Middle East village, see Antoun (1954; especially chap. 4).

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morphic monotheism among the Jews was in part due to their solidification as an ethnic in-group after the Babylonian exile. (Witness, for example, the statement: "Thus I cleansed them from everything foreign. . . ." Nehemiah 13:30). Moving forward in date, we are told that in the Arabian culture at the time of Mohammed, ME 571 L 671

> The group-bond was stronger than the bond of citizenship, and feuds between group and group often divided a town against itself (Robertson Smith, 1885, p. 3).

And at a later period, we find that the Ottoman Empire

> was composed of a large number of groups, local, tribal, linguistic and religious. On the whole, these groups formed closed communities. Each was a "world," sufficient to its members and exacting their ultimate loyalty. The worlds touched but did not mingle with each other; each looked at the rest with suspicion and even hatred. Almost all were stagnant, unchanging and limited. (Hourani, 1947, p. 22.)

And the following brings us to the present situation, of which it emphasizes the regional aspect: ME 671 621 L 671 621

> And so there grew up in the Arab world as we know it: an association of peoples, who are vividly conscious of a network of traditions, interests, feelings and sympathies that unite them, but who live in communities each with its separate social, economic, and political structure, its local loyalties, its attention to particular interests.
>
> But we must not think of these communities as being Egyptian, Syrian, Iraqi, and so on, to begin with. They were primarily much smaller and more local, for example, Baghdadi and Mosuli, Damascene and Aleppin, Upper Egyptian, Middle Egyptian, Cairene, Deltaic—with a host of other regional communities and often deeply marked subdivisions as well. (Gibb, 1947b, p. 75.)

The political aspect of the situation is stressed in the following: ME 571 578

> The populations of almost all 26 political units (in the Middle East) is splintered into a number of minority and tribal groups many with an intense internal loyalty. It is a region of nation against nation, and within one nation, group against group, and cross-cutting nations cooperating groups with stronger loyalties to themselves than to their nation. The national rivalries are similar to those in the Balkans and Ireland. The group conflicts are similar but usually more intense than those in the United States between old Americans and immigrants, Catholics and Protestants, Gentiles and Jews, labor and management, Negroes and whites. And the groups with loyalty cross-cutting national ties are similar though less effective than world Communism. (Richardson and Bond, 1949, p. 483.)

Fisher views the situation from an ecological point of view. He points out (1947, p. 419) that there are three basic ecological groups in the Middle East—nomads, villagers, and city dwellers. The nomads detest the settled people but depend upon them for some of their food. The villagers hate the town and city dwellers because they look upon them as exterminators; yet the city is necessary to ME 621 578 L 621 578

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the village because it provides manufactured goods, and the village supplies the city with food. Fisher concludes:

> From these three elements, closely integrated by material and cultural ties, has arisen the present complex pattern of society in the Middle East; and it is on this basis that one can postulate a unity for the region as a whole. As a tapestry or painting owes its special character to an intermingling of diverse color strands, so the Middle East can be considered as a unity based on a number of distinctive yet coherent ways of life. (Ibid., p. 420.)

A recent paper by Patai (1952) deals with important aspects of this same topic.

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Coon brings a functional approach to bear on the situation, to which he gives a name, the "mosaic system." His specific view is that the mosaic system is based on an ethnic division of labor:

> . . . the ideal was to emphasize not the uniformity of the citizens of a country as a whole but a uniformity within each special segment, and the greatest possible contrast between segments. The members of each ethnic unit feel the need to identify themselves by some amalgamation of symbols. If by virtue of their history they possess some racial peculiarity, this they will enhance by special haircuts and the like; in any case they will wear distinctive garments and behave in a distinctive fashion. Working through the house you have no trouble identifying everyone you meet, once you have learned the sets of symbols. These people want to be identified. If you know who they are, you will know what to expect of them and how to deal with them, and human relations will operate smoothly in a crowded space. . . . Obviously the mosaic system is best suited for a civilization in which trades require a maximum of skill, taught from father to son, and a minimum of organizational complexity. (Coon, 1951, pp. 3, 131.)

Coon's interest is primarily in how the mosaic system is made to work in face-to-face contact situations. Such situations, when they involve members of different elements in the mosaic, are generally economic, that is, trade relationships. Economic, or subsistence, needs necessarily override temporarily in any given interaction the divisive pull of intergroup hatred and suspicion. They do, that is, if they are successful and complete transactions. Since most Middle East cities owe their very existence to the fact that they are long-standing trading centers, where members of every element in the mosaic have interacted more or less peaceably, it is clear that group enmities can be, and have been for a long time, overridden successfully. But they have not been eliminated; indeed, they maintain their vigor. The fact of the matter seems to be that they can be "forgotten," as it were, only on an individual basis, and temporarily, in the interest of a transitory need, of which successful trade is a prominent example.

David Aberle has come near the point at issue, viewing it as the problem of the "integration of sub-systems with diverse values, within the total social system" (1950, p. 496). In this connection, he points to the coexistence of Catholics,

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Protestants, and Jews in the United States, and says that toleration depends in part on the special practices of each not being actual abominations in the eyes of the others (*ibid.*, p. 497). In other words, disparate values cannot be *too* disparate, if the groups are to interact at all. The individual's religious role, per se, must not exclude him from full participation in other nonreligious role systems (*ibid.*, p. 498). Applied to the Middle East, we may paraphrase Ahrens in terms of Coon's analysis, by saying that the diverse sect affiliations of Middle Easterners do not prevent them from interacting successfully with each other in the nonreligious role system of the marketplace.

However, the phenomenon of intense in-group cohesion and out-group hostilities remains as one of paramount importance. We must still deal with a system in which a large number of individuals apparently approach their social relationships with an attitude which can be summed up by the following Lebanese village axiom: "*I am against my brother; my brother and I are against my cousin; my cousin, my brother, and I are against the stranger*" (Tannous, 1942b, p. 232).

Prothro and Melikian, psychologists on the faculty of the American University of Beirut, have recently reported on a social distance test which they administered to one hundred and thirty students in the University. In the test, social distance was put in terms of attitudes toward sect and national groups, primarily. Their general conclusion is that social distances between groups are greater than in the United States, "*but they reflect, a general reserve toward out-groups rather than an elaborate classificatory system*" (Prothro and Melikian, 1952, pp. 10–11).

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But *if* we are to analyze the in-group system of the Middle East, a classificatory device is precisely what we must have. For, with a multiplicity of loyalties and suspicions impinging upon the emotions of every average individual, there is excellent reason to inquire why (1) anarchy does not prevail in the Middle East, and (2) why the average individual is not torn by irreconcilable conflicts. The answer to the first question is that anarchy very frequently *has* prevailed in the Middle East or large sections of it. To answer the second question and to explain why anarchy does not *always* prevail in every part of the Middle East, we must put the mosaic, or in-group, system into a more theoretical frame of reference than we have done so far.

THE CONCEPT OF SPHERES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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The following theoretical analysis of the complex social structure of the Middle East is based, in part, on the theory of "balanced antagonisms," and the associated theory of "group segmentation," which Evans-Pritchard developed in his study of the Nuer (1940).

Evans-Pritchard describes the overall social structure of the Sudanese Nuer society (a distinct cultural entity whose relations with its immediate neighbors are typically hostile) as an "acephalous kinship state" (1940, p. 181). The society is

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divided into clans which are large kin groups and territorial groups (in which aspect Evans-Pritchard calls them tribes). Each clan is "segmented" into maximal lineages, each maximal lineage is segmented into major lineages, each major lineage is segmented into minor lineages, and each minor lineage is segmented into minimal lineages. The average Nuer clan has approximately the same generational depth as the Manjil core group, while the average Nuer minimal lineage is approximately the size of an extended family. Each Nuer lineage is theoretically a territorial unit as well as a kin group, and the minimal lineage characteristically constitutes a home cluster or village.

The process of segmentation is basically a matter of genealogical proliferation as described for the lineages in Manjil. The structure of the Nuer is, therefore, a hierarchical one. The status of being a Nuer is universally inclusive. But the segments, subsections, and sub-subsections into which this totality is segmented are progressively less inclusive, smaller, and more cohesive.

All the sections and all the units of sections are in-groups, *but all do not function as such simultaneously*. Upon occasion, the entire society is a single in-group when, for example, there is a war with a neighboring society, such as that with the Dinka, a traditional enemy (*ibid.*, p. 125). More often, however, in-group mechanisms are displayed by the active opposition of adjacent tribes, during which, of course, the total society of Nuer ceases to be a single in-group. Within a given tribe two maximal lineages may, for a specific period, be in active opposition to each other, and while the lineages function as in-groups in opposition, the tribe to which they belong obviously does not. And so on.

If we approach the phenomenon now from the perspective of the smallest rather than the largest, unit, its essential nature becomes clearer. Let us suppose that villages A and B each consist of a family unit, and that these two family units constitute, genealogically, minor lineage Y. The villages are adjacent to each other. A bitter quarrel breaks out between two members of each of the villages. Each village then unites as an in-group in support of its embattled member and in opposition to the other village. When this quarrel is resolved, the villages are once more more or less friendly or at least neutral relations. But then let us suppose that village B becomes involved in a dispute with village C. Village C consists of a family group which does not belong to minor lineage Y, but rather, in comparison with the family unit of village D, it constitutes minor lineage Z. What happens now is that village A rallies to the support of village B, thus solidifying minor lineage Y as an in-group in opposition to minor lineage Z to which a similar solidification has taken place. When this quarrel is resolved, the largest units achieved in response to the crisis fall apart again into their component elements. What we have described is, really, a process whereby in-group loyalties and out-group opposition can be raised, as it were, from one power to the next higher one, and then reduced again when the need for more inclusive unity is removed. In theory, the process can be carried all the way up to a situation where the entire cultural group is united

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At any one time, it is unlikely that a given individual will have more than one active antagonism (and one type of intense group loyalty) to occupy his attention; hence he is ordinarily not torn by conflicting loyalties. This fluctuating, alternating pattern is the mechanism of balanced antagonisms.[3]

Now let us see how the principles of balanced antagonisms and segmentation can be applied to the Middle East. On the basis of the ethnographic evidence at hand, we postulate five principles of group cohesion, each of which is a focus of many of the strongest values and most intense emotions in Middle East culture. The principles are:

1. Kinship
2. Common residence
3. Nationality
4. Religion
5. Language

Upon these principles are based at least six orders of actual (not abstract) social units. Each unit of every order is potentially, and normally actually, an in-group. The six orders are:

1. Family
2. Lineage
3. Village (or nomadic band)
4. Nation
5. Sect
6. Linguistic group

For a large number of people in the Middle East, there is, in addition to these six orders, a seventh one—that of being an Arab. This inclusive concept of unity, though based on the speaking of Arabic as the native tongue, transcends the sixth order division (Arabic vernacular dialects), and many nonlinguistic values are attached to it as well.

Hereafter, we shall refer to each order of units as a sphere and to each unit of a sphere as a segment. (There is nothing sacred or final about the term "sphere." It is derived from the concept which is illustrated by the diagrams in this chapter, and it is used simply to avoid ambiguity and circumlocution. A better term is needed, but it is not necessary for this study.) Thus, the segments of Sphere 4 (nation) are Egypt, Syria, Iraq, and so on. Sphere is the more abstract of the two concepts. The sphere criteria are the means by which specific segments are identified as such, and "segment" refers to concrete, specific units of people. For example, the Jewish community in Beirut is a segment because it is a unit which has a religion which sets it apart. It is a segment defined by Sphere 5. When we speak of a particular segment we imply that it has a definite sphere status. It also

[3] The foregoing has been abstracted from Evans-Pritchard, 1940, pp. 114-131.

[13] frequently happens that individual segments are defined by more than one sphere
[14] criterion at the same time. This will be discussed again later on.
57] In order to make clear their nature in action, each of the spheres (or com-
ponent segments thereof) must be described in more detail.

SPHERES 1 AND 2: FAMILY AND LINEAGE

Enough has been said previously about these structures as to groups to dismiss any prolonged discussion here.

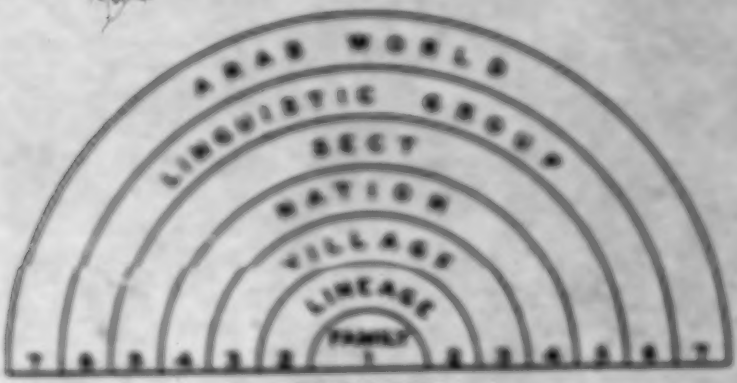

FIG. 4. [illegible]

69] It is worth noting that on the same page in which he discusses the fundamental unity of the Egyptian village, Ayrout (see below) remarks that the village is often torn by family feuds. Viewed in terms of the theory of balanced antagonisms, this is not an incomprehensible juxtaposition. Given a certain set of cues, the village operates as a unit. Remove those cues and supply another set, and the village is divided by quarrels along kinship lines. Zenner (1955, p. 451) makes the same point in regard to Ramallah, and, by way of cross-cultural comparison which is theoretically germane to this discussion, Evans-Pritchard (1951, pp. 1-2) says that among the Nuer although the strongest ties are in the village, nevertheless there are rivalries within the village.

SPHERE 3: LOCAL GROUP

[21] We will discuss only villages in considering local groups, although the individual nomadic band also belongs in this category.

There can be no question but that the Middle East village is a classic example of the in-group. It is small, physically very tightly clustered, and it tends to be physically isolated from its neighbors. The following quotation from Ayrout

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(1945) on generalizations upon Egyptian villages which, physically, are often less isolated than many Lebanese villages:

> [The village] with its surrounding land forms a closed system outside which everyone and everything is foreign and unknown. It leads a secluded and individual life, which is organized from within by habits, customs, and values handed down from the past, immemorial laws which rule absolutely the acts and the pleasures of every inhabitant. . . . [The fellah's] village is all in all, for it is hers and ours. It is his country, and the limit of his patriotism . . . [p. 108]. If the vital interests of a village are in immediate danger, each villager feels a strong sense of unity with the group; men, women, and children unite in a single force [p. 109].

Other writers, generalizing upon the Middle East as a whole, have put the matter in somewhat different terms but equally strongly. For example, Gibb and Bowen write, "Next to the family the most important social unit in all Moslem countries outside Arabia is the village or agricultural community" (1950, p. 7). Tannous says that in addition to land, religion, and kinship, there is one more all-important force or values, "This is community life as a whole, which is dependent upon the other elements, yet goes beyond them. Short of the constituted authorities effected by the totality of the community, the fellah's life is incomplete" (1944, p. 342). Gibb remarks that the dominant Arab institution is "strict co-operation in the circles which hold villages, districts, regions and even states apart" (1945b, p. 95).

In the light of the typical isolated settlement pattern and the powerfully pure communications, "It is little wonder that each isolated settlement has developed its own group loyalty, and its own customs and leaders, with varying degrees of national loyalty. . . ." (Eichelman and Reid, 1949, p. 490). Such evidence as we have indicates that villages are characteristically endogamous (cf. Tannous, 1944, p. 342; and Ewing, 1950, p. 7).

SPHERE 4: NATION

The present nations of the Middle East are mostly new, and the in-group attitude, nationalism, which is associated with each is also new. As we have said before, the nationalistic spirit depends considerably upon modern techniques of communication and transportation for maintenance of intense feelings. This is particularly true among the Middle East nations in each of which there are many smaller in-groups whose loyalties must be removed or bypassed if national unity is to be achieved. At the present time, the process of creating national in-groups is by no means complete.

Active nationalities are, perhaps, not quite as obvious in Sphere 4 as they are in others, although the mutual distaste of some national groups in the area is well known. It should be noted, however, that present-day nationalism in the Middle East is frequently not so much an expression of cleavage among nations within the

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[illegible] ...ons as it is an expression of the loyalty of a particular national group to the [illegible] ...ment of non-Middle Eastern nations.

SPHERE 5: SECT

796 Islam is unquestionably the predominant religion of the Middle East, by ... large cross-cutting linguistic and national divisions. There are non-Muslim enclaves in Turkey, Syria, Palestine, and Egypt, but their status is definitely that of minorities, although, owing to the in-group significance of religion, their presence is more keenly felt than their actual numbers would suggest it should be. It is only in Lebanon that non-Muslim sects are so large and numerous in proportion to the total population that we have no choice but to consider it a nation which is segmented into sub-groups rather than as a nation which is one of several which share the same religious affiliation.

By and large, it is naive to treat religion as a more inclusive sphere than nation. However, it is very important to point out that although Islam appears in theory to be a unity, it actually is no more a unity than Christianity is. Islam is divided into a large number of sub-groups, and although the relationships among these have rarely approached the hatred and venom which have been all too characteristic of Christian sectarian relationships, nevertheless they are clearly distinct as in-groups. Islam is divided, first, into the Shi'a and Sunni, a division which goes back to the first century of Islam and is of at least the same magnitude as the division between Catholicism and Protestantism. The Shi'a are subdivided into a large number of sects. The Sunni are subdivided, first into four schools of Koranic interpretation. It is a moot question to what degree these involve the active interests and emotions of the average layman, but they do have a significant areal distribution. In addition, there are also a large number of religious brotherhoods which are active and cohesive pressure groups. Furthermore, there is in Sa'udi Arabia the Wahhabi sect which sets itself apart from both Shi'ites and Sunnites. If we add these divisions within Islam to the various non-Muslim sects, we get a picture of a great multiplicity of religious in-groups. It is entirely possible that for many individuals in the Middle East, nation is a more inclusive in-group than is any particular sect. The extensive which tend to provide internal cohesion are well known to those familiar with the area, and the matter need not be pursued further here.

SPHERE 6: LINGUISTIC GROUPS

797 Middle Easterners in general, and Arabs in particular, are language conscious. Arabic itself is divided into a large number of regional dialects whose speakers tend to regard each other with contempt and derision, although they all share Classical, literary Arabic. Other language groups in the area have zealously held to their own languages in spite of centuries of Arab pressure. Berbers, Turks, Armenians, Kurds, Iranians, Afghans, and Pakistanis are notable among these. Even otherwise Arab

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Christians such like the Maronites and the Copts retain their pre-Arabic tongue as a ritual language, in the same way that the Jews have retained Hebrew. These last are examples of the coincidence of spheres (3 and 6), of which more will be said later, which results in especially strong in-groups.

Although other factors have also been at work in them, open language-group hostilities have been conspicuous in the area. For example:

1. Turks versus Arabs
2. Kurds versus Turks, Arabs, and Iranians
3. Armenians versus Turks and Arabs
4. Berbers versus Moroccan Arabs

It is true that political, economic, and/or religious differences have often been the initial cause of specific quarrels, but in every case, whatever the cause, the groups have been defined by language.

SPHERE 7: THE ARAB WORLD

(This sphere is widely, but not universally, applicable in the Middle East.) The conception of the Arab World as an in-group (sphere 7) is based partly upon the cultural unity imparted by Islam, over and above its own sectarian divisions, but most especially upon the Arabic language, over and above its many dialects. Most Muslims in the Arab World are Arabic speakers, and many Muslims in the Middle East are not Arabs, but not all Arabic speakers are Muslims, as witness the Christian Arabs. It is essential to realize that the Arabic language, including its oral and written classics, has a cultural significance which goes far beyond its function as a means of communication. In particular, the highly emotional esthetic appeal which it has for its speakers must be noted, in addition to its reminders of a glorious past and its implications of cultural unity. Anyone who has been present at gatherings of Arabs is familiar with the rapt attention which is given to the recitation of famous old stories. And surely, few students of the Arab World have never been told by an enthusiastic Arabic speaker, with a glint of pride in his eye, that Arabic is *lughat-al-dad*, by which he really means to say that it is something unique in the world, something indescribably beautiful and precious, something which is undubitably his own. Their language is one of the Arabs' proudest cultural possessions, and its value for them as such has probably been intensified in the past few decades when much of the rest of their culture has been seriously upset by Western technology and ideas. Emotional factors of this sort are among the strongest foundations of in-groups. A recent and authoritative work by Faris and Hussyn is explicit in stating the importance of the unifying power of Arabic (Bodmer, 1954, p. 344).

The various pan-Arab movements are also evidence in support of the conception of the Arab World as an in-group, and the Arab League represents an attempt to make it an active reality.

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INDIVIDUALS AND THEIR SPHERE AFFILIATIONS

The full significance, in terms of function, of the concept of sphere will become clear if we think of an individual Arab, for example, as living at the center of a half-circle (point *a* in Fig. 9). Surrounding him are seven increasingly large concentric arcs which represent the seven spheres, in order one to seven, in each of which his interests are involved. (See Fig. 8.) Actually, of course, he is not a member of each sphere in its entirety but of a certain segment in each sphere. The only exception to this is Sphere 7, the Arab World, which all Arabs share in common. By drawing a series of the half-circle (see series *oyz* in Fig. 9), the membership of the individual in a series of segments will be indicated. The individual's Sphere 1 segment is the nearest, smallest, and ordinarily the most important to him. As the segments increase in "distance" from the individual, their size also tends to increase; they become, in other words, more and more inclusive in regard to the number of people who belong to them and to the geographical area which they cover. The more inclusive a segment is, the greater is the chance that the member's interest in it will be counteracted by his interest in some smaller segment. The fact remains, however, that he is a member of not one, but seven segments, one in each sphere, although his conscious interests are likely to be concerned with only one at a time.

FIG. 9. ILLUSTRATIVE DIAGRAM OF SPHERES

Figures 9-13 illustrate five cases of the operation of the principle of segmentization. The number of such diagrams which could be drawn, each slightly different from any other, is large. Each figure repeats the half-circle and arcs of Figure 7. In addition, on each one are superimposed two series, *oyz* and *oxw*. Each series represents the multiple segment affiliations of an individual.

In Figure 9, the two individuals have only one sphere status, or segment

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membership, in common, that of being Arabs. The only type of issue on which these two might be opposed to each, therefore, is an issue which they believe applies to all Arabs. And the likelihood of such a unified attitude's becoming an active reality is diminished by the likelihood that it would be neutralized by divergent attitudes related to each individual's other segment affiliations. As far as segments of Spheres 1 through 4 are concerned, they have nothing in common and may even be in conflict. The individuals might be, for example, a Greek Orthodox Syrian and a Moslem Moroccan. They are differentiated in Sphere 5 (language) by reason of the fact that the Syrian and Moroccan spoken dialects of Arabic are mutually unintelligible.

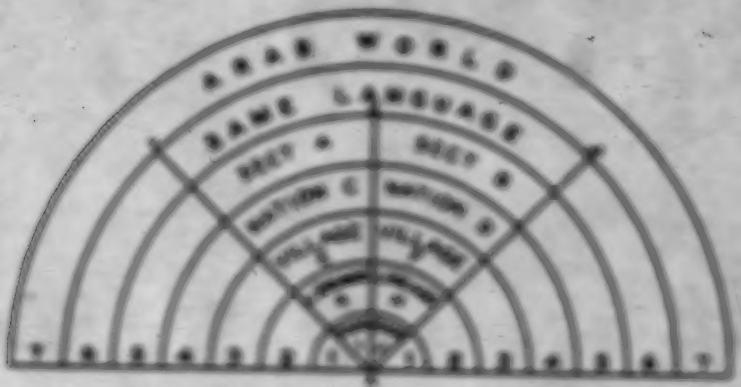

Fig. 10. Intersecting Segments of Spheres

Figure 10 may be taken to represent a Syrian Sunni and a Lebanese Shi'i. Both are Arabs and both speak very much the same dialect, but they diverge in sect affiliation, nationality, and the smaller segments.

Figure 11 illustrates the comparative segment membership of, for example, two second cousins. They belong to different segments in the family sphere, but in all other spheres they belong to identically the same segments—same lineage, same village, same nation, same sect; they speak the same dialect, and both are Arabs. Figure 11 approaches a situation of maximum convergence in segment membership. The ultimate in such convergence—for example, a case of two brothers—would be represented by a diagram in which the two circles would be omitted entirely.

Figures 12 and 13 illustrate two somewhat more complex situations. Figure 12 might illustrate a Moroccan Berber and a Moroccan Arab. They diverge in the three smallest spheres and in language, but they have the same religion and, substantially, nationality. Figure 13 might represent an Egyptian Copt and an Egyptian Sunni. They diverge in the three smallest spheres and in religion, but they are members of the same national and linguistic segments.

The segmentalized nature of the sphere is clear in the case of Spheres 1 through 4: several families constitute a lineage, several lineages constitute a village,

Fig. 11. Segmentary Sequence of Spheres

and a large number of villages constitute a nation. However, it is readily admitted that the social value of Spheres 4, 5, and 6, as given here, is open to argument. The scheme is designed, nevertheless, to be applicable to specific cases, and it is

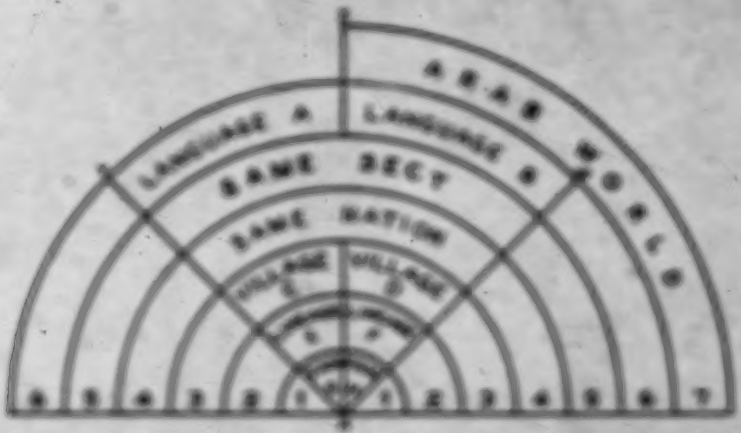

Fig. 12. Segmentary Sequence of Spheres

therefore to some extent flexible. In the case of Lebanon, as noted before, Spheres 4 and 5 must be reversed in order, since Lebanon is a nation which is undeniably segmented into religious groups.

The segmentalization of language in the Middle East can be looked upon as

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a cultural system, developed through a long, complex history, which enables the individual to define with which one of several in-groups he may identify himself actively, as the need arises. To put it another way, the culture contains certain values and sentiments which demand of the individual that he unite freely with one of several in-groups under a given set of circumstances. The dynamics of the system viewed as a whole are characterized by a constant fluctuation in the size and type of active in-groups. At one moment groups A and B may be bitterly opposed, after the situation in one way or another, and they are found to be either united or loosely united as a larger unit in opposition to another one of comparable size. This is Evans-Pritchard's principle of "balanced antagonisms" at work.

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CIRCULARES OF THE THEORY OF SPHERES

Some conclusion of the theory of the structure and dynamics of the sphere and segments can now be outlined.

1. Within any one sphere at any one time, the component segments tend to repel each other with reserve and suspicion. Under certain circumstances, however, the segments of a sphere may unite against another unit. This illustrates the principles of balanced antagonisms and of segmentation of in-groups.

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For example, two lineages in a certain village which are accustomed to feuding with each other will unite when the village as a unit quarrels with another village. An historical example of a different order, but on the same principle, was the cohesion of the Ottawa and Ojibwa against the Mississippi. The Arab League is a notable modern example of the same thing. It represents an effort to unite a number of Sphere 4 segments as a single in-group for the purpose of achieving more effective action on problems which have been raised by outsiders. The difficulties which the League has had in accomplishing its goals are due in large measure

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[154 671 156 [502] are to the difficulty of overcoming the many differences which have heretofore set the component segments apart from, and sometimes against, each other.

2. The criterion by which each sphere is defined generally includes the preference that marriages be contracted between members of the same segment. This is of particular significance in regard to kinship, local, and religious segments. It is an effective means of maintaining the clear-cut identity of these segments.

It is probably a safe generalization that the more highly an individual values an in-group, the more likely is he to marry within it. As we noted in the chapter "Kinship Structure and Marriage Patterns," the Muslim preference for a man's marrying his *bint 'amm* can be interpreted as being the preference for marrying the closest (ipso facto the best) possible relative without committing incest. Similarly, if conditions arise which tend to shift an individual's in-group interests outward (or inward), there will be a corresponding tendency for the field of choice of marriage partner to expand (or contract). The recent increase in the number of exogamous marriages among the Mazrūʿīn can be interpreted as an index of a widening (to some extent) of in-group boundaries on the part of the villagers. In other words, with the rise of nationalism, the Sphere 4 segment has become an actively valued in-group, and this has to some extent relaxed the in-group intensity of the Sphere 3 segment.

3. The criterion of specific, stable, social units is commonly reinforced by the operation of several sphere criteria coterminously. The Armenian community in mid-coastal Beirut, for instance, is a segment not only in terms of language (Sphere 6), but also in terms of religion (Sphere 5). Yemen is a nation (Sphere 4), a Shīʿah enclave (Sphere 5), and it has its own distinct Arabic dialect (Sphere 6). This particular phenomenon, combined with segmentalization and the working of balanced antagonisms, would appear to be the basis of Richardson's concept of "house" and "courtyard" areas in the Middle East (1949, p. 468), and of Spicer's concept of ethnone (1955).

[463] 4. Small segments of any sphere, often exhibiting the reinforcement factor outlined in the third point, frequently constitute occupational specialty groups in situations or places (such as cities) where their sphere and segment status is distinct from those of others with whom they interact. A family of Jewish goldsmiths in Algiers, or Cairo, or Baghdad is a single segment defined in terms of family, lineage, and religion. This is Coon's ethnic division of labor in very close form.

It should also be remembered that many more occupational units are segments defined by family and lineage status only. Familiar examples are the shop which is owned and operated by a family and the family or lineage of merchants or bankers who cooperate closely.

[154 671 [63] 5. Occasionally, certain families or lineages increase in size and power to such a degree that they transcend the bounds of their original local groups. Absentee landlords, regionally powerful amirs, and dynastic families illustrate this situation. As examples of the last two we may cite the family and lineage of Muḥammad,

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the Ma'n and Shihab lineages which ruled Lebanon during the late sixteenth to early nineteenth centuries, and the present-day Hashim and Sa'oud lineages.

ARAB CITY DWELLERS

The Arab city is a conglomeration of spheres and segments, but it is not, in itself, a cohesive social unit, an in-group. The majority of city dwellers are people who have gathered there for the primary purpose of engaging in commerce. Their loyalties are to their own families (Sphere 1 segment), to their home village (Sphere 3 segment) if they maintain contact with it, and to their religion (Sphere 5 segment) which may or may not be in a local minority. It is for this reason that the Western observer often finds the Arab city so confusing and chaotic, and why he is apt to comment that city people seem completely to lack civic consciousness. The truth is that their loyalties, though very real, are many rather than one—and none of them is directed toward the city itself.

Two factors appear to be operative in this phenomenon. One is the process discussed under the fourth point above. The other is the organization of the traditional Arab city into separate quarters (*hara*) which seem to have been essentially Sphere 3 segments in an urban setting. This has been written about by Gibb and Bowen (1950, pp. 277–79), and it is probable that it has left its mark on the most modern Arab cities. It remains in full force in the present-day, but still unmodern, city of Timbuctoo which has recently been described and analyzed by Horace Miner (1953). Although Timbuctoo is so far out on the periphery of the Middle East that many people would doubtless say that it cannot be considered to part of it, nevertheless it has been heavily influenced by Arab culture and strongly dominated by Arabs.

Because multiple group loyalties remain intact in the city, the majority of Middle East city dwellers do not seem to develop the kind of *anomie* which is frequently encountered among urban dwellers in the West who have neither established satisfactory group identifications in the city nor retained strong identification with their families or "home towns."

At this point, however, we encounter a complication which involves a matter of considerable socio-psychological importance. Middle East cities, because of their primary function as centers of trade, have always been points of cultural contact with its attendant variety and confusion. The present era of intensive acculturation has followed the expected pattern, with foreigners concentrating in the cities and new culture elements being established first in the cities, gradually to be diffused to smaller communities.

This circumstance has led to the development in many city-dwelling individuals of a complex of personality traits which has been labeled "Levantine" by a number of authors. This label, which is often employed with invidious connotations, is unfortunate because the word itself basically means, with no judgment

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implied, anything pertaining to the Levant. Furthermore, the use of the term as a blanket label has tended to obscure the distinction between what are essentially two very different personality types. The confusion is quite understandable since there undoubtedly are individuals who reflect both types in their behavior. But the genesis and cultural significance of each one is different, and it is important that they be clearly distinguished.

The first type of individual has been traditionally, and still is today, common in city populations, and his personality traits are a result of the fact that he has become adept at interacting successfully with members of many different segments of all spheres as well as with foreigners. Consequently his behavior is flexible, and his ethical standards are geared to frequent shifts in group interaction patterns. It is not surprising, therefore, that Western observers tend to assume that his behavior is utterly unreliable and opportunistic, since Western observers are outside *all* the in-groups of the culture. It cannot be assumed, however, that such a person is not loyal to any social groups at all. Actually, on the contrary, the probability is that he is a member of a segment in each sphere, and that his behavior within any segment, and between segments, conforms to the normal expectations of his culture. Putting the matter in a different way, this individual was enculturated in terms of the culture of spheres and segments, and he remains well adjusted to this culture. At the same time, however, he has adapted himself to the exigencies of urban environment.

Altogether different is the second personality type which is described by Hourani:

> To be a Levantine is to live in two worlds or more at once, without belonging to either; to be able to go through the external forms which indicate the possession of a certain nationality, religion or culture, without actually possessing it. It is no longer to have a standard of values of one's own, not to be able to create but only to imitate; and so not even to imitate correctly, since that also needs a certain originality. It is to belong to no community and to possess nothing of one's own. It reveals itself in laziness, pretentiousness, cynicism, and despair. (1946, pp. 70-71.)

Because of excessively intense acculturative influences, which are all too common at the present time, this individual has become anomic. In terms of the present analysis, he has lost the sense of social and psychological identification with all or most of the in-groups, which provides much of the meaning and direction to life in the Middle East. At the same time, he has not been able to achieve satisfactory identification with any other cultural elements or social groups.

Insofar as the development of anomic personalities can be associated with rapid and intense acculturation, there is a real danger in the process of the diffusion of new culture elements into rural areas.

The existence of the closed communities of the past was frequently linked

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with the feudal or village economy. New better communications are linking regions and villages with one another and changing the whole organization of rural life. What is even more important, as urban industrial and commercial life is developing with the necessary individualism of urban life. These factors are weakening the strength of communal loyalties. (Hanna, 1947, p. 38.)

To the extent that this is true, there is good reason to look upon constructive nationalism as a healthy sign of group morale of a newer sort. Nationalism alone, however, cannot be a satisfactory substitute for the securities and pleasures of identification with smaller groups of the types which have been discussed previously.

It now remains to consider the specific status of al-Mamālīk in the mosaic system, in the concept of spheres, and to see how it weighs in the delicate balance of acculturation.

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CULTURE CHANGE

THE PLACE OF MUNEIF IN THE CONCEPT OF SPHERES

MUNEIF as a village is a particular segment of Sphere 5 (Local Group). We have seen that endogamy tends to be characteristic of the less inclusive spheres and segments, in particular. We have also seen, however, that a certain number of Munejifin have *always* married not within the village itself but within the immediately surrounding district, al-Qurni. Must this be considered a violation of the principle of local endogamy in the traditional culture of the village?

Until recently, the tendency among most anthropologists has been to consider endogamy primarily as marriage within a certain defined kin group (cf. Lowie, 1948, p. 9). Muneif, as we have seen, is a defined kin group, and therefore, from this point of view, any marriage outside it must be exogamous. Al-Qurni, considered as a unit, is not a single kin group, for although innumerable matrilateral ties extend between the villages, each village has its own, exclusive patrilines. However, Lévi-Strauss (1949, pp. 56-60) has made a very useful distinction between what he calls "true" endogamy and "functional" endogamy. The former is the one which concerns us here: "True endogamy is only the refusal to recognize the possibility of marriage outside the human community, the latter being subject to very diverse definitions, according to the philosophy of the group considered." (Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 57; our translation.) He goes on to say that the "human community" may be a whole tribe outside which everyone is considered to be inhuman, or it may simply be the community as defined by them, in which the persons concerned live (*ibid.*, p. 59). It is this second alternative which applies to the entire Qurni as a unit, in the minds of the members of its several villages. Unquestionably, each village is a stronger and more cohesive unit in itself than is al-Qurni as a unit. However, it was made quite clear to the writer by various Munejifin that although members of other Qurni villages were, strictly speaking, outsiders to Muneif itself, they were emphatically not strangers (*gharib*). In this instance, the distinction between technical outsiders and strangers is a significant one. Between the various Qurni villages there are not only many matrilateral kin ties, but there are close friendships and frequent visiting. Al-Qurni is very small—its entire extent is visible from its physical center, Muneif, which is also the predominant village in it. As a nucleated, conceptually unified district, al-Qurni is something more than an agglomeration of local units (Sphere 5). It is, in itself, a local unit of a sort, though admittedly more diffuse than a single village. In addition to this, al-Qurni

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is also a discrete example of Sphere 3 (Sect Group)—it is a Greek Orthodox enclave in a Maronite area.

Consequently, for the purposes of this study, in the light of Levi-Strauss's definition of "true endogamy," and in view of the special nature of al-Qurnī, the marriages of Musqitān to members of other Qurnī villages are considered to be locally endogamous. Let it be remembered, also, that such marriages, though traditional, have always been in the minority, for most Musqitān have always married each other.

The culture of Musqif therefore conforms to the sphere scheme in these two respects: (1) It is an endogamous local group (Sphere 3), within a, shall we say, secondary endogamous local group, al-Qurnī, which surrounds it and of which it is the cultural center. (2) Al-Qurnī, a district of very restricted size, is a distinct sect group (Sphere 3).

When we turn to the internal segmentation of Musqif, we find that it is, according to the expectation of the theory, subdivided into lineages (in two orders of magnitude of which only one—the minimal lineage—retains functional significance at the present time), and that the lineages are subdivided into families (whether primarily nuclear or extended cannot definitely be decided from the data at hand). However, we find that lineage exogamy, rather than endogamy, is performed, and that marriage within the degree of relatives who ordinarily constitute extended families is explicitly against the Church's rules of marriage. In other words, Spheres 1 and 2 are present, but they do not conform to expectation in that they are not ideally endogamous.

The extended family exogamy rule in Musqif has already been discussed in such detail that further lengthy discussion at this point is not necessary. Suffice it to repeat only that it is viewed as the product of an earlier acculturation, the contact between pagan Arabs and Christianity, during which process the pagan Arab ideal of marriage to the closest possible relative (cf. Spencer, 1952, p. 487) gave way to the Christian rule against it. We can now, however, look upon this matter in another way. We can say that a certain value (endogamous marriage) ordinarily associated with Sphere 1 has been sacrificed in the interests of an opposite value which is associated with Sphere 3 (Sect); and Musqif's Sphere 3 status is particularly keenly felt because an opposing sect powers so closely around it.

The preference for minimal lineage exogamy, for which there is actually no specific rule, does not appear easily to be a violation of the lineage endogamy principle, when it is considered in full context. In this, the following factors must be considered:

1. Most of the lineages are very small, and this greatly reduces the chances that an individual will or can select a lineage-mate as a spouse. Lineage endogamy *does* occur, though in small numbers. Such marriages are fairly evenly distributed among the lineages as a whole with the exception of a heavy concentration of them in the lineage which is by far the largest in the village.

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2. Probably more significant, however, is the fact that the lack of preference for lineage endogamy is but one point of evidence for the general tendency in the village toward de-emphasis of the individual minimal lineages as formal institutions. The other points of evidence on this matter are: (a) a diminution of lineage *madafa* (communal) landholdings; (b) cliques/groups cross-cutting lineage lines; (c) rarity, and perhaps absence, of lineage feuds; (d) lack of apparent interest in lineage matters; (e) marriage prohibition connects lineage lines in Sphere 1; (f) emphasis on bilateral connections in Sphere 1.

This de-emphasis of individual minimal lineages does not indicate that there is a weakness in the adherence of the Mamplin to lineage (Sphere 2) values. Rather, it is a consequence of the fact that these values have been applied to the Core Group (i.e. the village) as a whole, and that this unit is, for the most part, a relatively stronger focus of identification than individual lineages are.

We have seen that structurally (whether by reason of actual development or of fictionalized conceptualization) the village is a single super-lineage, and that behavior in regard to it conforms to this structural status, even in small details. (1) It is ideally, and still, for the most part, actually, endogamous. (2) When exogamous marriages do occur, outsider husbands are referred to by the term essentially reserved for a man who takes a wife from ego's lineage. (3) Individuals who are uncertain of all the maximal and minimal lineage affiliations are very certain of the over-all common descent. (4) Feuds are not only rare (as they must be within a lineage), but the villagers are proud of the fact. In terms of the concept of spheres, Mamplin as a whole can be looked upon as an expanded segment of Sphere 2 (Lineage).

STABILITY AND CHANGE: CONCLUSION

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During the course of this work, we have seen that acculturation has wrought severely disruptive changes in the village economy and significant changes in "material culture." In addition, it has created disconcerting conflicts in certain values, conflicts which remain unresolved. Yet it has had very little effect on the values and behavior associated with the community itself as an institution and as an in-group.

In seeking an explanation of this phenomenon of cultural persistence we have not chosen simply to dismiss it as an example of the "negative response" (Hallowell, 1945, p. 180) which is frequently encountered in culture contact situations. Rather, starting with the assumption that no particular cultural trait as such necessarily shows a peculiar resistance to change (Ogburn, 1950, p. 150), we have proceeded to the assumption that pre-existing *configurations* of traits may indeed prove to be barriers to change (Herskovits, 1945, p. 154).

We have presented a conceptual scheme of the basic social structure of the Middle East, an elaborate structure of in-groups within in-groups. This is a con-

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figuration of very far-reaching significance. We have found that while for the area as a whole, certain disruptions in these patterns have occurred and more are threatening, they have remained remarkably vigorous in Mougîl. Why?

We can now, at last, propose an answer to this question: In-group values and behavior in Mougîl have remained forceful and alive because the village itself represents not just one of the structural spheres of the Middle East, but three of them, interlocking, and mutually supporting. In Mougîl, Spheres 2 (Lineage) and 3 (Local Group) are coterminous, and these two are virtually coterminous with Sphere 1 (Sect). Each one of these spheres involves some of the most deep-rooted and cherished values of Arab culture. The integration of three of these creates a cultural configuration which is highly resistant to change.

Such a structure cannot easily be undermined by direct attack. The increasing trend of village resurgency, for example—a violation of a well-established rule—does not seem to be associated with any devaluation of the village as an in-group, and as this behavior in itself is not, or has not as for here, a direct threat to the integrity of the village. However, if a new generation developed under urban acculturative influences, in which a large number of individuals were cut off from the affective ties and the values of the village and also prevented from developing new ties and values—if, in other words, a large number of village members developed anomic personalities—then the integrity of the village would very definitely be weakened because the values which new ties, and always have given, unfamiliar to its structure, would have ceased to be effective.

* * * * * * *

Knowledge is gained by asking questions and then seeking the answers to them. We began with a question. We have concluded with an answer; but this is an answer which is neither perfect in itself, nor is it complete, for it leads to a further question which we cannot answer here, but with which it is fitting that this work be ended.

In Hammad's words (1946, p. 39), how will it be possible for the villagers "by preserving or modifying the old and accepting what is new, once more to form a unified world of thought and life which they can call their own?"

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: THE SUBSIDIARY GROUPS

421 This group called *Peripheral to the Core* is rather heterogeneous, and it is not internally unified. It includes three house servants, one of whom is a Druze, another a Maronite, while the religion of the third was not ascertained. Each of the labourers in the village has a professional helper and both of these men are included in the Peripheral Group. One is a Maronite from Jbeil, and he is the brother of the husband of a member of one of the Affiliate Families of the Core Group. The other is a Sunni Muslim who has his wife and one small child with him in the village.

Three members of the Peripheral Group are outsiders to the village in terms of religion and local origin. There is only one affinal tie with the Core Group, and it is with a family whose Core Group status is marginal.

The remaining seven members of the Peripheral Group consist of a single nuclear family, parents and five children. This group is Greek Orthodox in religion, and it came from Syria about five years previous to the study. The father does agricultural wage labor. Between this family and the Core Group there is no religious bonding, but it is not a part of the Core Group because of its immediate outside origin and because it has no kinship or marriage connections with the Core Group. Its very presence in the village was discovered only after the period of study had been under way for some time, and explanations were supplied by Core Group informants only in response to questions put by the investigators.

421 The B'sisiners are all Maronites (Lebanese Roman Catholics). They are sheep and goat herders who regularly drive their flocks down to Jbeiqil every October from the two high villages of which they are members, which are buried in snow all winter. They return to the high slopes in April. They are all united by their religion, and each village group is particularly cohesive because it is a village group and because of kinship and marriage ties. From the village of Jaaj there are three residence units: (1) a nuclear family consisting of father, mother, two sons, and two daughters; (2) an adult, single man and his mother; (3) a brother of the single man, his wife, five sons and three daughters. From the village Ehmij there are, first of all, two independent nuclear families. One of these (parents, one son, and two daughters) lives in the village proper; the other (parents and several children) lives at 'Ayqûr. Also from Ehmij is a family which is headed by two adult brothers and a known, as a group, by the name of their father. One brother lives in the village proper with his wife and, sometimes, two sons and their wives. The other brother lives at Zûrei with his wife and several children. It was stated that the members of this family are *shirkeh* (partners), that is to say, the property of the brothers is not divided and they pool their resources.

421 The *Mawâl* (designation of the Lebanese Bâl's Muslims) consist of three house-

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[Mansif]

holds and in order to describe the relationships between them, capital letters will be used to designate individuals. From the village of Fidar (south of Jbeil on the main highway) there are two households: (1) A, his wife, and his mother B; (2) C, his wife D, and three children. From the village of Hjoula (northward and inland from Beirut) there is one household consisting of E, his wife, an unmarried daughter, a son F, and F's wife G.

E, now a widow, was married twice. By her first husband she bore C. By her second husband she bore A and G. At one time, F's second husband was married to another woman, and from this union there came D who is C's wife. In other words, C's mother was once the wife of his wife's (D's) father. C is the half-brother of A and G who are full siblings. D is a half-sister of A and G, and by stretching things a little one might be able to say that she is a step-sister of her husband (C).

This information came to light as the result of a Core Group informant's comment that C and his wife were brother and sister. After the explanation had been made, the informant said, "Well, they call each other brother and sister sometimes." The relationship clearly evoked humor, but it is possible that lurking beneath the humor was a feeling that the connection was a little too close for comfort in the eyes of the Christians.

The presence and various activities in Mansif of the Peripheral Group, the Whites, and the Morels are, with one exception, concrete evidence of the *ethnic division of labor* which, in Cook's view (1951), accounts for so many of the salient characteristics of Middle East culture. With this view the present writer is in essential agreement, and a full discussion of its theoretical significance for this study is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations."

In this instance, the ethnic distinctions are primarily religious in nature. This conforms with the general pattern of the phenomenon, but there are lurking in Mansif most of the visible cultural differentiations, such as costume, which are often so conspicuous elsewhere. One reason for the homogeneity of appearance in Mansif is the fact that nearly everyone concerned is from the same culture area, Northern Lebanon, although several different communities are represented.

It has been noted that there are really two classes of people in the Peripheral Group. One of these, the Greek Orthodox merchant family from Syria, represents the kind of immigration which is of common occurrence in the region. Long ago, a similar group by a similar action established the community itself. With respect to the Core Group, the Orthodox family in the Peripheral Group really does not exemplify Cook's ethnic division of labor. The members of the Peripheral Group do, however. They differ among themselves, and with respect to the Core Group, in the important matter of religion. Also, they are outsiders to the local group. In terms of the structural theory which is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations," each is a representative (of a more widely distributed segment of Sphere 4 (Sect Group) within another, locally established, Sphere 4 segment which is itself an outlier in the area of another segment of Sphere 4. Functionally, all these members of the Peripheral Group serve the Core Group as hired hands in capacities which are generally regarded as menial. It was quite evident that members of the Core Group would be very unwilling to serve each other in such capacities.

What is true of members of the Peripheral Group as individuals is essentially true

of the Wimmera and the Mawāli as groups. The Wimmera are tradesmen, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thoumin, 1936, pp. 134-35). According to Core Group informants, they, or other Maronites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily to their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. Moreover, the Core Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their living in the village. The Shiite furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mawāli are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mawāli as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a percentage rent to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this rent is agreed upon with a view to the Core Group members getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mawāli, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group often work in the kitchens or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or housekeepers. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of superiority-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degree of economical superiority and local establishment which obtain in the particular area. In other words, as has been suggested above, Mawāli is simply one localized example of the operation of Core's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way relieved by group avoidance or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in all social relationships in the village is equilibrium, stabilized, to be sure, with the various barriers which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of itinerants: (1) Tinkers and scissor grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the liveliness of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright, others seek, perhaps sincerely, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawar (Gypsies). One group of them was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular hand-dyed, black linen turbans, marching up the road with

[Music]

large bundles slung over their shoulders, singing cheerfully. "They do not speak Arabic," said our informant, "and you always see the women only because their women, especially, are the wives of our men. They beg, and let men nothing."

Also in the bigger cities are men with performing bears or donkeys, and, in particular, troupes consisting of a girl of any age between ten and twenty and usually two, sometimes older, men. The girl does a skimpy dance accompanied by the men, one of whom beats a drum, while the other usually plays a long, stringed instrument called *kamanjah*. The villagers call them *Ghawazi* because they all are supposed to come from Ghawazi, and they regard them as pests to be got rid of as quickly as possible. The beggars are a group which is definitely stigmatized by the villagers.

APPENDIX B: TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC PHONEMES

A fairly standard system of transliteration has been developed for Classical Arabic, which can be employed without comment. However, as Arab men use Classical Arabic in his daily life, and this work is concerned with the events of daily life, it is therefore necessary to employ a set of symbols which is suitable for the needs at hand.

In general, the various Arabic dialects adhere fairly well to classical usage in the long series of dominant phonemes. What usually occurs is that some are ignored, as phonetically systematic features, and there is also a tendency to eliminate, by addition or omission, the asymmetries which occur in Classical Arabic. Those which remain, however, and they are the majority, are generally pronounced in accordance with classical rules. The same can be said, in general, of the three long vowels, equivalent of which is taken in the Arabic alphabet. The chief difficulty is encountered in the three short vowels, by usual in ordinary writing, one of which is regularly dismissed with *sh* and with *o* in Iraqi two additional phonemes. Dialectical variation in this series is great, frequently involving the complete omission of one or another of the three simple phonemes in question. Moreover, individuals tend to be casual in their pronunciation of these. For example, a Lebanese will say that *o* is correct to call his country either Libnan or Lebnan. He does either, and may even say both in the same sentence. In linguistic terms, *o* is the short vowel and related diphthongs that he greatest number of allophonic variants, and where dialectical variations are very apparent.

The system of transliteration used in this work is intended to be reasonably accurate phonetically, to avoid undue pronunciation, and, within, to permit the reader to pronounce the words correctly without first having to master a [illegible] and semantic system of symbols. In the text, Arabic words are rendered in the brought dialect which is less or variance with the classical than many others. In a few cases, the Classical Arabic form is added in parentheses, using the Arabic alphabet.

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Arabic *	Words, written over each initial, medial or final form	Arabic Letters	Hebrew Equivalents
ب		ب	
ت		ت	
ث		ث	
ج	as in Arab	ج	ג
ح		ح	
خ	as in Ach	خ	
د		د	
ذ		ذ	
ر		ر	
ز		ز	
س	dental s	س	
ش	dental sh	ش	
ص		ص	
ض		ض	
ط		ط	
ظ	as in azure	ظ	
ع	palatal r	ع	
غ	palatal g	غ	
ف	palatal f	ف	
ق	palatal k	ق	
ك	palatal k	ك	ك
ل		ل	
م	similar voiceless spirant	م	
ن	similar voiced spirant	ن	
ه	velar voiceless stop	ه	Gemination*
و		و	
ي	pharyngeal voiceless spirant	ي	
ء	pharyngeal voiced spirant	ء	
ى	glottal stop	ى	
آ	as in bar	آ	silent and vowel
أ	as in arm	أ	
إ	as in earn	إ	
ـ	as in get (as gut)	ـ	Feminine endings (especially -a, -at, -an affixes, -i, -an -i)
ـ	as in get (as get)	ـ	
ـ	as in get (as get or gut)	ـ	
ـ	similar to voice w/(vowel)	ـ	
ـ	similar to bowl (as bowl)	ـ	

* The alphabetic phonemes are arranged in phonetic order of formation from the front of the mouth backwards; they are not in the proper order of the Arabic alphabet.

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EXPLANATION OF PLATES

Plate I. *Al-Mawjib and Qibla.*

Fig. View of Qibla from the road leading to the main village. Note the [illegible] of tamarisk coloured the bed. Bottom, Al-Mawjib from the south.

Plate II. *The New Automobile Road, and an Old Path in the Village.*

Fig. The road at Qibla. Bottom, A steep path between the houses in the village.

Plate III. *Villagers.*

Fig. A group of schoolboys. Bottom, The priest outside his door, with his youngest son (left), and two other villagers.

Plate IV. *House Types: Old Style.*

Fig. Typical old-style house with two lipids, the lower used as a stable as the entrance, the roof forming a terrace for the main part of the house. Note the dolyen (water-cistern) on the terrace. Bottom, A more elaborate house of the old style.

Plate V. *House Types: The Old Tile-Roof Style.*

Fig. House typical of the period 1918-1919. To the right, two old-style houses, one modern and abandoned. Bottom, A more elaborate version of the old tile-roof style. The right wall, either an enclosure or windbreak, is a recurrent motif in Lebanese architecture.

Plate VI. *House Types: Modern.*

Plate [illegible] brick house with window glass and the common roof. Mulberry trees in the foreground. Al-Mawjib section of the village.

Plate VII. *The Church and Two Views.*

Fig. The church, Mar Sarkis. Old-style house on the right. Bottom, Two views in Qibla.

Plate VIII. *The Schools.*

Fig. The government school, erected about 1910. Bottom, The "national" (private) school. The records both school years is completed by the schoolmaster and his family. The building and the tubing at the left are also owned by him.

Plate IX. *Mar Mikhael Shrine.*

Fig. Exterior view of Mar Mikhael. Bottom, Interior of Mar Mikhael.

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THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS OF LEBANON

1951—1952

by

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[illegible]

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PREFACE

In January, 1953, the Economic Research Institute, at the request of the Ministry of National Economy, and with cooperation of the Statistical Services, undertook the study of the International Balance of Payments for the Republic of Lebanon.

From the Economic Research Institute, the team of research workers consisted of Edward Ye, Assistant Professor of Economics, who was in charge of the Project; Yaritza L. Benavides, Senior Research Assistant; and Nassim Saliba, Research Assistant. On the departure of Mr. Ye towards the end of January, 1954, Paul J. Klat, Assistant Professor of Economics, took charge until the completion of the study. To him also fell the task of interpreting the data and writing the manuscript.

From the Ministry of National Economy, Mr. Hikmat Shehadeh, Chief of Bureau in the Statistical Service, was delegated to work on the project; while he supervised the work in connection with the foreign trade series, his advice on the other matters was very valuable.

The report of Mr. R. S. Lyons, Statistical Advisor, British Middle East Office, on the Balance of Payments of Lebanon, undertaken at the request of the Ministry of National Economy, served as the starting point of the study.

Messrs. Edmund Asfour, Robert Porter, Assaf Nasr, and Charles Issawi read the manuscript and offered valuable criticism and suggestions.

The Institute is deeply indebted to Mr. Mustapha Nasli, Director General of the Ministry of National Economy, who, from start to finish, took personal interest in the work. The staff of the Institute were always certain of a ready and sympathetic hearing on his part whenever serious difficulties were encountered or anticipated.

It would be difficult to mention by name all those who generously contributed to the work in way of advice and criticism. To each the Institute offers sincere thanks.

[Following Editorial Page]

A. Y. Baalbaki
Director
Economic Research Institute

THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS OF LEBANON IN 1993 AND 1992

Definitions and Method

000 A country's balance of payments represents a record of its international economic and financial transactions during a given period.

The concept of these transactions is of course very clearly and commonly definitions and classifications have been suggested. The most elaborate are those of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and they are guiding with compilers among nations. In Lebanon, however, it would be impossible to follow closely the Fund's concepts and suggested classifications, mainly because of the inadequacy of Government statistics. Besides, even if all the needed data were available, it is doubtful whether so detailed a record as the one proposed by the Fund would be really meaningful to Lebanon today. The primary need is for a simple but sophisticated schedule; in a country where no study of the balance of payments has ever been made, either by the Government or by private institutions, it appears that the main aim of any attempt in that direction at this time should be simply to present as an close a form as possible the country's major international receipts and payments and to explain financing procedures.

100 However, and mainly in order to achieve a certain comparability of data and to profit to the utmost from available publications, it was felt that as few departures as possible should be allowed from the more internationally accepted classifications. Therefore, the procedure followed in this study is basically that of the IMF's Abbreviated Balance of Payments schedule*, adapted to Lebanon's particular conditions and requirements. The general scope of the study is shown in the following schedule:-

* International Monetary Fund, Balance of Payments Manual, Seventh Edition, September 1993, Washington D.C., U.S.A.

[3-] I. Goods and Services.
- A. [illegible]
- B. Non-Monetary Gold
- C. Foreign Travel
- D. Transport and Insurance
- E. Investment Income
- F. Government Expenditures (not included elsewhere)
- G. Miscellaneous Services

II. Donations and Capital Movements.
- A. Emigrants' Remittances and Transfers
- B. Charitable and Cultural Institutions
- C. Government
- D. Capital Movements

III. Compensatory Financial Operations.

[1-7] Wherever possible, use has been made of available official information, other available corrections and adjustments. Very often, however, the lack of data in various sectors of the economy has necessitated private inquiries which sometimes took the form of supplementary independent surveys. Thus a five-month survey was made of the imported summer resort industry, cottages, and of tourist expenditures.

[1-7] The years 1951 and 1952 have been chosen for purposes of this study, as they constitute the only twelve-month periods for which there are complete trade figures for Lebanon alone and for which final government budget accounts are available. Prior to March 1951, Lebanon formed a customs union with Syria, and trade returns of the two countries were combined. The lack of proper records makes it impossible to estimate even approximately the share of each country at that time in total exports and imports. When the customs union was terminated on March 13th, 1951, Lebanon established its own customs, started recording its commercial transactions and embarked on an independent trade and exchange policy. This development makes a preliminary computation of Lebanon's balance of payments not only possible but also necessary if the effects of the new policy are to be properly appraised.

[3-] The results obtained in this study have been summarized in the following tables in both abridged and standard forms. An

supplementary test follows. It should be emphasized here that these results are merely tentative and should not be utilized except with great caution. Indeed, some of the estimates given are perhaps no more than informed guesses. Yet, it is believed that the degree of error is not such as to distort the relationships presented in the balance here presented.

As the period of time covered in this study is relatively short, no systematic consideration of these relationships has been undertaken. However, it is planned to include such a consideration in the study of the balance of payments in 1933, which is now underway. It is expected that some general trends would then become discernible, thus making possible a general and more meaningful appraisal of the situation.

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BALANCE OF PAYMENTS

A - Abridged Schedule
(In U.S. millions)

A. Goods and Services			
Merchandise Trade		— 311.5	— 332.1
Non-Monetary Gold		6.0	— 11.5
Foreign Travel		30.3	34.5
Transportation and Insurance		7.1	11.7
Investment Income		3.0	7.0
Government, not included elsewhere		69.7	65.6
Miscellaneous Services		140.8	151.4
	Total (A)	— 55.5	— 52.4
B. Private Donations & Capital Movements			
Donations		65.1	65.0
Capital Movements		14.7	43.7
	Total (B)	79.8	108.7
C. Surplus (A + B)	Total (C)	18.9	36.3
D. Compensatory Financing			
Monetary Gold (Increase —)		— 35.9	— 13.4
Short Term Assets (Increase —)		5.0	— 10.9
	Total (D)	— 30.9	— 24.3

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BALANCE OF PAYMENTS - 1951

B. Standard Schedule
(In L.L. Million)

		Credit	Debit
A.	**Goods & Services**		
	Merchandise Trade	124.9	436.4
	Non-Monetary Gold	15.2	14.3
	Foreign Travel	35.0	14.7
	Transportation and Insurance	16.3	9.2
	Investment Income	15.6	11.8
	Government, not included elsewhere	79.5	9.8
	Miscellaneous Services		
	Transit	113.1	—
	Other Services	35.7	—
	Total (A)	435.3	496.2
B.	**Private Donations and Capital Movements**		
	Emigrants' Remittances and Transfers	58.4	4.0
	Government	0.5	—
	Charitable and Cultural Institutions	10.2	—
	Capital Movements (net)	14.7	—
	Total (B)	83.8	4.0
C.	**Total (A + B)** Total (C)	519.1	500.2
D.	**Surplus (Credit - Debit)** Total (D)	18.9	—
E.	**Compensatory Financing**		
	Monetary Gold	—	23.9
	Foreign Exchange Assets	0.9	—
	Bank Liabilities to Non-Residents	4.1	—
	Total (E)	5.0	23.9

457 BALANCE OF PAYMENTS - 1952

B. Standard Schedule
(In L.L. millions)

A. Goods & Services	Credits	Debits
Merchandise Trade	122.1	434.3
Non-Monetary Gold	25.0	36.5
Foreign Travel	47.6	25.1
Transportation and Insurance	21.2	8.5
Investment Income	16.2	9.2
Government, not included elsewhere	72.2	6.6
Miscellaneous Services		
Transit	95.4	–
Other Services	26.0	–
Total (A)	435.7	520.1
B. Private Donations and Capital Movements		
Emigrants' Remittances & Transfers	71.7	2.7
Government	2.5	–
Charitable and Cultural Institutions	13.5	–
Capital Movements (net)	43.7	–
Total (B)	131.4	2.7
C. Total (A + B) Total (C)	567.1	540.8
D. Surplus (Credit – Debit)	26.3	–
E. Compensatory Financing		
Monetary Gold	–	15.4
Foreign Exchange	–	10.4
Bank Liabilities to Non-Residents	–	0.5
Total (E)	–	26.3

Merchandise Trade

Data on foreign trade has been taken from the Customs' records. Published currently, this data includes all merchandise trade except :-

1. Goods not constituting exchanges between Lebanon and a foreign country, such as sea food caught off coastal waters, salvaged goods, goods confiscated or abandoned, and sold by the Customs.

2. Travelers' baggage, immigrants' and emigrants' belongings, and other such items not possessing the characteristics of commodity trade.

3. Minor imports and exports of nominal value, especially those sent by post, such as merchandise samples, gifts and goods valued under LL. 3.00, books, etc.

4. Special governmental purchases, including imports of military equipment.

5. Goods imported by foreign embassies and missions and by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA).

6. Imports of specified commercial[1] nature.

Imports are recorded at the Customs under the appropriate commodity sections and country headings ; the entries are based on the declaration of the importer and on the invoice presented when the goods are withdrawn from the warehouses. All the work is done without the use of machines. The present lack of adequate facilities not only leads to many errors in calculation, occasions great waste in time and energy and delays publication, but also makes the preparations of new tabulations extremely difficult and time-consuming ; whenever new information has been needed, as was the case for the quarterly tabulations of trade by country, it has been necessary to go back to the original Customs registers where imports are recorded.

The major adjustments which had to be made to the Customs figures have been for (1) coverage and (2) valuation. The following discussion treats each of these categories, and indicates the nature and type of adjustments actually made.

1 These imports, as well as those of UNRWA, are recorded separately at the Customs.

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A. Adjustment for Coverage

As noted above, Customs figures of imports and exports do not include personal effects of travelers and goods of nominal value. It has not been thought necessary to make any adjustment to account for these relatively small items. However, adjustments have been made with respect to the following:-

a. Re-exports: Re-exports to Lebanon are of two types: (i) those which have paid a duty upon entering the country and have then been recorded as imports, the duty being refunded when the goods are re-exported (cf. Table 1); and (ii) those which have been re-exported directly from the Customs warehouses (cf. Table 2). For balance of payments purposes only re-exports in (i) have been added to the Customs export figure since they already appear as imports and it has been impossible to isolate them; those in (ii) have been considered as part of the transit trade.

b. Gold: Gold movements (bullion and coins) are included in Customs statistics and are often recorded at a fictitious value; as there is no import duty on gold, the government does little to enforce proper declaration and recording. In dealing with this problem, the value of gold has been deducted from foreign trade figures, its quantity by weight determined, and revaluations made on the basis of quarterly free market gold prices. The new estimated values have then been set aside for inclusion in the final tabulation under non-monetary gold movements.

c. It was discovered that foreign banknotes imported have been inadvertently recorded as merchandise imports. Their value in 1951 amounted to over 7.5 million Lebanese pounds (cf. Table 3). This item has been isolated from the merchandise figures for inclusion under capital movements.

d. Imported motion picture films are also included in merchandise imports, being given a fictitious value. As most films are not purchased, but enter the country on a rental basis, this item has also been isolated and excluded from trade returns (cf. Table 4).

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e. Concessions: The Lebanese Government has entered into special agreements with some foreign concessionaires thereby allowing them to import certain commodities and

equipment free of duty. These companies may be conveniently divided into two categories according to their main center of interest and operations.

a. Some companies, like the Beirut Port Company, center their activities in Lebanon.

b. Others are branches of foreign companies undertaking particular functions which are only a part of major operations abroad. Their local concessions often have some privileges of extraterritoriality; their activities are considered as taking place outside the country, as it were, in a free zone. The Iraq Petroleum Company is in this category.

It is probably because of this distinction between the two types of companies that their imports are recorded differently at the Customs. Whereas imports of companies in (i) are combined with general imports, imports of companies in (ii) are recorded separately. For balance of payments purposes, such a distinction is meaningful: imports by foreign companies in (ii) should be excluded as they do not constitute a drain on the country's foreign exchange resources. On the other hand, imports of companies under (i) should be assimilated to private imports, as these companies, although foreign, pay for their purchases abroad from local earnings.

f. Imports of foreign embassies and missions, and imports of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, whether destined for consumption in Lebanon or for shipment to other countries, have also been left separate for the same reasons as for imports of concessionaires under (i) above.

g. It would have been good to isolate also government imports and to include them under "government expenditures". However, this proved an impossible task as ordinary government imports are usually made through private dealers and are entered as private imports in the Customs records. On the other hand, government imports of military equipment are not recorded at all at the Customs, and only a small part of their value could be obtained.

Supplementary adjustments have also been made to account for "unrecorded transactions". This expression is here used to

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cover smuggling and genuine trade operations out declared at the Customs frontiers.

a. Smuggling. Smuggled goods may be conveniently divided into (i) merchandise, (ii) narcotics and (iii) gold. It was decided to estimate the value of smuggling in each one of the three categories on the basis of cases caught by the Customs authorities. All contraventions of Customs regulations are in fact entered into special registers, giving particulars on the date, place and nature of the contravention, the means employed, the quantity and value of goods seized, the fine imposed and the conditions of settlement. For 1951 there are over 9500 entries and for 1952 about 2000. However, not all these entries could be considered as willful cases of smuggling; some obviously refer to cases of violations of Customs regulations due to the trader's ignorance of these regulations. Such cases have of course been excluded from consideration for the evaluation of total smuggling. All goods seized are subsequently recorded as merchandise trade by the Customs authorities.

i) Export smuggling of merchandise in Lebanon is normally much larger than import smuggling, mainly because of the country's entrepot position. In 1951 and 1952, most of the import smuggling came from Syria and consisted mainly of tobacco, hosiery, linen, cattle and ammo (cooking fat), the latter especially during the second half of 1952. The value of smuggled goods seized amounted to about L.L. 477,000 in 1951 and L.L. 334,000 in 1952. However, private conversations with Customs officials and merchants would indicate that actual import smuggling was at least five times the volume of cases detected; this would make total import smuggling of merchandise about L.L. 2.4 million in 1951 and over L.L. 2.0 million in 1952.

Goods smuggled out of Lebanon went mainly to Israel and Syria; the merchandise seized is estimated at L.L. 135,350 in 1951 and L.L. 85,000 in 1952. Customs officials believe that it would be fair to assume that only 3% of the smuggled goods were actually detected. On that assumption export smuggling of merchandise was L.L. 4.7 million in 1951 and L.L. 3.0 million in 1952.

ii) Very little narcotics is smuggled into Lebanon; the Cus-

been record of detected cases (mainly of opium brought in by small boats from Turkey) is really negligible; on the other hand, a large amount of hashish is smuggled out of Lebanon with Egypt as the main destination. Customs registers indicate quantities seized valued at L.L. 132,800 in 1961 and L.L. 388,242 in 1962. It is not unlikely, however, that as in the case of merchandise export smuggling, actual traffic was at least 30 times greater, with a value of over L.L. 7.0 million in 1961 and L.L. 10.3 million in 1962.

iii) As gold movements are not considered a part of merchandise trade, gold smuggling is discussed in a later section, under non-monetary gold movements.

b. **Other unrecorded transactions**: These represent local purchases of small traders from neighbouring countries (e.g. Syria, Turkey and Jordan) who often come to Beirut either to fill specific orders of their customers or to replenish their stocks. The traders take back the purchased goods with them without recording them as exports at the Lebanese Customs. Articles involved in this traffic consist mainly of imported jewelry, perfumes, cosmetics, expensive women's and men's apparel and, in general, any luxury goods that can be easily carried. A private investigation among the main Beirut shops that cater for this business reveals that probably as much as L.L. 3 million is spent on it annually by foreign traders.

B. Adjustments for Valuation

1. Customs statistics for imports are given CIF and exports FOB. Moreover, although all imports are paid for in foreign currency bought in the free market, the Customs Administration records them in local currency, the conversion being made at the official rate of exchange, wherever official rates exist. In fact the Exchange Office has fixed such rates for fifteen foreign currencies (cf. Table 3) whose free market value may be anywhere from 2%, to 30%, higher than the official rate. Only in the rare cases where an official rate does not exist, is the free market rate used as a basis for conversion into local currency.

a. **CIF Values**. As imports at the Customs are recorded CIF, no attempt has been made, in order to conform to the IMF's

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procedure, to discover their FOB value by deducting shipping and insurance costs from the recorded Customs figures. However, many importers furnished no record of these costs; nor could these costs be isolated either by countries or by commodities. The same commodity would be competitively imported from many different countries and in varying bulk. It was felt that a much more intensive study of the problem was needed before the proper adjustments could be made. Moreover, as virtually all shipping and insurance activities are handled through foreign firms, their cost should normally appear as payments, the same way as the price of imports. Thus, as it was not expected that the use of CIF prices would do serious damage to the overall results, the attempt to discover FOB values was abandoned and all the calculations in this study have been made on the basis of CIF prices.

As Lebanese export prices are quoted FOB, no problem of adjustment for shipping and insurance payments arises in their valuation.

b. **Exchange Rates.** As noted above, the value of imports is almost always converted into Lebanese currency at the official rate, which varies substantially from the open market rate. For purposes of conversion into local currency, the Customs Administration considers only the currency used by the importer in making payment, and not that of the country of origin of the goods. In actual practice it has been found that invoices of imports from countries for which no official exchange rates are fixed by the Exchange Office usually bear the notation "To be paid in Dollars or Sterling". This applies sometimes also to many goods imported from countries for which there are official rates of exchange. In general it can be said that goods from the Sterling Area, the Franc Area, and the USA are paid for in their respective currencies, while the bulk of goods from other countries are paid for either in dollars or in sterling. It is on this basis that conversions into local currency are made. Where doubt exists as to the actual currency used for payment, the dollar is assumed to have been used and conversion into local currency is made at the official dollar rate.

The FOB values of exports are based directly on the Cus-

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some declarations. An examination of these declarations of a period of one month indicated that no more than one per cent of the export declarations were quoted in foreign currencies. So it was not thought worthwhile to make any adjustment on that score. Export values in 1961 and 1962 are given in table 6.

c. **Multiple Rates.** The problem confronted in the application of market exchange rates to imports is further complicated by the existence in Lebanon of two free exchange rates for most currencies: the "free" rate and the "arrai" account rate.

In the case of sterling, for instance, the free rate is the open market rate for the purchase of sterling from a special Lebanese account which could be used for sterling imports into Lebanon. The "arrai" account rate represents the price at which sterling from accounts of sterling area countries are sold to Lebanese importers, for purchases from the sterling area. These accounts can theoretically be used only between countries in the sterling area (e.g. between Jordan and Great Britain); their use by a non-sterling area country, like Lebanon, represents a leakage of sterling. This contravenes no laws in Lebanon, but does evade British financial regulations. No British exporter may accept sterling area accounts in payment for exports to a non-sterling area country. In usual cases, a Lebanese merchant acquires sterling area sterling from sources in, for example, Kuwait for purchases of goods from Great Britain, for delivery to Kuwait. However, when the goods arrive at the free zone in Beirut, they are "side tracked" and imported into Lebanon.

Sterling area account rates are slightly lower than the Lebanese account rates in the local market (e.g. in the middle of the two year period 1961 - L.L. 8.1 - Sterling free Account - was L.L. 8.05, whereas 8.1 - Lebanese Account - was L.L. 8.10). The difference of course accounts for the continued leakages from the sterling area account. The same discrepancy applies to the French franc where a Lebanese account and a France area account also exist.

All efforts to isolate the amounts involved in such account have met with failure, and must wait further study

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of the foreign-exchange market. For purposes of this study, the Lebanese account rates have been used for both the sterling and the French franc.

4. **The Timing Problem.** The problem of time lags between the payment for, and consequently the transfer of title to goods, and the date of actual importation introduces a serious difficulty in the computation of foreign trade returns. The resulting differences between time of payment and time of recording by the Customs vary with transportation distances, methods of trade (e.g. sale or consignment), and methods of payment (cash, instalment, and credit). The corollary problem is to determine the appropriate market exchange rate to apply to imports.

A survey was made of 31 large importers in Beirut. The sample chosen was based on the principal commodity imports according to value. The number of importers chosen from each commodity group for personal interviews closely approximated the relative value of each category of imports. In many cases, three relatively few large importers accounted for the major share of the imports of that category. Personal interviews were later made of one small importer in each category. The main questions asked related to the time interval between payment and the receipt of the goods.

The results of these interviews, plus conversations with members of various trade associations and banks, seem to indicate that no definite pattern exists in time and method of payment, especially since the end of World War II. Depending on the country, the type of merchandise, and the individual firm involved, time and method of payment ranged all the way from cash payment at the time of placing the order, to credit of up to one month after arrival of the goods. All that can be said is that, in a majority of cases, payment was made partly at time of order and partly at time of shipment. Moreover, payments seem to have been made earlier for goods originating from Great Britain and the USA, and for goods purchased by smaller firms. Credit has been more available for imports from Germany, Italy, and France, and for payments of large and long established firms. A close case has been that of Germany,

which has been extending credit facilities in order to re-capture some of its former trade with Middle Eastern countries.

It was decided that the market rate of exchange to be applied should be that ruling at the time the declaration was made by the importer. The use of any exchange rate ruling at a different period could not be justified on grounds of greater accuracy. Anyway, since merchandise trade is compiled on a quarterly basis, some of the timing discrepancies are cancelled out. Moreover, at a further stage of the tabulation, when conversions were made, it was found that use of an average annual market exchange rate and a quarterly one gave a difference in result of between 0.01 % to 0.02 %. Advancing or retarding the applicable monthly rates of exchange to the four quarters (e.g. using the average market exchange rate for December, January, and February instead of January, February, and March for the 1st quarter) gave an insignificant annual difference.

c. **Conversion Factors.** In the conversion from the official to the real value of imports, the following procedure has been adopted to :-

i) Daily open market quotations of the principal currencies have been recorded, and bi-weekly, monthly, and quarterly averages of each currency computed.

ii) A conversion factor has been calculated for each currency, based upon the average quarterly exchange rate and the official rate (cf. Table 7).

iii) The figures obtained from the Customs, once adjusted for better coverage (except for smuggling and other unrecorded transactions) as suggested in section 3 above, have been reclassified by currency areas and on a quarterly basis.

iv) The appropriate conversion factor has been applied to each class, thus giving the real value of imports (cf. Table 8).

5. There is another form of underevaluation for which adjustment must be made. Importers have a tendency to undervalue their Customs declarations in order to reduce their tariff

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payments. An attempt was made to assess the importance of this undervaluation from the Customs' contravention registers. However, it was noticed that detected cases of undervaluation were very infrequent (0.3 % of total contraventions) and that, when a case was detected, the amount of undervaluation was not stated. Mr. G. Hanssens suggests that all imports should be revalued 1 %, upwards to account for undervalued declarations[1], while with Customs officials and merchants, however, would indicate that such a revaluation would be excessive, especially if made on the basis of import prices recalculated at the open market rate of exchange. A 2 % revaluation would seem more appropriate, being L.L. 6.5 million in 1951 and L.L. 6.9 million in 1952.

Estimates of the undervaluation of exports are more difficult to assess by. It is reported that most exporters put fictitious values on their Customs declarations; this is often done at the request of the foreign importers in order to reduce their Customs payments. As an export duty is ever imposed, the responsible authorities do not seem to insist on export declarations and do not penalize fairly even even when detected. Informed guess-estimates of the degree of export undervaluation vary between 10 and 20 %. An average of 15 %, many not, therefore, be too excessive; this would mean an undervaluation of L.L. 15.6 million in 1951 and L.L. 13.3 million in 1952.

Conclusion: The Merchandise Trade Balance

The Customs trade figures show a trade deficit of L.L. 314.8 million in 1951 and L.L. 185.1 million in 1952, the imports and exports (including reexports) figures being, respectively, L.L. 535.7 million and L.L. 197.9 million in 1951 and L.L. 367.0 million and L.L. 181.9 million in 1952. However, when adjustment is made for coverage and valuation as explained in sections A & B above, the net merchandise trade deficit becomes L.L. 311.2 million in 1951 and L.L. 202.1 million in 1952, imports being L.L. 438.4 million and L.L. 434.2 million and exports L.L. 116.9 million and L.L. 125.1 million, respectively.

[1] G. Hanssens, Plan de Reconstruction de l'Economie Libanaise, Beirut 1948, Appendix 6.

NON-MONETARY GOLD MOVEMENTS

Following the general IMF concepts, non-monetary gold movements in here used to mean private gold imports and exports. Government (official) gold transactions and gold transit are treated separately.

Lebanon allows the free importation of gold, whether bullion or coins; but gold exportation is subject to licensing. In 1963-64 licenses were used very restrictively and covered only very small shipments of gold jewelry and ornaments to Saudi Arabia. There was a short-lived exception in the first two quarters of 1965, when the exportation of gold coins was authorized.

A good deal of the imported gold goes into the Government's official reserves, as currency backing, or is locally consumed in the making of jewelry and ornaments. It is estimated that an average of 30 kilograms is so consumed weekly (or about 1 ½ tons a year). The balance goes into private hoards. When possible, it is smuggled out of the country. Sometimes, as in 1965, when sales profits are high because of an expanded foreign demand or of large government purchases, there may even be net private dishoarding.

It has not been possible to determine accurately the quantity or value of private hoards; they are, however, known to be fairly large. As in other countries in the Near and Far East, gold is still in Lebanon the best alternative to land as the most popular medium in which savings are accumulated. Estimates of private hoards vary between 5 and 10 tons, to which should be added a large amount of gold jewelry. Such jewelry often consists of no more than gold coins mounted on, or connected with, a gold chain to a bracelet or neck piece.

A. Gold imports

Gold imports in Lebanon consist of gold bars and coins. Quantities and value records of these imports are kept at the Customs. The value of hoards, however, are extremely unreliable;

[illegible]

as they are based on the importer's declaration and more often than not the value declared is fictitious. As gold imports are duty free, [illegible] Customs officials do not check carefully on these declarations. It has been necessary, therefore, to reassess the value of imports. This has been done by applying to the recorded quantities of imports the quarterly average gold prices in the open market.

Such a revaluation was easy for imported gold bars as their net weight could be closely determined by the Customs entries; their fineness, although not indicated in these entries, could be ascertained from that of similar bars usually handled in the Beirut gold market. The revaluation of gold coins, however, presented more serious difficulties. The Customs records do not indicate the various types of coins imported. It has been, therefore, impossible to ascertain their free market prices at the time of importation. Under the circumstances it was thought best to assume that all coins imported were gold sovereigns (King George) and to estimate their value on the basis of prices ruling in Beirut.*

Revalued Customs figures show imports of L.L. 37.6 million in 1951 and L.L. 33.7 million in 1952 (cf. Tables 14 & 15). To these should be added the gold that is smuggled in. This gold comes mainly from French Africa where gold exports are forbidden. To estimate the value of smuggled gold, we have been unable, as in the case of goods and securities contraband, of the Customs contraventions (See (c) pp. 69-72). These files show that L.L. 65,000 worth of smuggled gold was caught in 1951 and L.L. 30,000 in 1952. Both these figures express values calculated at the official rate of exchange; if adjusted to reflect free market quotations, they would be L.L. 111,000 and L.L. 60,000. Assuming, as before, that only one-fifth of all the import smuggling was actually detected, total gold smuggling would be about L.L. 300,000 in 1951 and and L.L. 300,000 in 1952, thus making overall gold imports L.L. 38.3 million in 1951 and L.L. 33.8 million in 1952.

In order to compute more accurately gold imports, the Government purchases must be deducted from the above figures. As no detailed information is available regarding these purchases, they have been assumed to be the same as the increase in the Government official reserves, i.e., L.L. 33.3 million in 1951 and L.L. 33.4 million

* This assumption is justified by the fact that the sovereign is the most readily accepted and commonly handled coin in the local open market.

in 1952.* These non-monetary gold imports were U.S. 14.5 mill. $57*
free in 1951 and U.S. 30.2 million in 1952. 45!
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B. Gold Exports

Except for the two first quarters of 1951 when the exportation of gold was authorized, no gold export is recorded at the Customs. A great deal of gold, however, is known to be smuggled out of the country. The total value of this traffic can only be inferred from the detected cases of contraband.

In 1951, as exportation was allowed during the first six months, smuggling was naturally restricted and the cases of detected contraband were consequently relatively few. The Customs files report seized quantities valued at U.S. 700,000 at the official rate, or U.S. 1.3 million at the free rate. Assuming again that only one-fifth of the traffic was detected, its total value would be about U.S. 6 million. To this should be added regular exports which are recorded at the Customs at U.S. 8 million (cf. Table III). This latter figure should be revalued to account for the undervaluation of export declarations. If adjusted to cover the same degree of undervaluation as for merchandise export (cf. p. 10), gold exports would be U.S. 9.2 million; and consequently total gold sales (including smuggling) would amount to U.S. 15.2 million in 1951.

In 1952, as no exports were licensed, smuggling expanded. This is indicated by the large increase in cases detected. Value of gold seized amounted to U.S. 3.3 million at the official rate, or U.S. 3.5 million at the free rate, i.e., more than double the cases detected in 1951. It is likely, however, that as the large quantities involved led to greater care by the smugglers, only one-tenth of the traffic was detected. Thus total traffic may well have been around U.S. 35 million.

C. "Net" Movement

In 1951, non-monetary gold imports were U.S. 14.5 million and foreign sales U.S. 15.2 million. As an additional 1 ½ tons of gold is normally consumed annually for industrial purposes (i.e. U.S. 7.5 million at the prices ruling in 1951) there was, therefore, a "net" disbursting of U.S. 8.4 million which came from private reserves. It should be remembered, however, that during the same

* International Financial Statistics, International Monetary Fund, Washington D.C., U.S.A.

period, official gold reserves increased by U.S. 28.9 million. There there was a "net" accumulation of gold of U.S. 15.5 million.

In 1933, there was a "net" inflow of non-monetary gold of U.S. 4.9 million, imports being U.S. 36.3 million, local consumption again 1 ½ tons, i.e., U.S. 4.9 million at the then ruling price and exports U.S. 35.0 million. The surplus served to swell private hoards. During the year, however, official reserves increased by U.S. 15.4 million only; thus total gold accumulation was U.S. 20 million, i.e., only U.S. 4.9 million more than in 1933.

FOREIGN TRAVEL

Foreign travel covers, on its credit side, all expenditure in [illegible] Lebanese of visitors whose permanent residence is outside Lebanon, and, on the debit side, expenditure abroad of travellers whose permanent residence is in Lebanon. Excluded are the passenger fares and payments made to ships and aircraft in international service.

In conformity with IMF procedure, and in order to insure comparability with other balance of payments studies, the concept of 'residence' has been preferred to that of 'nationality'. The latter is indeed less satisfactory for computation of travel expenditure since many migrants retain their original nationality although they have severed all economic ties with their homeland. The concept of 'residence' is based on the criterion of 'centre of interest'. Thus are considered 'residents' of Lebanon not only the Lebanese citizens who live there permanently but also all foreigners who are living in Lebanon and accumulating therein their earning activities and their investments. Similarly, Lebanese citizens living abroad (except diplomatic representatives, students and people undergoing medical treatment) are considered foreigners. Of course, the principle of 'centre of interest' must be elastic and any hard and fast rule would be quite arbitrary. For ordinary circumstances, however, a good test can be said to be the rule adopted in the United States that citizens going abroad for a longer period than twelve months are migrants. The same criterion has been used in this study. As a general rule, a stay of over one year in a country has been considered as constituting permanent 'residence'. Those in the questionnaire submitted to foreign agencies operating in Lebanon, whether government missions or international institutions, only the expenditure of those employed for more than one year has been requested to be included under Government transactions; expenditure of those who have been in Lebanon for less than a year has been counted as tourist expenditure.

In a few cases it was found necessary to depart from the concept of 'residence'. Such cases have been indicated in the appro-

private sections. Most of the difficulties in this connection has arisen from the lack of adequate information. Thus there are in Lebanon about 20,000 foreigners, and for many of them it has been impossible to ascertain whether or not they should be considered as 'residents'. Again, many Lebanese nationals live and work in neighbouring countries without being registered as permanent residents there. According to the adopted criterion, their expenditure on a trip to Lebanon should be entered as a credit; there has been no way, however, of isolating that item.

5. Receipts from foreign travel

Receipts from foreign travel (i.e., its credit side) have been divided into the following categories (1) summer resorting, (2) schools, (3) hospitals and (4) tourism, including business.

(1) Summer resorting. In most countries, summer resorting (or estivage) is part of general tourism, and earnings from it are not isolated. In Lebanon, such an isolation was deemed necessary, for the following reasons:

(i) Estivage in Lebanon is a clearly defined and separate industry and is so recognized by the Government. It is generally taken to mean the spending of the summer months in the fifty-odd mountain resorts which dot the Lebanese landscape. Although most of these resorts are inhabited all year round, their populations swell up as much as ten to fifteen times during July, August and September of every year. Some resorts are even completely abandoned during the winter months and come to life only in the hot season. During this season, all residential houses and often those schools and other institutions are rented out to the incoming estivants. Most of the estivants are from the Lebanese coastal cities, but quite a substantial number come from the neighbouring countries in the Middle East. The Lebanese Government (through its Commissariat of Tourism) is known to have always been anxious to promote estivage and to attract as many foreigners as possible during the summer season. In 1951 and 1952 for example, it stood ready to pay part or all of the return passage of all

[illegible] 5.29
[illegible] 5.30

visitors coming from Arab countries *. Foreign visitors 5.29
naturally differ from the ordinary tourists who stay a 5.30
few days only in the country, and up out most of their
time to travel, with interest on the [illegible] all places to
Europeans or Americans. The citizens' stay, on the other
hand, ranges all the way from a week or two at a hotel
to three months in a rented villa. Citizen guests repeat
year after year, returning to the same places, abroad, as
a whom, like to a summer home.

5.31 Whilst it was possible to isolate the summer resort tourist 5.27*
[illegible] the remaining forms of foreign travel (except
expenditures for schools and hospitals) could not be
separately identified because the needed information
was not obtainable from the Government of Tourism
or the Hotel Controls. Thus the word "tourist" is
used in this study as a catchall for the various and other-
wise unenhanced foreign travel expenditures, with no
breakdowns as to travel for business, pleasure, etc.

5.32 In view of its importance, it was decided to undertake a sep-
arate independent survey of the citizen industry especially since
there was no reliable official data on which to base even an ap-
proximate estimate. Although the general study encompasses 1951
and 1952 only, it was felt that the survey should cover the 1953
summer months, and be made while the season was in progress.
In this way there would be as little reliance as possible on people's
memories; the data requested would be current and available,
and direct inquiries and, where needed, cross checking would be
possible. The 1953 results could then serve as a basis for extrap-
olating estimates for the two previous years.

For this purpose, two complementary surveys were con-
ducted, both beginning in June 1953 and continuing through the
succeeding five months. Permission for the surveys were obtained
from the ministries concerned, which also cooperated in the col-
lection of information. Most of the questionnaires or questions,
unless were sent out in the name of the Income Security commission

* The Government estimated 60 to 70 thousand citizens visited Europe during the summer of 1953. An unofficial source, 40 to 50 thousand, 70 to 80 thousand and 100 to 120 thousand. The citizens and the Government [illegible] 1.5 million to 2000 and 2.5 million in 1953. Another [illegible] 250,000 were also spent annually on outbound journeys, mostly to the Arab countries of Lebanon and Syria, and to Egypt and Iraq.

3.17 with the subject at hand. A list of the major economic reports was compiled, including 45 reports.

a. The first survey dealt with the expenditures of foreign advisers living in private rented houses. It was found that most municipalities did not keep adequate records of these officers. Whereas visitors to hotels were registered by the *Zimtel Gästehaus* in 32 forms asking for the nationality, permanent residence, intended stay, dates of arrival and departure, places of permanent and destination, no similar information was required from officers in private houses. It was decided, therefore, to interview the foreign visitors themselves. The officials who collected municipal dues were then asked to indicate all houses which they thought were occupied by foreigners. Since they had to rely on their memories and notebooks, it was found that the procedure was defective. At last, the services of the grocers were enrolled. They knew, more than any one else, which houses were occupied by non-Africans. For interviewing, about 30 A.C.S. students were used, who themselves were attending to the various resort towns. Many of them knew their locality quite well, and had intimate knowledge of, and maintained friendly relations with the persons contacted.

3.18 1957 On the basis of this survey, it was found that 475 foreign (non-resident) families, totalling 2825 persons, spent the summer in private houses in 1957; rentals varied in extremes from small two-room units, unfurnished and with a minimum of utilities, at about L.L. 400 per season, to large villas at L.L. 20,000. Total expenditures of these families were estimated at about L.L. 3.3 million (cf. Tables 17 and 18).

3.19 The second survey dealt with expenditures of foreign officers in hotels, inns and other public housing units. A total of 200 hotels were selected in the various resort towns, and questionnaires sent to them, requesting information for 1957*. Reminders to answer were also sent later on. However, although detailed written instructions were attached to the questionnaires, it was often found necessary to make additional oral explanations. This was made in frequent visits especially to the hotels known to cater especially to

* The questionnaire form is appended (Appendix A).

foreign visitors. These visits also served for gathering information concerning the visitors' expenses outside the hotels, i.e., local transportation, entertainment, gifts etc.[1] Actually only 101 hotels answered the questionnaire. This, however, represents a fairly good portion of total business as 80 to 90% of the hotels in the main summer resorts responded. Those which did not answer were mainly in the northern districts and in the relatively less important centers of Emirates. The results obtained from the returned forms have been raised proportionately to cover all hotels. On the basis of these figures and of the personal interviews, the number of visitors to hotels in 1959 was estimated at 19,455, their total expenditure being L.L. 3.8 million (cf. Table 19).

From (a) and (b), it can be seen that the total number of foreign visitors in 1959 was about 19,240 and that total expenditures of these visitors were L.L. 9.3 million, i.e., about L.L. 500 per person.[2] On the basis of the Commissariat of Tourism's estimate of the number of foreign visitors in 1951 and 1952 (respectively, 36,000 and 33,287) and assuming the same level of expenditure as in 1959, an extension of the figures obtained for 1959 would show total earnings from foreign exchange of L.L. 13.2 million in 1951 and L.L. 12.0 million in 1952. From these figures should be deducted L.L. 1.9 million and L.L. 1.5 million respectively which represent the part of the visitors' travel expenses reimbursed by the Government (cf. footnote, p. 33). Thus net earnings from visitors' spending stood at L.L. 11.3 million in 1951 and L.L. 9.5 million in 1952.

(3) **Schools.** From a compilation of educational institutions in Lebanon, a list of 25 universities and schools which were known to have foreign (non-resident) students was drawn

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[1] The hotel managers were usually very useful in the collection of such information. Some of them agreed that they could estimate their clients' expenses outside the hotel as very often they knew how much money their clients had, what transportation exchanges or the hotel desk were among their hotel accounts.

[2] According to the Commissariat of Tourism, the number of visitors in 1959 was 19,240; the discrepancy between this figure and that arrived at in the above manner is probably due to the fact that the former covers only the travellers who arrived in the country between July 1 and October 31 whereas the latter comprises those who came to Lebanon during that three-month period; some of these may have arrived in June. Moreover, there was certainly some double counting in the survey figures, as some travellers may have stayed at more than one hotel and as some attended more than once.

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up. This eliminated practically all the primary schools outside Beirut and Tripoli. Questionnaires were sent to a few of the selected institutions;[1] but in the majority of cases enumerators were sent to do the actual compilation from the school records since the concept of permanent residence appeared to create a difficult problem for the staff of the institutions.

The answers received were fairly satisfactory. In most cases, it was easy for the school authorities to give an accurate estimate of their students' expenditures as they had themselves, in consultation with the parents, fixed their pupils' money needs. A problem arose, however, from the fact that students' expenditures are usually calculated on the basis of an academic year, i.e., from October through June. To meet this problem it has been decided to treat expenditures during 1951-52 as for 1951, and those for 1952-53 as for 1952. In the first place, it is often the case that parents pay to the school, at the beginning of the academic year, all tuition and other expenses of their children for the whole year in advance. In the second place, there has been little variation from year to year in foreign enrollment. Any other method of re-allocating expenses, say by month or semester, would have been no less subject to errors.

Based on the answers to the questionnaires, the total number of foreign (non-resident) students has been estimated at 2,172 in 1951-52 and at 2,400 in 1952-53. Students' expenditures during these periods were L.L. 4.2 million and L.L. 4.6 million respectively (cf. Table 20).

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(2) Hospitals. Questionnaires were sent out to 52 hospitals requesting information on foreign (non-resident) patients.[2] These questionnaires were all followed up by personal interviews with the hospital authorities. Satisfactory answers were received from 45 hospitals. The only problem was that in most cases the hospital records did not permit the identification of foreign out-patients, i.e., those who came for treatment, but did not stay at the hospital. On this matter, the records do not distinguish between "residents"

1 Cf. Appendix II.

2 Cf. Appendix III

and "non-residents". Nothing could be done to correct this omission. On the basis of answers received, earnings of hospitals from foreign in-patients were estimated at LL. 1.3 million in 1951 and LL. 1.4 million in 1952 (cf. Table 22).

(4) **Tourism.** As noted above, this term is here used as a catch-all for all remaining forms of foreign travel.

To estimate earnings under this heading, a questionnaire was sent in the name of the Commissariat of Tourism to the main hotels in Beirut, similar to that sent to the summer resort hotels[1]. Beirut alone was covered, as virtually all arrivals into and departures from Lebanon are via Beirut. The questionnaire tries to ascertain the number of tourists, including businessmen etc., and their length of stay in the country. The information requested was for 1952 from which it was hoped to infer estimates for 1951. Of the 32 hotels that were approached, all but one answered; follow-ups were then made to try to ascertain from the managers their clients' expenditures outside the hotel[2]. On the basis of the answers received and of the follow-ups, 79,375 tourists are estimated to have visited the reporting hotels in 1952, their total expenditures being at LL. 11.1 million (cf. Table 22). According to the Commissariat of Tourism, the total number of tourists (excluding *estivants*) in 1952 was over 216,000. An extension of the figure obtained in the survey to cover all tourists would give total expenditures in that year of LL. 30.2 million. Moreover, assuming the same level of expenditures in 1951, the reported 127,000 tourists in that year would have spent LL. 17.8 million.

To these estimates should be added the expenditures of tourists in transit, i.e., those who spend less than 72 hours in the country, en route to their final destination. Their number was 82,060 in 1951 and 102,701 in 1952. On the assumption that they spent on local transportation, food, gifts, etc., on the average LL. 20 per person during their whole stay (the average is probably 24 hours) their total expenditure would have been LL. 1.6 million in 1951 and LL. 2.1 million in 1952, thus making overall tourist expenditures LL. 19.4 million in 1951 and LL. 32.3 million in 1952.

1 Cf. Appendix I.

2 Cf. footnote (1) on page 25.

On the basis of the above, total earnings from foreign travel (i.e. summer resort, schools, hospitals and tourism) can be estimated, therefore, at L.L. 35.0 million in 1951 and L.L. 47.5 million in 1952.

B. Expenditure on foreign travel

There is no information at all about Lebanese travellers who go abroad for business, pleasure, study or health reasons, nor about their total expenditures. An attempt was made to arrive at rough estimates by interviewing returning travellers upon their disembarkation in Beirut, about their expenditures while abroad [1]. The results achieved were unsatisfactory as few of the people approached responded well and as the period covered was very short (less than 3 months) and could not be taken as representative. However, under present conditions direct interviews are the only possible ways of obtaining information and should be relied upon in the future. Returns would be greatly improved if the interviews are generalized, systematized and extended over a whole year period.

In the meantime, it was decided to try to estimate expenditures from the data on departures and arrivals of Lebanese travellers. Such data is available quarterly (cf. Table 20). It was assumed that the number of Lebanese persons abroad at the beginning of 1951 was x; then the number at the end of the first quarter of the same year was $x + D1 - A1$, where D1 denotes the departures and A1 the arrivals; thus the average number of persons abroad during the quarter was the average between the two numbers at the beginning and at the end of the quarter, namely $\frac{2x + D1 - A1}{2}$ or $x + \frac{D1 - A1}{2}$. If the same argument were followed for the succeeding quarters, the fourth quarter would have an average of $x + \frac{2D1 + 2D2 + 2D3 + D4 - (2A1 + 2A2 + 2A3 + A4)}{2}$

and the fourth quarter of the second year

$$x + \frac{2D1 + 2D2 \ldots + 2D7 + D8 - (2A1 + 2A2 \ldots + A8)}{2}$$

For each of these quarters, the number of man days spent abroad would be the average given above multiplied by 91 (one-fourth of a year). Thus the total man days spent abroad would be the sum of all the averages given above multiplied into 91; this sum can

[1] See Appendix IV for the type of questions asked.

be presented symbolically in the following form:

$$\Sigma \left(Sn + \sum_{1}^{8} (8 - r + 0.5)\, Dr - \sum_{1}^{8} (8 - s + 0.5)\, As \right) \text{ [illegible] } \ldots\ldots \text{ I}$$

This represents in fact the total number man days spent by Lebanese abroad; the number of Lebanese who were abroad during the period under consideration is:

$$n + \sum_{1}^{8} Dr \ldots\ldots \text{ II;}$$

consequently the average number of days spent abroad is the quotient of I and II. The result would be in the form

$$\Sigma \ \frac{(Sn + L)}{n + M} \ldots\ldots \text{ III}$$

where n is unknown and where L and M can be easily computed from the data on departures and arrivals. When applied to the information available for Lebanese travel abroad, and assuming that n is between 2000 and 3000, (which is a fair assumption considering the yearly difference between arrivals and departures) the above expression varies from 54 to 73. This would give an average number of days spent abroad per person of 64. Assuming that each person spends on the average LL. 20 a day,[1] total expenditures of Lebanese abroad were LL. 12.7 million in 1951 and LL. 20.2 million in 1952.

To this should be added expenditures of Lebanese students which are easier to come by. The number of these students, excluding Government scholars whose expenditures are included under "Government" (cf. p. 27), was established at 653 in 1951, of which 53 in the U.S. and the rest mainly in Western Europe, and at 754 in 1952 of which 147 in the U.S. It is estimated that a student spends an average of $ 2,000 a year in the U.S. and about LL. 3,000 elsewhere. On the basis of these estimates, total students' expenditures abroad were LL. 2.0 million in 1951 and LL. 2.9 million in 1952.

Total expenditures on foreign travel were, therefore, LL. 14.7 million in 1951 and LL. 23.1 million in 1952.

III. Conclusion

A comparison of earnings and expenditures, as computed above, would indicate a net credit on foreign travel account of LL. 20.2 million in 1951 and LL. 24.5 million in 1952.

1 Estimates based on the rough answers of returning travellers.

TRANSPORTATION AND INSURANCE

'457: Transportation--

This includes freight charges, passenger fares and port services.

[See 304]

(1) Freight: Lebanon has virtually no merchant fleet and, therefore, practically no income from sea freight. It has two airlines which handle both passengers and freight, but income from the latter could not be ascertained; however, as it is known to be relatively small, it could be disregarded without serious effect.

Payments for freight have already been accounted for in the import estimates which are given CIF (cf. p. 11-12).

(2) Passenger fares:

a. The debit side of this item includes what "residents" in Lebanon pay for foreign carriers engaged in international transportation, whether by sea, air or land. Unfortunately available figures of arrivals into, and departures from Lebanon cover only Lebanese nationals travelling by air and sea, and it has been impossible to correct these figures to include all residents as well as travellers by land (cf. Table 22).

As the published government figures lump together all sea and air travellers going through Beirut, it has been necessary to go back to the original abstracts to obtain the necessary breakdowns as to the countries of origin and destination and as to the mode of travel (i.e., whether by air or sea). Moreover as the abstract grouped under "other countries" a considerable number of travellers, it was necessary to make a sample study of the individual records from which the abstracts are compiled to arrive at a rough breakdown of these "other countries".

The figures thus obtained did not show, of course, the type of accommodation used, i.e., whether the travel was made by first, second or tourist class. Had the survey on returning travellers been completed (cf. p. 28), it would have been possible to use the results obtained as a basis for grouping the passengers into "classes". Under the circumstances the best alternative was to interview re-[illegible] about the accommodation normally booked by their customers. From these interviews it has been possible to establish the following rough pattern:

i) Lebanese emigrants, because of their usually limited resources, travel tourist class. They normally book a "through-fare" which includes food, transportation and stop-overs on the way.

ii) Businessmen and tourists in general travel first class to Europe, but second class and sometimes third class to further destinations.

iii) Students usually travel either second or tourist class.

Based on the above pattern, three subdivisions have been prepared, one applying to emigrants, another to travellers to Europe and a third to all other travellers. The appropriate fares were then applied to the given number of travellers in each category; this indicated total expenditures on passenger fares of L.L. 4.5 million in both 1951 and 1952 (cf. Table 34).

The same procedure was followed with regard to travellers by air. However, as the totals obtained (L.L. 4.4 million in 1951 and L.L. 4.3 million in 1952) included payments made to the two Lebanese airlines, they had to be properly corrected. With that in view, the Lebanese airlines were requested to supply, inter alia, information on the number of Lebanese nationals who travelled on their lines[1]. Only one of these companies answered, and for want of a better estimate, it has been

[1] Since the criterion of nationality rather than that of residence was taken as a basis, as it would have been impossible for the airlines to differentiate between foreign residents and foreign non-residents.

[illegible] assumed that the other two entered for an equal traffic. This gives net payments to Lebanese carriers of L.L. 3.7 million in 1951 and L.L. 3.0 million in 1952, which have been deducted from the above air passenger fare payments. These fare items (net) L.L. 0.7 million in 1951 and L.L. 3 million in 1952, making total fare payments L.L. 9.3 million in 1951 and L.L. 8.0 million in 1952.

These figures do not include of course payments for land transport to foreign-owned (especially Syrian). These payments, however, are known to be small and would anyway be offset by payments of "non-residents" for use of Lebanese cars.

b. The credit side of passenger fares covers what "non-residents" pay to Lebanese carriers engaged in international transportation. As pointed out above, this includes part from the fares paid by non-residents for use of Lebanese cars, which it has been decided to disregard, payments to the two national airlines. These payments have been computed by multiplying the number of foreign travellers[1] using lines (not the exported by the [illegible] (nonresidents) by an average fare. This fare has been arrived at by averaging the fares from Beirut to the eight terminals in the neighbouring countries which are served by the two airlines.[2] Again, as only one company has reported, the other has been assumed to have had the same earnings. Total receipts from passenger fares have thus been estimated at L.L. 6.3 million in 1951 and L.L. 6.3 million in 1952.

(3) Port [illegible]. This item covers the expenditures of foreign ships and planes in the Lebanese ports and airfields. The disbursements of ships are normally in respect of pilotage, port and lighthouse dues, provisions, water, stevedoring, agency fees, overtime payments, and the like. Repairs are relatively unimportant. Planes incur similar expenditures on handling, catering for passengers, transport, fueling, repairs, cables, landing fees and related expenses, overflow charges and agency fees.

1 [illegible] on page 35.

2 The figure worked out to be L.L. 200 per person.

Port earnings can thus be much better and more easily assessed from the disbursement item from the income side. Consequently all shipping agencies were requested to provide information on the selling expenses which the firm they represented had incurred in the Beirut harbour. The response was unsatisfactory; only a few did not answer, but their relative importance could be easily ascertained from a comparison between the returns of the agencies that responded and the detailed statistics on the movement of ships published by the Beirut Port Co. On the basis of these returns, total ship expenditures have been estimated at L.L. 2.6 million in 1951 and L.L. 3.0 million in 1952 (cf. Table IX).

These figures do not include the expenditures of the various visiting foreign navies which buy independently through a private concern (The Salbagi Brothers). The estimate of these expenditures could be obtained from this concern; it is believed, however, that the amount involved is not more than L.L. 1 million annually.

For airplanes, the respective agents have been requested to provide the same information as shipping agencies. However, most of them declined to cooperate. Of the few who were received no reliable estimate could be made especially since the Directorate of Civil Aviation unlike the Port Company, does not have detailed statistics on the movement of airlines. Under the circumstances, there was no alternative but to accept the estimates of informed people who claimed that earnings from airplane expenditures (including refueling) were about L.L. 2 million in 1951 and L.L. 3 million in 1952; these figures are net of similar expenditures abroad of the two Lebanese airlines.

Total earnings from transportation were, therefore, L.L. 12.3 million in 1951 and L.L. 20.3 million in 1952, against expenditures of L.L. 9.3 million and L.L. 8.30 million.

B. Insurance

Insurance transactions may be divided into three categories: (1) insurance on account of international trade, (2) life assurance, and (3) other kinds of insurance, including re-insurance.

(1) **Insurance on account of international trade.**

As has been indicated in the section on merchandise trade

[illegible] (pp. 11-12) imports into Lebanon are valued CIF, and therefore, no extra additional entry should have be made for import insurance. However, a small adjustment should be made to account for the proportion of imports insured with local firms. Normally, such an adjustment should have taken the form of a deduction from the CIF value of imports, since an import insurance with a local firm represents payment from one resident to another. However, it has been thought more meaningful to show it separately as a credit under insurance. As no information is available regarding such insurance in 1951 and 1952 it has been assumed to have been the same as in 1953 when it amounted to L.L. 0.3 million.

[illegible] On the export side, only 40 % of the goods shipped abroad are insured with local firms. On the assumption that the insurance premia on commercial exports are normally calculated at 0.9 % of the value of the goods, receipts from export insurance was L.L. 0.33 million in 1951 and L.L. 0.33 million in 1953.

(3) Life insurance: Life insurance in Lebanon is carried by, or on behalf of, foreign companies. Net movement of life insurance funds are, therefore, difficult to ascertain; however, as they are relatively small, they can be disregarded without serious damage to the final results.

(4) Other insurance transactions: Other kinds of insurance in Lebanon are mainly in competition with motor and fire insurance. These risks are usually reinsured with foreign firms, so that in effect insurance companies in Lebanon act in these respects as insurance brokers. It is estimated that the total amount of re-insurance less commission earned by the local firms amounted to L.L. 0.37 million in 1953. As no figures are available for earlier years, earnings in these years are estimated to have been the same as in 1953.

Total earnings from insurance (including the L.L. 0.3 million on import insurance) was therefore L.L. 0.99 million in 1951 and L.L. 0.96 million in 1953.

INVESTMENT INCOME

[illegible] Investment income includes, on its debit side, the yearly earnings that are transferred abroad, of foreign businesses established in Lebanon. According to present legislation, these businesses, whether they constitute independent companies or are branches of foreign concerns, have to submit to the Ministry of Finance a yearly balance sheet of their activities in Lebanon for income tax purposes. From these balance sheets, it has been possible to determine these businesses' net distributed profits in 1951 and 1952, namely L.L. 11.8 million and L.L. 9.2 million respectively. There is no doubt that these figures, like all estimates based on tax returns, are underestimated. No attempt has been made to adjust them, however, on the basis that the underevaluation is probably offset by that part of the profits which is not transferred abroad but is distributed locally to resident shareholders.

[illegible] 2. Income from Lebanese investments abroad may be divided into the four categories:

(a) Many residents in Lebanon hold large portfolios of foreign (mainly French, but also Egyptian and British) securities. As there is no exchange control and, therefore, no compulsory recording of these portfolios, any estimate of their importance or value cannot be more than a pure guess. However, as some of the holders of these securities have formed an association to defend their common interests, particularly with regard to double taxation, it has been possible to interview them regarding their own estimates of both the total value of securities held and dividends earned. Estimates of the former varied between L.L. 10 and L.L. 25 million; but the dividends were in most cases reported to be about 5 per cent net. On the basis of these figures, the average yearly earnings from foreign portfolios would be about L.L. 1 million.

(b) A few Lebanese nationals own also large tracts of land abroad, especially in Syria and Egypt. Here again no exact

[illegible] information is available regarding annual returns, but as the number of owners concerned is relatively small, personal interviews have been possible. Income from landed property abroad is reported to have been exceptionally large in 1956 and 1957 mainly because of the high prices of cotton and wheat in that period. Annual returns of L.L. 3.5 million in 1961 and L.L. 3 million in 1962 are not improbable.

(c) To the above two types of income should be added the interest earned on the private balances held abroad, mainly in France and the United States. Balances in other countries are small and can be disregarded. Private balances in the United States at the end of 1960 were $ 65.34 million and in France the equivalent of $ 13.09 million; at the end of 1962, respective figures were $ 69.38 million and $ 65.98 million.* A few banks were asked about the interest earned on these accounts and a 3 per cent average estimate was arrived at. Annual earnings were, therefore, about L.L. 3.1 million in 1961 and L.L. 3.3 million in 1962. The conversion into Lebanese pounds has been made at the rates ruling at year ends, i.e., L.L. 3.0 per dollar in 1961, and L.L. 3.07 per dollar in 1962.

(d) Finally should be mentioned the earnings of Lebanese businessmen abroad, especially in Syria and the other Arab countries. Earnings in Syria, in the last few years, have been on the decline as the Syrian decree No. 161 is making it extremely difficult for foreigners (including Lebanese) to work in that country. However, annual returns from businessmen abroad may still be around L.L. 10 million. Moreover, a great development may occur in that line in the near future, where the relatively recent investments made in the Arabian Peninsula and Iraq start bearing fruit.

Taken together, the above estimates would indicate total incomes from foreign investments of L.L. 15.6 million in 1961 and L.L. 16.3 million in 1962.

* International Financial Statistics, International Monetary Fund, Washington, D.C. U.S.A.

GOVERNMENT TRANSACTIONS

The section covers service transactions of the Lebanese Government and of other governments and international agencies in Lebanon, not already mentioned either under merchandise trade, foreign travel or transportation. Specifically are included as a debit the Lebanese Government's expenditures abroad on diplomatic and consular representations, its contributions to international institutions, its scholarships to Lebanese students abroad, and its foreign debt payments; on the credit side, are listed the receipts from government credits abroad, consular receipts, royalties paid by concessionaires, local expenditures of international agencies, and the diplomatic, consular and cultural expenditures of foreign governments in Lebanon. In the latter, however, are not included those governments' donations for economic or technical assistance as these constitute technically "transfers", i.e., are transactions for which there is no quid pro quo whatever (cf. p. 46).

1. Debits

(a) The Lebanese Government's diplomatic and consular expenditures abroad are [illegible] mentioned from the final budget accounts; they are stated at L.L. 1.7 million in 1951 and L.L. 1.8 million (including payments made on the previous year's account) in 1952. These figures include Lebanon's annual financial contributions to international agencies. These contributions are so small that it has not been thought worthwhile to list the items.

(b) Government scholarships to Lebanese students abroad, together with small educational grants, totalled L.L. 0.6 million in both 1951 and 1952. These include appropriations from the ministries of National Education and Agriculture and from the Directorate of Civil Aviation.

(c) In 1951, Lebanese licensees of the licensees in the official, oil and dollar reserves had to continue payment on the con-

[illegible] section transfer (i.e., [illegible] of the quota) of its subscription to the capital of the International Monetary Fund. For this purpose it had to repurchase from the Fund Lebanese currency for $10.00 million, or L.L. 3.3 million at the 1951 rate of exchange. As this transaction brought Lebanon's gold and dollar contribution to the required proportion of its quota, no further repurchases were necessary in 1952.

(c) In 1951 and 1952, the Lebanese Government made yearly payments of L.L. 3.3 million to France in part settlement of a debt of L.L. 10.0 million which arose in 1946 as a result of the transfer to Lebanon of French property located on its territory. An annual instalment of L.L. 0.7 million was also owed to the British Government in payment for the Tripoli-Lebanon Railroad. Total foreign debt payments were then L.L. 4.0 million a year.

(d) Total debts under government guarantee were, therefore, L.L. 0.0 million in 1951 and L.L. 0.0 million in 1952.

3. Credits

(a) When, as a result of the separation of the Lebanese currency from the Syrian in 1948, each country withdrew the other country's currency in circulation on its territory, Lebanon was left with a balance of L.L. 40.0 million. The Syrian Government agreed in 1952 to settle this balance in five equal semi-annual instalments. The first one (L.L. 8.0) was paid in October of that year. The Lebanese Government has no other credits abroad.

(b) Lebanon's consular receipts (i.e. income from fees, taxes and other dues charged by its consulates abroad) amounted to L.L. 0.0 million in 1951 and L.L. 0.0 million in 1952 and are so recorded in the final budget accounts.

(c) The same accounts show that total royalties paid by foreign concessionaires (mainly oil) were L.L. 1.2 million in 1951 and L.L. 7.3 million in 1952. Other local expenses of these companies, for current operations, maintenance or expansion, are shown separately (cf. pp. 44-45).

(d) Expenditures of foreign diplomatic missions in Lebanon are difficult to estimate, as no information on the subject is released either by the Lebanese Government or by the

ministers themselves. To obtain the needed information, the major embassies and legations in Beirut were privately approached and requested to give global figures, and breakdowns if possible, of their expenditures in the country. On the basis of the figures obtained, it has been possible to estimate these expenditures at U.S. $.3 million in 1950 and U.S. $3.3 million in 1955. These figures include diplomatic, consular and cultural expenditures, and of consular receipts. As pointed out above, they do not include direct donations for economic or technical assistance; however, the salaries paid by the foreign missions for their own technicians employed under an assistance programme have been included.

(e) The exact amounts spent locally by the various United Nations bodies (UNRWA, ILO, WHO and other specialized agencies) whether on local representation or on actual field works, are not available. A rough estimate of these amounts can be arrived at from the sums assigned to Lebanon under the expanded assistance programmes. In 1953 and 1955, the sums designated for local projects did not exceed $ 250,000 a year. As it is known that only a part of the designated sums was actually spent, it is reasonable to assume that total, including administrative and representation expenditures of all international agencies (including UNRWA) in each of the above two years were about U.S. $.5 million.

(f) In view of its particular importance, a special effort was made to evaluate the expenditure of UNRWA, the international agency set up to assist the 200,000 - odd Palestinian refugees in Lebanon. Estimates were requested from the Beirut Headquarters of:

i) Salaries and allowances paid to foreign and local personnel (excluding that part of the foreign personnel's salaries that is not spent locally);

ii) Local purchases of Lebanese and foreign goods whether for consumption in Lebanon or for export to other host countries.

iii) Movement of UNRWA goods in transit through Lebanon, when the goods are ordered through Lebanese intermediaries (with a view of determining the profits accruing to these intermediaries from such trade). UNRWA

[illegible] was most cooperative and supplied all the requested information, stressing the point, however, that some of the figures were rough estimates.* On the basis of these figures and assuming that [illegible] a constant rate of growth of [illegible], total land expenditures are estimated at $ [illegible] million in 1961 and $ [illegible] million in 1962, or U.S. [illegible] million and U.S. [illegible] million respectively at the then prevailing rates of exchange. The sizeable decline that occurred in 1962 is probably attributable to larger direct imports and larger purchases in other land countries, and consequently smaller purchases in Lebanon, in that year than in 1961. Of course, direct imports by [illegible] have not been included in the above estimates, as they do not constitute a drain on the country's resources and have not been accounted for in the general import trade statistics [cf. p. 7 & p. 9].

** Total credits under government transactions were therefore U.L. 76.5 million in 1961 and U.L. 72.5 million in 1962.

* Technically it would have been preferable to base the estimates on the basis of the valuation of the freight of their way to Lebanon [cf. page 21] and, consequently to base [illegible] direct estimates on these on a calculated transfer that would appear under "Services"; only salaries and allowances paid in foreign and local personnel would have then been recorded as government expenditures. However, apart from the technical difficulties of effecting such a division, the separation between direct estimates and other expenditures would naturally distort the global picture of [illegible] contribution to the country's balance of payments position. The grouping together of the various types of this contribution undoubtedly gives a clearer view of the whole situation.

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES

Under this heading have been grouped several heterogeneous items which could not be included elsewhere, namely the earnings from transit and entrepot trade, and from exchange operations, the local expenditures of foreign companies whose "centre of interest" is abroad, and other sundry receipts. "117"

1. Transit and Entrepot

There are two possible ways of accounting for transit and entrepot transactions. The first consists of recording these transactions on a gross basis, the proceeds of sales in foreign countries of commodities bought abroad being entered as a credit and the cost of acquiring these commodities as a debit, i.e., respectively as exports and imports although the goods do not enter into the economy of the country. The alternative procedure would be to record only the profit on these transactions as a payment for a service rendered to foreigners. This latter procedure has been preferred as it helps to focus attention on the direct impact of transit and entrepot trade on the economy in general, and the balance of payments in particular. Of course, this procedure would have been impossible had not "transit in" been roughly equal to "transit out". In other words, as long as no large stocks are carried over from year to year, the question of temporary investment in goods, in the form of imports, does not arise.

The Customs records show total "transit in" of L.L. 1,187.6 million in 1961 and L.L. 1,086.1 in 1962, with equal values for "transit out". From these figures should be deducted the values of crude oil passing through the IPC and Tapline pipelines from which no direct profit accrues to Lebanon, apart from the royalties paid to the Lebanese government and which have already been accounted for. The values of crude oil in transit were L.L. 488.1 million in 1961 and L.L. 471.3 million in 1962; thus other transit transactions were L.L. 677.7 million and L.L. 587.6 million respectively.

These figures do not include goods that enter the free zone, nor ordinary reexports, and must, therefore, be readjusted. Recon-

§67 [illegible] goods are relatively not very large, especially when are excluded the operations made with a refund of export duty, these operations being considered as export gel. p. 8). These adjustments, exports were U.S. 6.0 million in 1957 and U.S. 23.0 million in 1958 (cf. Table 3). The value of goods that enter the free zone in larger cities to replenish stocks are insignificant in comparison with the volume involved. The best guess estimate that was arrived at after talks with port authorities and Customs officials is that traffic through the free zone in the two years 1957 and 1958 was probably one-fourth of ordinary transit (plus exports, i.e., U.S. 171.3 million and U.S. 147.3 million respectively, thus making total transit and entrepot trade U.S. 726.8 in 1957 and U.S. 726.3 million in 1958.

A further adjustment is needed to account for the undervaluation resulting from the recording of transactions at the Customs at the official rate. As in the case of imports (cf. pp. 11-12), such recording greatly underestimates the value of the traffic involved since all the exchange needed for the transactions is acquired in the free market at rates well above official parities. For the required adjustments, however, it was not thought advisable to go into a detailed recalculation similar to the one made for the evaluation of imports. The large margin of error involved in the coverage adjustment of the preceding paragraph makes such a time-consuming method really unnecessary. An alternative method is to assume that all foreign transactions used in transit and entrepot trade were acquired in the free market at the same premia as the dollar. Then a multiplication of the Customs figures by the ratio of the average free rate of the dollar to its official rate would give the real market value of the goods handled. Thus calculated the value would be U.S. 1304.8 million in 1957 and U.S. 1295.1 million in 1958.

A large part of this traffic consisted of gold. Inward Customs figures to account for coverage and undervaluation show gold transit of U.S. 742.3 million in 1957 and U.S. 485.4 million in 1958.[1] Gross profit on gold transit in these two years is reported by gold dealers to have varied between 25 and 40 %, especially because of the large discrepancies in prices between the markets of Western Europe and the Far East. Net profits, however, were

1 The figures given in Tables 33 to 37 have been increased by 25 % to account for free zone traffic; the total was then multiplied by the ratio of the free dollar rate to the official rate in order to reflect real values.

[illegible]

probably not higher than 10 %, because of the many foreign banks [illegible] 937
institutions used. On the basis of the latter percentage, profits on gold transactions, therefore, L.L. 18.2 million in 1962 and L.L. 45.5 million in 1965.

The percentage of net profits from merchandise transit and entrepôt is estimated to have been equal roughly to the average market discount rate, i.e., 6.0 % in 1962 and 5.65 % in 1965. Over the years, therefore, respectively L.L. 36.5 million and L.L. 45.5 million.

These total profits from transit and entrepôt trade (including such receipts as taxes, port dues and transportation charges which have already been accounted for elsewhere) were L.L. 115.1 million in 1962 and L.L. 154.4 million in 1965.

3. Exchange Operations

Beirut is now considered one of the world's largest free exchange markets, serving not only Lebanon and its immediate neighbours but also Western Europe and the Far East. No data at all is available on the volume of exchange transactions carried on annually, but estimates by informed bankers range from L.L. 1200 million to L.L. 3000 million. These estimates, which are probably on more than the roughest of guesses, are based on the belief that in addition to the purely business of payments transfers on account of both receipts and disbursements which total on the average about L.L. 1000 million annually, there is a roughly equal volume of exchange transactions carried on for or on behalf of foreign merchants, bankers or exchange dealers.

Exchange operations covering balances of payments transactions should not be here considered, as the profits arising from such operations have already been included under the appropriate items, i.e., purchases of exchanges for import under trade, sale of Lebanese currency to foreign tourists under travel, etc. Only the profits on transactions made for or on behalf of foreign operators still have to be accounted for. Assuming an average net profit of 1 % on these operations, and assuming as stated above that the volume of these operations is one year equals the volume of balances of payments operations in the same year (i.e., roughly L.L. 1000 million in 1962 and L.L. 1150 million in 1965), total profits would have been L.L. 10.0 million in 1962 and L.L. 11.5 million in 1965.

5. [illegible]

*917 Under this heading are included only the local disbursements of foreign companies operating in Lebanon whose 'center of interest' is abroad. These disbursements cover all expenditures for operations (salaries, rents, taxes etc.) maintenance and expansion, net of the royalties, if any, paid to the government. These royalties have already been accounted for (cf. p. 38).

[illegible] The Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) and Tapline are the two main companies involved. Both are noncommercial and run pipelines through the Lebanese territory to the Mediterranean. It has been impossible to obtain information from either of them regarding their local expenditures. However, it is known that IPC has been importing very little capital for its operations in Lebanon. Most of its local currency needs have been covered by local sales of oil from its Tripoli Refinery. These sales are considered imports into Lebanon and are recorded as such at the Customs; they totalled L.L. 93.1 million in 1951 and L.L. 9.3 million in 1952 (cf. Table 6). In the absence of better estimates, these figures have been taken as representing IPC's total local expenditures.

Tapline is reported to have contributed directly or indirectly to the Lebanese economy, about L.L. 17.6 million in 1952; of these L.L. 4.3 million represented salaries and wages of Lebanese employees; the balance served to pay the part of the foreign personnel's salary needed for expenses in Lebanon, other operational and maintenance expenditures and royalties to the government. If the latter were excluded, other local expenditures of the company would be about L.L. 14 million. The same amount can be assumed for 1953.

It has not been possible to estimate even approximately the expenditures of the other similar, but relatively less important companies, such as Radio Orient.

6. Other Items

a. On p. 8 it was said that most foreign films enter the country on a rental basis; an attempt was made by interviews to discover with local distributors and cinema owners total rents paid. The attempt had to be given up for lack of cooperation. It was, therefore, decided to disregard this item, and to assume that it is offset by the local expendi-

8:Fei and Klat S-4 (1951-52)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

ture of the foreign companies, referred to in the last paragraph, which it has been impossible to estimate. 457[illegible]

b. A final item to be mentioned is the local expenditure of foreign (mainly U.S.) seamen. Several war fleets have visited Lebanon in 1951 and 1952, spending 3 to 4 days on each visit. Estimates obtained from the Embassies concerned reveal that over 8,000 men (including officers and crew) got shore leaves during these visits. The U.S. seamen alone (about 7/8th of the total) are reported to have spent $ 278,625 in 1951 and $ 268,750 in 1952. Assuming the same rate of expenditure for other foreign seamen, total disbursements were probably about LL. 1.1 million in 1951 and LL. 1.3 million in 1952.

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DONATIONS

457 To confirm with the IMF suggested classification, donations have been treated as a separate type of international transactions. This may be justified on the ground that if donations are to be considered a current (as opposed to a capital) account item, they must be distinguished from ordinary "goods and services". In fact, donations may be defined as unilateral transfers or, in other words, transactions for which there is no *quid pro quo* whatever. They would include such items as emigrants' remittances, private donations to schools and hospitals and foreign government grants. The distinction between "donations" and "goods and services" has given rise to an apparent difficulty in the classification of transfers of interest and dividends. It is sometimes claimed that since these transfers do not represent payments for services passing simultaneously in the opposite direction, they should, under the suggested terminology, be entered under "donations". Such a claim is of course untenable, since payments of interest and dividends may be considered, at least theoretically, as payments for an immediate service, the service of waiting. On this basis, such payments should appear, and have thus been entered, under investment income (pp. 35-36).

1. Emigrants' Remittances

In the absence of adequate banking statistics, it has been impossible to arrive at direct estimates of emigrants' remittances; nor could existing private estimates be relied upon as most of them are no more than mere guesses. Several methods of indirect approach were, however, possible; they have all been tried for the purpose of throwing light on the issue at hand, and of exploring the alternative types of studies which might be carried out in the future, should more exact and detailed information be required.

1. Firstly, an attempt was made to estimate remittances from the remitters' side. This attempt had, however, to be given up as very little information is at present available on the remitters. Lebanese emigrants live practically all over

the world, in very scattered places. Their number is reportedly larger than that of Lebanese nationals still in the homeland. The little information that is available at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs pertains only to those emigrants who have retained their Lebanese nationality or who are known to the Lebanese consulates abroad. 457[1]

2. Secondly, the method of estimation of remittances followed by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs was studied for an appraisal of existing estimates. These estimates are arrived at by multiplying a given percentage of all registered mail coming into the country (which is assumed to represent the mail containing emigrants' checks) by the value of an assumedly 'average' check. The margin of possible error of such a method is obviously considerable. On the one hand, there is no way of knowing even approximately the percentage of registered mail containing checks and as this mail runs into millions a very small mistake in the estimation of this percentage would make a very large difference in results. On the other hand, an interview with a few banks which usually deal with remittances revealed that the notion of an 'average' check is illusory.

3. An alternative method of estimating remittances is to make a sample survey of the people who receive them. Such a survey, however, to be accurate, must be carried on a sound and large statistical basis and is, therefore, time-consuming. For purposes of this study, the cost of such a survey would have been prohibitive. However, an attempt has been made to arrive at some preliminary information by small selective surveys. Four villages in the Mount Lebanon and Southern districts were chosen and enumerators were detailed to them with a small questionnaire. The questions asked related mainly to the number of emigrants from the village; their present residence; whether they sent any assistance home or to the village, in money or in kind; if so, how was the assistance sent; finally, whether any money was sent to the emigrants. The results that have been obtained following a door to door investigation carried with the help of the local *mukhtars* cannot, of course, be considered representative of all Lebanon, as the sample chosen was too small; they help, however, to show local differences between districts and to indicate avenues for further in-

vestigation.

1957 Total amounts (in money and kind) received by the four villages from emigrants were reported at LL. 240,347 in 1951 and LL. 323,550 in 1952, making an average per village of LL. 60,087 and LL. 80,889 respectively (cf. Table 30). However, individual differences between villages were great. The Metn village reported the smallest annual remittance (LL. 8,075 in 1952) and the Baalbak village the highest (LL. 165,742 in 1952); in between were the districts of Jbeil (LL. 23,088 in 1951 and LL. 30,454 in 1952) and Merjayoun (LL. 108,568 in 1951 and LL. 119,288 in 1952). However, the survey indicated clearly that in all villages remittances were sent regularly; that most of them were made by check; that they included a good deal of capital transfers; finally that assistance in kind, in the form of cars, used clothing etc., was far from negligible, being about one-fifth of money remittances.

4. Several similar surveys have been made by various groups covering selected regions in the country. Mr. S.M. Sawaya, in an income study of Al Kura district,[1] estimated at LL. 185 per household the annual remittances received from abroad; this would indicate total remittances of LL. 11,083 per village and of LL. 657,048 for the whole district of Al Kura. The Rural Agricultural Survey Office (Point IV) made a similar, although more detailed and complete study of the Beka and estimated emigrants' remittances in that region at LL. 3.98 million or LL. 18,700 per village. Finally, figures collected for the Urban Survey of Beirut show that the city receives from its emigrants abroad approximately LL. 2.5 million annually.

For want of a better basis of estimation, it has been decided to assume that the results obtained for Al Kura are also applicable to the neighbouring Zgorta and Tripoli districts; that those for the Beka are applicable to the ethnologically and economically similar districts of Akkar, Nabatieh, Sour and Saida; that those for the Metn represent also the Shouf; those for Jbeil, the Kesrwan and Batroun; those for Baalbak, Aley, and those for Merjayoun, Jezzine. An extension

1 S.M. Sawaya, *Household Income & Expenditure in Al-Kura, Lebanon* (M.A. thesis) A.U.B. 1953.

of the sample figures on the basis of the number of villages in each district would indicate emigrants' remittances of L.L. 53.4 milion in 1951 and L.L. 66.7 million in 1952. To this should se added remittances received in the cities. For an estimate of these, the figures obtained for Beirut have been doubled on the assumption that all the other cities get an amount equal to Beirut's. Thus emigrants' remittances would be roughly L.L. 58.4 million in 1951 and L.L. 71.7 milion in 1952.[1] The relatively large increase between the two years must be attributed to the emergence of a new type of remittors. In the past most emigrants went to the Americas and, whenever they could afford it, sent back home little sums for the upkeep of their parents and immediate family. Since the end of the war, the Lebanese are emigrating more and more to the neighbouring Arab countries; from here where they intend to stay only temporarily they send, not only assistance money to their relatives, but all they canave. In other words, in the 1952 figure of remittances here is a good deal of concealed capital import.

6. To check on these figures, it was thought advisable to ask the major banks to supply any information they could regarding foreign transfers which might be regarded as remittances. All but three declined to answer, mainly on the ground that in their normal business they do not usually try to identify remittances. The three banks that answered reported annual remittances of about L.L. 2.5 million. An extension of this figure to cover the existing 50-odd banks, would indicate total money remittances of about L.L. 42 million.[2] If assistance in kind (which is estimated at one-fifth of the money remittances) were added, total remittances would be around L.L. 50 million. This figure is lower than those given above; the latter are, however, probably more correct as some remittances are made in cash through intermediaries and not by check through banks. It is re-

1 It is realized that this method of computation is highly arbitrary. Under the circumstances, however, as no extensive study of the problem was possible because of the time it would have required, this method was the best available. It is hoped that a sample survey of villages would soon be undertaken which would make possible better estimation of remittances in future years.

2 It should be said here that small banks may be as important as the large ones for cashing foreign checks; one of the small banks reported that discounted checks representing remittances amounted to about one half its total business.

[457] portedly common for an emigrant, presumably in order to escape foreign exchange regulations in his country of residence, to request a third person who may be coming to Lebanon, or is doing business with Lebanon to pay a given sum to his relatives. Such payments naturally are not reflected in bank accounts.

7. It has been impossible to determine emigrants' transfers (i.e., the money they take with them) or funds subsequently sent to them. All the surveys that have been undertaken to date do not indicate anything on that point. A few bankers, known to be in relation with emigrants, were interviewed for that purpose. While refusing to give definite estimates, most of them seemed agreed that annual transfers could not have exceeded LL. 4 million in 1951 and LL. 2.7 million in 1952; the difference between the two years reflecting the decline in emigration (cf. Table 23).

II. Charitable and Cultural Institutions

[747] There are many charitable and cultural institutions in Lebanon, both Lebanese and Foreign which receive donations from abroad. A list of these institutions has been prepared, and a questionnaire sent to each requesting information on the total aid received in kind and in cash, with breakdowns for cash donations according to foreign currencies received.[1] Almost all the listed institutions answered, and reported total donations of LL. 10.2 million in 1951 and LL. 13.5 million in 1952 (cf. Table 31).

III. Government

[648] Under this heading has been included American aid, under the Point IV cooperative programme and the French technical assistance. Both programmes were started in 1951 and have been expanding ever since. Actual expenditures under these programmes did not exceed LL. 0.5 million in 1951 and LL. 2.5 million in 1952. These figures, however, do not include the salaries paid by the foreign government concerned to its own technicians employed under the aid programme. The salaries have already been included under government transactions (cf. p. 39).

[1] See Appendix 5

8:Fei and Klat S-4 (1951-52)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

CAPITAL MOVEMENTS

The lack of relevant banking statistics makes it impossible 457* to determine the magnitude of capital movements and their net results. Actually, as long as no proper bank reporting system is officially instituted, any estimate of capital flows cannot be more than a guess especially since most banks are extremely loath to reveal privately any information on their business. Under the circumstances, it was thought best not to try to arrive at new estimates which, however carefully worked out they might be, would still be subject to a considerable margin of error. A probably preferable alternative is to consider as net capital movements the residual difference between all the other credit items and the debit items in the balance of payments. Usually, when capital movements are separately calculated, such residual difference is referred to as 'errors and omissions'. In this study, since it has been impossible to isolate capital movements, they have been assumed to account for all the residue. Consequently, there is no separate 'errors and omissions' entry.

Thus conceived, capital movements indicate net inflows of LL. 14.7 million in 1951 and LL. 43.7 million in 1952. These figures naturally include the importation of foreign banknotes which was recorded at the Customs at LL. 7 million in 1951 and LL. 3.2 million in 1952 at the official rate or, respectively, LL. 12 million and LL. 5.5 million at the free rate. The increase in capital imports in 1952 is attributable mainly to large capital inflows from Saudi Arabia and Egypt, particularly from the latter where the unsettled political situation reportedly caused a sizeable capital flight.

COMPENSATORY FINANCING

1457 The IMF Balance of Payments Manual defines compensatory financing as "the financing undertaken by the monetary authorities to provide exchange to cover a surplus or deficit in the rest of the balance of payments". For its application in Lebanon, this concept of financing has to be slightly amended. As there is in Lebanon a completely free exchange market and a fully convertible currency with banks willing to buy and sell foreign exchange freely, there is no reason to distinguish, as the Fund does, between official (i.e., that undertaken by the monetary authorities) and non-official financing. The Fund's concept has been made to apply in a world of controlled exchange systems where the monetary authorities normally supply or absorb the "equilibrating" capital movements. Such is obviously not the case in Lebanon; compensatory financing in this country may be undertaken both by the monetary authorities or the public (including banks) and probably more by the latter than by the former. So compensatory financing has been taken to cover all transactions that are clearly of an equilibrating nature and thus must, by definition, be equal to the whole surplus or deficit. Actually it simply corresponds to, or, in other words reflects this surplus or deficit. A proper estimation of these compensatory transactions is of course extremely difficult. The only practical way to do it is to assume that, in the absence of evidence to the contrary, the net movement in the various items that make up international reserves is compensatory. International reserves have been defined for this purpose to include monetary gold, foreign exchange balances abroad and short-term liabilities to foreigners (i.e., non-residents). The latter are considered compensatory since they reflect foreign loans (and sometimes forced loans in the case of blocked or otherwise restricted liabilities), such loans having served to finance exchanges with particular countries. Thus an increase in short-term liabilities corresponds to a deficit, and a reduction of such liabilities to a surplus.

Lebanon's monetary gold reserves increased from $20 million at the end of 1950, to $28.3 million at the end of 1951 and to

$30.6 million at the end of 1952, i.e., by LL. 23.9 million in 1951 and LL. 15.4 million 1952 at the then prevailing rates of exchange.

There is no complete information about the changes in foreign exchange reserves. Data is available regarding movements in dollar and French franc balances only. Movements in other balances could not be ascertained; however, as these balances are known to be relatively small, a general assumption that no net changes occurred in them in 1951 and 1952 may not seriously damage the results. According to information supplied by the Federal Reserve Board of New York, Lebanon's dollar balances increased from $12.3 million at the end of 1950, to $15.3 million at the end of 1951, and to $19.3 million at the and of 1952, i.e., by LL. 11.4 million in 1951 and LL. 14.3 million in 1952. French franc balances, on the other hand, reportedly declined in that period from the equivalent of $16.1 million to $12 million and to $10.9 million, i.e., by LL. 12.3 million in 1951 and LL. 3.9 million in 1952. Therfore total foreign exchange reserves declined by LL. 0.9 million in 1951 but increased by LL. 10.4 million in 1952.

In the absence of relevant banking statistics, private enquiries had to be made at the major local banks to ascertain the movements in liabilities to non-residents. Most of the banks that were approached willingly gave the requested information; some, however, preferred to report only the net changes in the liabilities from year to year rather than total liabilities at year ends. On the basis of the information thus collected, bank liabilities to non-residents seem to have increased by LL. 4.1 million in 1951; they declined, however, by LL. 0.5 million in the following year.

Thus total compensatory financing (i.e., net changes in monetary gold, foreign exchange assets and bank liabilities to non-residents) was to the tune of LL. 18.9 million in 1951 and LL. 26.3 million in 1952. These figures reflect the overall surplus in the balance of payments in the two respective years.

[54] IS BLANK

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Table 1

Re-Exports with Re-Imbursements of Duties

(In I.L. 1,000)

Country	1931					1932				
	I	II	III	IV	Year	I	II	III	IV	Year
Egypt	23	5	26	—	56	—	46	42	29	117
Iraq	43	74	97	91	310	70	195	227	156	638
Persia, Bahrein, Qatar and Saudi Arabia	30	40	245	13	328	31	1081	681	520	2313
Syria	155	165	72	271	613	157	338	341	304	1140
Afghanistan and Palestine	14	133	31	4	181	—	82	78	157	315
Turkey	9	34	4	18	55	3	43	18	3	67
Persia	4	10	1	6	21	2	30	3	18	53
Other Franc Area	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Germany	1	—	1	—	2	2	1	2	6	11
Italy	39	6	15	81	141	—	—	5	30	35
United Kingdom	—	100	37	3	140	—	13	—	3	16
Other Sterling Area	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Other Western Europe	—	1	2	1	4	—	1	18	26	45
Eastern Europe	4	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—
U.S.A.	8	—	1	4	13	12	35	6	—	53
Others	37	38	82	101	258	55	464	288	188	995
TOTAL	341	585	619	653	2198	355	2307	1505	1336	5503

Roman Numerals indicate quarters

Source: Figures computed from the *Customs' Records*

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Table 2

Ordinary Re-exports

(in L.L. 1,000)

Country	1951					1952				
	I	II	III	IV	Year	I	II	III	IV	Year
Egypt	19	22	3	40	84	229	22	46	38	335
Iraq	83	80	256	203	622	2388	577	137	273	3375
Kuwait, Bahrein, Qatar	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Saudi Arabia	15	17	23	173	228	83	201	113	202	719
Syria	512	758	804	1366	3440	731	982	1055	806	4174
Transjordan & Palestine	135	241	117	621	1104	1021	111	385	128	1645
Turkey	119	148	377	316	960	229	313	49	–	591
France	23	128	289	37	477	1030	3527	691	150	5398
Other Franc Area	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Germany	–	–	–	3	3	98	171	211	39	519
Italy	2	617	37	10	666	31	53	80	717	881
United Kingdom	–	90	2	33	125	17	47	566	41	671
Other Sterling Area	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Other Western Europe	–	40	8	6	54	12	9	87	281	350
Eastern Europe	–	–	41	5	46	–	–	20	–	20
U.S.A.	–	25	21	89	145	84	32	46	54	196
Others	153	95	34	101	473	1552	597	653	150	2952
TOTAL	1051	2241	2042	3008	8427	7483	6672	4709	2909	21835

Roman Numerals indicate quarters

Source: Figures computed from the *Customs' Records*

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Table 3

Banknotes Imported During 1951 and 1952
(In L.L. 1,000)

Country	1951					1952				
	I	II	III	IV	Year	I	II	III	IV	Year
Djibouty	–	–	–	12	12	–	–	–	–	–
Holland	–	16	–	–	16	–	–	–	–	–
India	102	–	140	–	242	–	–	–	630	630
Kuwait	391	131	1940	4480	6942	13	773	1442	–	2228
Somaliland (Fr.)	–	–	–	–	–	38	–	–	–	38
United Kingdom	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	250	250
U.S.A.	44	65	–	–	109	–	45	–	34	79
TOTAL	537	212	2080	4492	7321	51	818	1442	914	3225

Roman Numerals indicate quarters
Source: Customs' Records

Sytel and Klee 8-k (951-52)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 4

Value of Films Imported During 1951 and 1952
As Recorded by Customs
(In L.L. 1,000)

Country	1951					1952				
	I	II	III	IV	Year	I	II	III	IV	Year
Argentine	2	4	—	—	6	—	—	1	—	1
Belgium	3	4	4	—	11	9	2	1	3	14
Brazil	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Egypt	21	20	19	23	83	17	21	15	18	71
France	22	19	17	33	101	33	15	9	15	72
Germany	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	1	1
Holland	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
India	3	—	—	—	3	—	—	1	—	1
Italy	—	2	—	—	2	12	4	1	3	20
Japan	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3
Spain	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	4	5
Switzerland	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
Turkey	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	—	—	4
United Kingdom	12	8	8	13	41	8	8	7	4	27
U.S.A.	101	73	50	87	330	84	73	57	88	302
U.S.S.R.	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
TOTAL	174	130	107	159	570	165	127	93	139	524

Roman Numerals indicate quarters

Source: Customs' Records

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Table 5

Rates of Exchange Used for Conversion by Customs

Type of Currency	Value in Leb. Piastres	Date of Application
U.S. Dollar	221.000	18.11.48
Sterling Pound	619.000	19. 9.49
Iraqi Pound	619.000	19. 9.49
Egyptian Pound	635.000	19. 9.49
Belgian Franc	4.430	19. 9.49
Swiss Franc	52.000	18.11.48
French Franc	0.627	19. 9.49
Swedish	42.860	19. 9.49
Indian Rupee	46.625	19. 9.49
Pakistani Rupee	66.708	19. 9.49
Czechoslovakian Koruna	4.430	20. 3.52
Danish Kroner	32.010	2. 4.52
Turkish Lira	78.930	20. 4.52
Jordanian Dinar	619.000	3. 7.52
Canadian Dollar	221.000	4. 9.52

Source: Ministère de l'Economie Nationale, Service de Statistique Générale, *Bulletin Statistique Trimestriel*, Beirut, 1952.

Table 6

Exports (F.O.B.)

(in L.L. 1,000)

Country	1937					1938				
	I	II	III	IV	Year	I	II	III	IV	Year
Egypt	1,683	3,579	2,133	2,684	9,479	1,309	1,322	825	3,251	6,712
Iraq	611	538	638	1,345	3,932	709	783	787	1,087	3,367
Kuwait, Bahrein, Qatar	154	219	173	333	879	285	887	473	845	2,454
Saudi Arabia	641	880	842	1,079	3,443	1,145	2,384	2,374	3,498	9,401
Syria	8,750	5,680	3,874	4,530	22,834	4,255	4,884	3,433	5,043	17,664
Transjordan & Palestine	723	1,244	792	1,568	4,385	778	884	948	1,451	4,072
Turkey	65	236	31	181	513	265	307	171	88	731
France	314	1,704	365	1,053	3,436	819	814	369	1,806	3,743
Other French Area	1	854	5	263	623	7	26	42	478	555
Germany	26	86	111	32	255	250	149	30	17	446
Italy	324	1,026	1,319	1,663	4,332	1,695	685	215	1,379	3,364
United Kingdom	836	894	934	995	3,739	2,740	583	348	879	4,528
Other Sterling Area	330	1,173	688	1,424	3,634	2,448	420	1,502	2,915	7,285
Other Western Europe	440	681	122	780	2,023	1,304	375	339	606	3,024
Eastern Europe	337	330	1,304	1,348	3,477	730	410	921	1,810	3,871
U.S.A.	4,595	13,938	2,548	2,954	23,733	2,994	875	1,208	3,938	8,933
Others	371	825	1,396	1,457	4,139	1,359	1,186	1,067	1,410	5,024
TOTAL	20,324	33,179	16,455	22,688	91,791	23,562	16,703	15,010	30,176	85,451

Roman Numerals indicate quarters

(1) Including Reexports with reimbursements of duties.

Source: Figures computed from the Customs' Records.

Table 7

Quarterly Averages of Free Exchange Rates and Corresponding Conversion Factors (in Lebanese Piasters)

Type of Currency		1951				1952			
		I	II	III	IV	I	II	III	IV
U.S. Dollar	£v/£ [1]	380.25	380.40	365.50	370.40	383.13	380.53	355.13	357.41
	q/£ [2]	1.72	1.67	1.65	1.70	1.73	1.67	1.61	1.62
Sterling	£v/£	988.30	954.30	905.65	935.50	934.00	947.90	914.30	958.50
Lebanese	q/£	1.61	1.54	1.48	1.48	1.49	1.53	1.48	1.55
French	£v/£	0.95	0.93	0.88	0.83	0.90	0.93	0.89	0.93
Franc	q/£	1.50	1.50	1.51	1.36	1.44	1.49	1.43	1.48
Egyptian	£v/£	920.50	930.60	870.50	893.17	910.00	914.85	784.85	775.00
Pound	q/£	1.49	1.43	1.36	1.31	1.39	1.36	1.34	1.33
Belgian	£v/£	7.37	7.04	6.76	7.39	7.61	7.40	7.09	6.57
Franc	q/£	1.64	1.59	1.55	1.65	1.73	1.67	1.58	1.55
Iraqi Dinar	£v/£	915.64	881.40	836.05	880.05	891.05	915.00	880.00	905.56
	q/£	1.48	1.34	1.38	1.36	1.44	1.48	1.44	1.50
Syria	£v/£	100.70	104.40	100.30	98.84	98.00	98.05	105.10	97.50
	q/£	1.07	1.01	1.08	0.95	0.99	0.98	1.03	0.96

[1] Lebanese exchange office.
[2] Lebanese conversion factor.

Microfilmed by the Library of Congress, 1954

Table 8

Imports (C.I.F.)
At Free Market Rates
(in 1,000 Leb. Pounds)

Country	1931					1932				
	I	II	III	IV	Year	I	II	III	IV	Year
Egypt	1,429	2,691	1,500	821	6,331	764	575	1,008	764	2,909
Iraq *	6,512	4,911	10,008	7,684	29,115	6,314	4,239	3,519	7,826	21,898
Kuwait & Bahrein	5	224	45	4	278	57	89	18	51	215
Saudi Arabia	275	818	710	937	2,740	908	843	2,486	1,327	5,564
Syria	14,196	18,782	12,841	15,102	60,700	8,964	13,958	17,172	22,953	63,005
Transjordan & Palestine	1,315	1,337	472	426	3,550	708	798	1,635	1,636	4,777
Turkey	2,806	2,522	1,589	4,707	11,624	2,571	785	1,150	2,135	6,641
France	12,006	20,017	9,560	10,684	52,269	10,184	9,126	7,279	12,262	38,851
Other Franc Area	320	765	278	488	1,852	472	225	253	897	1,847
Germany	3,895	4,277	2,708	3,190	13,987	3,149	3,858	3,944	4,064	14,815
Italy	4,713	4,506	2,582	5,530	17,421	3,825	3,502	2,436	5,161	14,912
United Kingdom	11,177	12,782	8,932	12,074	44,965	10,588	11,481	9,721	14,254	46,044
Other Sterling Area	2,873	2,063	2,148	1,434	8,246	2,143	2,308	2,788	3,198	10,448
Other Western Europe	12,428	13,309	9,427	11,865	47,029	13,775	10,214	14,756	14,888	52,710
Eastern Europe	4,481	3,739	3,373	4,365	15,958	6,470	3,724	3,543	5,029	18,766
U. S. A.	15,815	21,316	18,729	21,457	77,317	24,512	19,817	15,787	19,885	79,481
Others	5,783	7,219	6,329	13,123	32,458	21,141	5,080	5,727	21,092	53,040
TOTAL	99,450	121,048	91,117	113,890	425,521	122,583	86,978	93,170	137,001	442,681

* Includes 150 Imported from I.P.C.
Refineries in Tripoli; Value >

none; 2,788; 5,043; 3,249; 10,080 2,096 3,445; 2,787; none; 9,213

Roman Numerals indicate quarters.
Source: Figures compiled from the *Customs' Records*

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Table 9

Trade by Commodity
(in I.L. 1,000)

No.	Section	IMPORTS [1]		EXPORTS	
		1951	1952	1951	1952
I	Animals & Products of	38,734	31,328	1,123	1,447
II	Vegetable Products	84,506	106,794	9,074	23,047
III	Fats, Oils, Wax and Products of	4,020	4,020	2,013	2,364
IV	Food Products, Beverages & Tobacco	20,491	21,008	2,852	2,581
V	Mineral Products	31,480	26,508	4,111	2,008
VI	Chemical & Pharmaceutical Products	22,483	22,503	3,301	1,831
VII	Leather, Hide, Fur and Products of	6,379	7,742	4,357	2,970
VIII	Rubber Products	7,020	4,201	450	338
IX	Wood, Cork and Products of	13,774	12,528	808	1,126
X	Paper Products	13,433	8,805	1,873	1,354
XI	Textiles and Products of	80,277	67,262	38,484	30,416
XII	Shoes, Hats & Articles of Fashion	3,087	1,334	480	730
XIII	Cements, Glassware etc. . .	8,415	8,581	722	1,013
XIV	Jewelry	1,006	2,080	65	78
XV	Common Metals	14,920	22,772	6,267	6,907
XVI	Machinery, Spare parts, Electrical Appliances	34,471	42,558	5,527	5,851
XVII	Transportation Equipment	19,884	21,062	507	950
XVIII	Scientific & Musical Instruments, Watches	5,576	5,768	127	187
XIX	Arms & Ammunitions	914	798	10	19
XX	Other Manufactures	2,582	2,804	137	202
XXI	Artistic Works & Collections	202	211	6	18
	TOTAL	409,994	434,089	80,502	77,228

[1] The discrepancy between these figures and those on Table 8 are due to the fact that, whereas the latter have been calculated on the basis of a quarterly conversion factor, the former, in order to facilitate comparison, have been calculated on the basis of a yearly conversion factor.

Source: Figures compiled from the Customs' Records.

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8:Fed and Kist S-4 (1951-52)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 10

IMPORTS
(By Currency Area)
(In LL. 1,000)
1951

No.	Section	Syria	Sterling Area	Franc Area	Others	Total
I	Animals & Product of	28,267	1,748	171	8,548	38,734
II	Vegetable Products	11,014	21,746	7,923	43,673	84,356
III	Fats, Oils, Wax and Products, of	106	1,155	885	1,874	4,020
IV	Food Products, Beverages & Tobacco	1,087	10,102	1,756	7,546	20,491
V	Mineral Products	155	23,970	423	6,941	31,489
VI	Chemical & Pharmaceutical Products	23	5,159	4,534	12,767	22,483
VII	Leather, Hide, Fur and Products of	856	3,390	440	1,693	6,379
VIII	Rubber Products	—	1,090	851	5,109	7,050
IX	Wood, Cork and Products of	448	495	1,636	10,195	12,774
X	Paper Products	1	753	1,324	10,344	12,422
XI	Textiles and Products of	18,855	21,228	12,393	27,801	80,277
XII	Shoes, Hats & Articles of Fashion	—	600	163	1,274	2,037
XIII	Ceramics, Glassware etc...	129	407	1,653	6,226	8,415
XIV	Jewelry	—	209	58	741	1,008
XV	Common Metals	21	2,942	9,236	2,721	14,920
XVI	Machinery, Spare Parts, Electrical Appliances	75	7,537	6,389	20,470	34,471
XVII	Transportation Equipment	4	1,968	1,874	15,738	19,584
XVIII	Scientific & Musical Instruments, Watches	23	402	634	4,317	5,376
XIX	Arms & Ammunitions	2	77	248	589	914
XX	Other Merchandise	—	454	332	1,804	2,592
XXI	Artistic Works & Collections	19	—	115	68	202
	TOTAL	61,085	105,432	53,038	190,439	409,994

Source: Figures computed from the *Customs' Records.*

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8pFel and Klat S-4 (951-52)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 11

IMPORTS
(By Currency Area)
(In LL. 1,000)
1952

No.	Section	Syria	Sterling Area	Franc Area	Others	Total
I	Animals & Products of	22,396	1,951	153	7,328	31,828
II	Vegetable Products	30,926	11,986	1,231	62,641	106,784
III	Fats, Oils, Wax and Products of	28	479	556	3,627	4,690
IV	Food Products, Beverages & Tobacco	994	9,445	1,533	9,694	21,666
V	Mineral Products	159	17,006	559	18,052	35,776
VI	Chemical & Pharmaceutical Products	29	5,634	4,038	12,882	22,583
VII	Leather, Hide, Fur and Products of	288	2,781	1,749	2,924	7,742
VIII	Rubber Products	—	1,146	909	2,236	4,291
IX	Wood, Cork and Products of	48	602	1,624	10,254	12,526
X	Paper Products	6	800	1,478	7,519	9,803
XI	Textiles and Products of	8,333	23,731	8,983	26,235	67,282
XII	Shoes, Hats & Articles of Fashion	2	366	176	990	1,534
XIII	Ceramics, Glassware etc...	267	507	1,526	6,581	8,881
XIV	Jewelry	1	691	57	1,331	2,080
XV	Common Metals	60	3,441	8,438	20,833	32,772
XVI	Machinery, Spare Parts, Electrical Appliances	15	5,931	6,248	30,362	42,556
XVII	Transportation Equipment	4	2,575	2,253	16,230	21,062
XVIII	Scientific & Musical Instruments, Watches	—	559	649	4,575	5,783
XIX	Arms & Ammunitions	—	75	208	515	798
XX	Other Merchandise	6	516	262	1,820	2,604
XXI	Artistic Works & Collections	7	23	120	61	211
	TOTAL	63,567	90,245	42,750	246,690	443,252

Source: Figures computed from the *Customs' Records.*

Table 12

EXPORTS
(By Currency Area)
(In LL. 1,000)
1951

No.	Section	Syria	Sterling Area	Franc Area	Others	Total
I	Animals & Products of	17	443	13	650	1,123
II	Vegetable Products	3,574	10,079	1,778	3,703	19,074
III	Fats, Oils, Wax and Products, of	41	1,309	207	455	2,012
IV	Food Products, Beverages & Tobacco	894	1,850	6	312	3,852
V	Mineral Products	3,161	834	–	126	4,111
VI	Chemical & Pharmaceutical Products	2,161	772	109	258	3,301
VII	Leather, Hide, Fur and Products of	1,033	1,423	262	1,119	4,357
VIII	Rubber Products	198	129	1	102	430
IX	Wood, Cork and Products of	407	189	–	302	898
X	Paper Products	578	1,195	31	73	1,873
XI	Textiles and Products of	1,527	5,332	1,409	26,136	35,404
XII	Shoes, Hats & Articles of Fashion	105	271	53	21	450
XIII	Ceramics, Glassware etc...	261	177	3	288	729
XIV	Jewelry	–	31	4	50	85
XV	Common Metals	3,178	1,309	21	3,659	8,267
XVI	Machinery, Spare Parts, Electrical Appliances	4,808	474	88	457	5,827
XVII	Transportation Equipment	148	201	58	100	507
XVIII	Scientific & Musical Instruments, Watches	15	54	8	50	127
XIX	Arms & Ammunitions	1	9	–	–	10
XX	Other Merchandise	39	77	–	21	137
XXI	Artistic Works & Collections	–	5	–	1	6
	TOTAL	21,871	28,713	4,043	38,803	89,389

Source: Figures compiled from the Customs' Records.

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Table 13

EXPORTS
(By Currrency Area)
(in LL. 1,000)
1952

No.	Section	Syria	Sterling Area	Franc Area	Others	Total
I	Animals & Products of	51	570	2	824	1,447
II	Vegetable Products	6,031	12,674	1,819	4,523	25,047
III	Fats, Oils, Wax and Products of	531	2,086	376	371	3,364
IV	Food Products, Beverages & Tobacco	914	1,460	121	1,096	3,591
V	Mineral Products	1,149	501	2	441	2,093
VI	Chemical & Pharmaceutical Products	799	571	77	384	1,831
VII	Leather, Hide, Fur and Products of	,785	1,100	178	907	2,970
VIII	Rubber Products	103	80	5	45	233
IX	Wood, Cork and Products of	211	151	12	764	1,138
X	Paper Products	249	779	102	224	1,354
XI	Textiles and Products of	2,530	7,757	1,099	9,030	20,416
XII	Shoes, Hats & Articles of Fashion	57	296	3	374	730
XIII	Ceramics, Glassware etc. . .	111	384	1	516	1,012
XIV	Jewelry	—	49	1	28	78
XV	Common Metals	604	1,221	32	5,140	6,997
XVI	Machinery, Spare Parts, Electrical Appliances	1,891	822	254	884	3,851
XVII	Transportation Equipment	306	220	129	295	950
XVIII	Scientific & Musical Instruments, Watches	2	109	5	71	187
XIX	Arms & Ammunitions	5	7	1	6	19
XX	Other Merchandise	42	99	1	60	202
XXI	Artistic Works & Collections	1	—	9	8	18
	TOTAL	16,372	30,936	4,229	25,991	77,528

Source: Figures computed from the *Customs' Records*

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Table 14

Imports of Gold
1951

Countries	Ingots		Coins			Total Value (in LL. 1,000)
	Kgs.	Value in LL. 1,000	Kgs.	£ Gold	Value in LL. 1,000	
Belgium	12	61	4	423	20	81
France	1377	6753	—	—	—	6753
Kuwait	3	14	40	5045	228	242
Liberia	118	580	—	—	—	580
Mexico	38	186	2	250	11	197
Netherlands	1075	5272	—	—	—	5272
Peru	11	52	—	—	—	52
Saudi Arabia	1	4	120	15023	679	683
Switzerland	188	920	—	—	—	920
U.K.	269	1417	52	6510	294	1711
Union of S. Africa	75	367	—	—	—	367
U.S.A.	4225	20726	—	—	—	20726
TOTAL	7412	36352	218	27251	1232	37584

Yearly average price of Kg. of gold: LL. 4905
Yearly average price of £ gold: LL. 45.20

Source: Figures computed from the *Customs' Records.*

Table 15

Imports of Gold
1952

Countries	Imports		Exports			Total in Lt. 1,000
	Kg.	Value in Lt. 1,000	Kg.	£ Gold	Value in Lt. 1,000	
France	1361	4722	641	80220	3434	10148
Germany	200	693	–	–	–	693
Kuwait	51	220	101	12636	543	771
Netherlands	1041	4650	1180	147755	6326	10955
Saudi Arabia	–	–	187	23806	882	882
Switzerland	925	4135	110	13771	588	4721
U.K.	1509	7159	260	30648	1321	8480
Uruguay	276	1255	–	–	–	1255
U.S.A.	2989	13352	–	–	–	13352
TOTAL	8580	39413	2484	310836	13278	51691

Yearly Average Price of Kg. of gold: Lt. 4477
Yearly Average Price of £ gold: Lt. 42.88

Source: Figures compiled from the Customs' Records.

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Table 16

Exports of Gold
(Coins)
1951

Countries	1st Quarter		2nd Quarter		Total	
	Kgs.	Value in £E. 1,000	Kgs.	Value in £E. 1,000	Kgs.	Value in £E. 1,000
Saudi Arabia	800	3,000	400	2,000	1200	5,000
Kuwait	200	1,000	400	2,000	600	3,000
TOTAL	1000	4,000	800	4,000	1800	8,000

Source: Figures compiled from the Customs' Records

Egypt. Central Bank. Research Dept. 1951-52/1954 HG3 .E3 no.4

Table 17

Summer Resorting in Private Houses
Summer 1955

Country of Residence	No. of Hirers Rented	No. of Persons			Total Expenditure in I.L. 1,000	Average Expenditure per person in I.L.
		Adults	Children	Total		
Egypt	57	195	160	355	271	765
Iraq	127	435	306	741	1,015	1370
Kuwait	36	228	103	331	1,326	4000
Bahrein	3	5	10	15	13	866
Saudi Arabia	91	267	137	404	1,390	3196
Syria	97	387	253	640	357	558
Transjordan : Palestine	9	39	39	78	110	1410
Qatar & Oman	5	41	13	54	188	3474
West Africa	13	112	73	185	740	4000
Others	37	24	16	40	39	975
TOTAL	475	1723	1110	2833	5,549	1959

Source: Information privately secured

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Table 18

Summer Resorting in Private Houses
Summer 1953

Resorting Centre	No. of Persons		No. of Houses	Expenditure in LL 1,000 *
	Adults	Children		
Ain Zhalta	45	20	9	23
Aley	288	120	79	2210
Baakline	23	14	15	25
Bhamdoun (station)	176	124	44	377
Bhamdoun (village)	119	70	20	377
[illegible]	25	25	8	30
Beit Mery	63	67	21	180
Bhersaf	30	22	7	23
Bikfaya	58	78	16	28
Broummana	49	54	23	119
Dhour Choueir	76	25	17	226
Ehden	42	31	10	103
Falougha	201	82	48	479
Faytroun	36	15	8	15
Hadath el Jebbeh	16	28	5	11
Hasroun	8	8	4	8
Hammana	267	155	70	444
Jezzine	31	41	30	422
Kornayel	40	28	11	20
[illegible]	13	2	3	4
Mrouj	15	7	3	20
Rayfoun	19	21	7	11
Souk el Gharb	60	31	12	165
Sofar	40	25	15	73
TOTAL	1775	1130	475	5080

Source: Information privately secured.

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Table 19

Expenditure of Summer Resorters in Hotels
1953

Countries	Persons	Expenditure in L.L. 1,000
Egy	3644	1155
Iraq	3189	985
Jordan	1228	389
Bahrein	318	121
Kuwait	458	156
Qatar	61	25
Saudi Arabia	714	233
Syria	5494	775
Others	1306	256
TOTAL	16412	3795

Source: Information privately secured.

Table 20

Expenditure of Foreign Students
in Lebanon

Country	1961/1962		1962/1963	
	No. of Students	Expenditure (L.L. 1,000)	No. of Students	Expenditure (L.L. 1,000)
Egypt	73	178	75	175
Kuwait & Bahrain	88	184	87	207
Iraq	181	366	208	438
Jordan & Palestine	304	630	327	661
Saudi Arabia	203	381	319	628
Syria	887	1389	715	1443
Turkey	23	42	24	44
Others	535	838	642	1051
TOTAL	2,173	4208	2,400	4832

Source: Information privately secured

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Table 21

Earnings of Hospitals in Lebanon
From Foreign* Patients
(in LL. 1,000)

Country	1951					1952				
	I	II	III	IV	Year	I	II	III	IV	Year
Bahrein	–	3	1	2	6	5	7	14	7	33
Egypt	5	4	15	11	35	4	11	17	14	46
Iraq	86	107	136	112	441	86	106	124	67	383
Kuwait	–	1	6	10	17	–	2	19	4	25
Saudi Arabia	13	17	19	41	90	67	76	96	84	323
Syria	74	99	108	91	372	115	112	105	113	445
Transjordan & Palestine	25	26	27	19	97	22	30	34	24	110
Turkey	5	2	2	–	9	–	–	–	–	–
Others	15	14	12	13	54	19	24	17	21	81
TOTAL	223	273	326	299	1121	318	368	426	334	1446

Roman Numerals indicate quarters

* Patients who do not habitually reside in Lebanon.

Source: Information privately secured.

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Table 22

Tourists' Expenditure in Beirut 1952

Countries	I		II		III		IV		TOTAL	
	Persons	Exp. in L.L. 1,000	Persons	Exp. in L.L. 1,000	Persons	Exp. in L.L. 1,000	Persons	Exp. in L.L. 1,000	Persons	Exp. in L.L. 1,000
Egypt	639	122	797	154	1522	148	789	105	3747	529
Iraq	627	101	719	114	1256	134	941	142	3543	491
Jordan	1006	154	1095	126	1324	141	1098	121	4523	542
Bahrein	89	13	92	17	82	9	95	25	358	64
Qatar	134	15	150	24	101	13	104	13	489	65
Kuweit	99	25	191	45	286	50	177	22	753	142
S. Arabia	1215	224	765	222	845	177	992	271	3817	894
Syria	5474	484	5331	403	4414	300	5957	555	21176	1742
U.S.A.	1568	344	2772	586	3278	619	2870	629	10488	2178
U.K.	2951	317	3321	333	3103	355	3053	315	12428	1320
France	576	169	834	198	1184	160	813	161	3407	688
Turkey	970	148	1226	196	1383	174	1116	180	4695	698
Germany	162	35	244	57	165	41	243	74	814	207
Iran	223	25	179	29	169	25	160	24	731	103
Italy	170	28	204	28	405	36	228	27	1007	119
Others	1631	227	2057	413	1711	361	1900	339	7299	1340
TOTAL	17534	2431	19977	2945	21228	2743	20536	3003	79275	11122

Roman Numerals indicate quarters

Source: Information privately secured.

8:Fei and Klat S-4 (1951-52)1954 MEl Lebanon MEl

Table 23

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Lebanese Departing & Arriving Through the Port of Beirut and the International Airport

Year		Arrivals	Departures	
			Emigrants	Others
1951:	1st quarter	2,190	1,088	2,479
	2nd quarter	3,846	901	2,332
	3rd quarter	3,390	612	3,308
	4th quarter	2,006	1,381	3,349
	TOTAL	11,441	4,077	11,558
1952:	1st quarter	2,009	980	2,490
	2nd quarter	3,503	480	3,284
	3rd quarter	3,785	376	4,050
	4th quarter	2,717	929	5,982
	TOTAL	12,114	2,725	15,806
1953:	1st quarter	2,560	627	3,592
	2nd quarter	5,198	492	4,156

Source: Ministère de l'Economie Nationale. Service de Statistique Générale. Bulletins Statistiques Trimestriels, Beirut, 1951, 1952, 1953.

8:Fel and Klat S-4 (951-52)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 24

Passenger Fares in 1951 and 1952
(in LL. 1,000)

Debit

	BY SEA			BY AIR			TOTAL		
	Passengers		Total Fares	Passengers		Total Fares	Passengers		Total Fares
	Emig.	Others		Emig.	Others		Emig.	Others	
1951	3,055	6,031	6,512	1,022	16,963	4,397	4,077	22,994	10,909
1952	2,486	6,000	6,455	239	20,910	4,250	2,725	26,910	10,705

Source: Information privately secured.

Table 25

Ship-Stores and Port Expenditure *
(in LL. 1,000)

Country	1951					1952				
	I	II	III	IV	Year	I	II	III	IV	Year
Egypt	12	12	12	12	48	13	12	13	12	50
Turkey	32	51	83	40	206	32	51	83	40	206
France	16	21	23	27	87	14	15	19	11	59
Germany	31	37	37	32	137	38	43	48	55	184
Italy	147	149	147	148	591	164	165	165	164	658
United Kingdom	136	153	121	122	532	201	142	133	161	637
Other sterling Area	6	5	6	6	23	6	7	7	7	27
Other Western Europe	249	268	247	273	1037	379	389	386	448	1602
Eastern Europe	73	70	70	69	282	97	67	80	94	338
U.S.A.	439	441	440	440	1760	438	439	438	440	1755
Others (Greece)	81	85	82	83	331	88	89	94	91	362
TOTAL	1222	1292	1268	1252	5034	1470	1419	1466	1523	5878

* Includes only expenditure of ships which have agents in Lebanon.
Thus, purchases of stores by visiting navies and tramp ships are not included.
Source: Information privately secured.

8:Fei and Klat S-4 (1951-52)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 26

Gold in Transit into Lebanon 1951

Countries	1st Quarter			2nd Quarter			3rd Quarter			4th Quarter			Total		
	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in 1,000 LL.	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in 1,000 LL.	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in 1,000 LL.	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in 1,000 LL.	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in 1,000 LL.
	Ingots	Coins		Ingots	Coins		Ingots	Coins		Ingots	Coins		Ingots	Coins	
Belgium	498	–	2249	481	–	2507	56	–	225	149	–	456	1184	–	5329
Egypt	100	–	500	–	–	–	54	–	270	–	–	–	154	–	770
France	9335	–	20858	1926	–	7057	725	–	2562	8642	415	38585	20628	415	70072
Great Britain	3945	–	18378	2868	–	11939	1185	–	4383	4732	120	18876	12730	120	53374
Holland	2933	–	12842	3237	–	13310	6765	877	30485	12810	811	55580	26751	1688	112217
Saudi Arabia	–	17	72	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	17	72
Switzerland	2200	–	9593	618	–	2682	723	–	2743	3049	–	11542	6590	–	26560
U.S.A.	2014	–	8963	891	–	3543	1018	1900	6577	3553	–	11730	7456	1900	32813
TOTAL	21025	17	82253	10021	–	40838	10524	2777	49245	33921	1346	134581	75491	4140	306917
Other Countries	1235	1863	16309	1153	2040	15336	1407	335	8413	1362	67	7838	5357	4305	47896
GRAND TOTAL	22260	1880	98562	11174	2040	56174	11931	3112	57658	35483	1413	142219	80848	8445	354813

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Source : Figures computed from the Customs' Records.

Table 37

Gold in Transit
Out of Lebanon
1951

Countries	1st Quarter			2nd Quarter			3rd Quarter			4th Quarter			Total		
	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in 1,000 L.L.	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in 1,000 L.L.	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in 1,000 L.L.	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in 1,000 L.L.	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in 1,000 L.L.
	Ingots	Coins		Ingots	Coins		Ingots	Coins		Ingots	Coins		Ingots	Coins	
Egypt	77	12	430	368	–	1063	301	6	1484	–	–	–	746	18	2987
Greece	–	67	235	–	150	811	–	35	1235	–	55	68	–	368	2385
Holland	–	831	6452	–	1366	7555	–	48	245	–	–	–	–	2245	13965
Iraq	–	16	85	35	67	325	65	–	337	35	–	65	85	36	822
Italy	–	928	4947	–	135	680	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1065	5627
Saudi Arabia	–	–	–	–	263	1195	–	1036	3936	–	1380	6881	–	3680	11977
Switzerland	–	–	–	–	40	150	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	40	150
Syria	675	–	3100	31	–	215	–	1060	4336	3850	–	6822	3576	1440	13965
Turkey	408	34	1975	82	15	316	–	–	–	8	–	38	478	49	2329
TOTAL	1180	1880	15314	504	2008	13435	366	3015	16481	3873	1408	13943	3880	9311	68043
Other Countries	21180	–	83248	10670	32	42719	11385	97	47165	32810	5	131177	77045	334	305309
GRAND TOTAL	22350	1880	98562	11174	2040	56174	11851	3113	57928	35683	1413	142319	80840	9645	364613

Source: Figures computed from the Customs' Records.

0.3761 and Kiss S-4 (1951-52)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

×457

82

Table 35

Gold in Transit
Out of Lebanon
1965

Countries	1st Quarter			2nd Quarter			3rd Quarter			4th Quarter			Total		
	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in L.Leb.	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in L.Leb.	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in L.Leb.	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in L.Leb.	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in L.Leb.
	Ingots	Coins		Ingots	Coins		Ingots	Coins		Ingots	Coins		Ingots	Coins	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
TOTAL	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Other Countries	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
GRAND TOTAL	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Source : Figures computed from the Customs' Records.

[illegible] and Kilos 0-4 [illegible] MEO Lebanon MEO

457

Table 39

Gold in Transit
Into Lebanon
1952

Exporter	1st Quarter			2nd Quarter			3rd Quarter			4th Quarter			Total		
	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in L.Leb.	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in L.Leb.	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in L.Leb.	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in Leban.pds.	Quantity in Kgs.		Value in L.Leban.pds.
	Imports	Exports		Imports	Exports		Imports	Exports		Imports	Exports		Imports	Exports	
Switzerland	160	-	88	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	160	-	88
France	6838	-	3648	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	6839	-	3649
Germany	2185	-	1165	133	-	70	-	-	-	-	-	-	2318	-	1235
Great Britain	5187	40	7705	1883	40	1005	1300	-	1047	1300	-	1047	9670	80	10804
Holland	4434	1700	23551	1838	4450	27005	3450	1300	18847	3450	-	18847	13172	7450	88250
Switzerland	2335	40	13114	378	304	3333	1704	1014	13798	1300	-	10614	5717	1358	40859
Syria	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
U.S.A.	1020	-	3485	1017	-	3883	1374	-	4494	601	-	2048	4012	-	13910
TOTAL	17985	1760	73757	5670	5230	45370	13483	4313	63941	15432	650	43339	51868	11720	226402
Other Countries	2677	67	11385	804	150	3607	353	13	1526	21	-	84	3855	230	16554
GRAND TOTAL	20662	1827	84122	6483	5172	48483	13835	4326	64169	15443	650	43423	55723	11950	242956

Source: Figures compiled from the Customs' Records.

Ref and Xlat 8-4 (1951-52)1954 MEI Lebano MEI

457

Table 30

Shipments' Deadhead

(in L.L. 1,000)

4457

	1951		1952		TOTAL	
	In Bottom	In Kind	In Bottom	In Kind	1951	1952
U Bend (Dual Use)						
From: Australia	1,080	1,350	441	1,125	2,430	1,566
U.S.A.	17,308	2,100	21,473	735	19,408	22,208
Iraq	1,150		3,100		1,150	3,100
Syria	110		250		110	250
Saudi Arabia			1,100			1,100
					23,098	28,224
Contributions to Village						2,230
					Total 23,098	30,454
Ex-U-Bits (Dualcode Use)						
Brazil	30,238		25,561		30,238	25,561
Australia	6,475	325	7,330	175	7,800	7,505
Colombia	1,400		1,730		1,400	1,730
Venezuela	3,250	613	3,763		3,863	3,763
Africa	10,025		11,350		10,025	11,350
U.S.A.	7,325	1,600	4,725	1,650	8,925	5,775
Saudi Arabia	35,000		96,950	3,763	35,000	100,713
					99,461	156,637
Contributions to Village					1,750	2,275
					Total 98,211	158,912
Dutch, British, Texas (Mixed)						
U.S.A.	3,500	325	4,775		3,825	4,775
Africa	3,500	150	2,800		3,650	2,800
South America	875		300		975	300
					Total 10,400	8,075
Britishers (Non-Europeans)						
U.S.A.	43,488	10,225	43,488	10,225	53,813	53,813
Brazil	12,863	1,137	12,863	1,137	14,000	14,000
Colombia	9,100		9,100		9,100	9,100
Bolivia	1,575	325	1,575	325	2,100	2,100
Canada	21,700	3,850	21,700	3,850	25,550	25,550
Mexico	3,500		3,500		3,500	3,500
Africa	325		325		325	325
					Total 108,388	108,388
Contributions to Village			11,200			11,200
					Total 108,588	119,788

8:Fei and Klat S-4 (1951-52)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI
86

457[x]

Table 31

Donations Received from Abroad by Charitable & Educational Institutions (in LL. 1,000)

Countries	1951	1952
Egypt	11	17
Kuwait & Bahrein	20	3
Syria	15	15
France	200	900
United Kingdom	763	674
Other Sterling Area	17	42
Other Western Europe	314	296
U.S.A.	8804	11439
Others	70	66
	10214	13452

Source: Information privately secured.

Appendix 1

000

Lebanese Republic
Bureau of Tourism

Foreign Visitors' Statistics

Hotel: _____ Quarter, 195____

Residence (1)	Number of Visitors (2)	Length of Stay (3)		
Egypt				
Iraq				
Jordan & Palestine				
Bahrein				
Qatar & Oman				
Kuweit				
Saudi Arabia				
Syria				
U.S.A.				
U.K.				
France				
Turkey				
Western Germany				
Iran				
Other Countries				
TOTAL				

Sgd._____

Notes on Appendix I

000 You are requested to fill in one form for each quarter and to send it to the Bureau of Tourism - Statistics Section - as soon as possible. Every three months constitute a quarter, thus the first three months of the year represent the 1st quarter, the following three months represent the 2nd quarter and so on until the 4th quarter.

1. Please note that the required classification of visitors is according to their residence and not nationality. A foreign visitor means, as far as tourism is concerned, one who does not live permanently or semi-permanently in Lebanon. For instance, an Englishman or a Frenchman living permanently in Lebanon for business purposes is not considered a foreigner and no distinction is made between him and any Lebanese living in Lebanon. Also, a Lebanese or an Englishman living in Egypt permanently is considered, when he is in Lebanon, as an Egyptian.

2. The number of foreign visitors, excepting children who are charged less than ½ the expenses of an adult.

3. The information requested is the total number of nights spent at your hotel by visitors who have departed during the period between the first and the end of the quarter, classified according to their residence abroad. Those who arrived during a quarter but have not departed during the same quarter should not be included in this table, but in the table covering the quarter in which they have departed.

8:Fei and Klat S-4 (1951-52)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Appendix 2

STUDENTS FROM ABROAD 000

Academic Year 1952/53

Countries of Residence [1]	Number of Students
Egypt	
France	
Germany	
Iraq	
Kuweit	
Bahrein	
Saudi Arabia	
Syria	
U.K.	
U.S.A.	

Average expenditure per student on:

Tuition [2] _____

Board & Lodging _____

Books _____

Pocket expense _____

1 Please note that we are interested in the countries of residence, and not in the nationalities of students. Therefore, a student's permanent address and not the citizenship he holds is the criterion for classification. In other words, students whose parents do not ordinarily live in Lebanon are considered "from Abroad." A student's permanent address is normally the same as the address of his parents.

2 Please give the average tuition fee for both the elementary school and the high school.

Appendix 3

Quarterly Medical Expenses of Patients Who Are Non-Residents of Lebanon

000

Name: _____

Address of Hospital: _____

Year: _____

Countries of Residence	1st Quarter		2nd Quarter		3rd Quarter		4th Quarte			
	Number of Patients	Expenditure LL.	Number of Patients	Expenditure LL.	Number of Patients	Expenditure LL.	Number of Patients	Expenditure LL.	Total No. of Patients	Total Expenditure LL.
Egypt										
Syria										
Iraq										
Jordan										
Turkey										
Saudi Arabia										
Kuweit, Bahrein & Qatar										
Other Countries										
Total										

8:Fei and Klat S-4 (1951-52)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI 90

8:Fei and Klat S-4 (1951-52)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Appendix 4

Enumerator _____ File _____ 000

Date _____ Number _____

Information Requested from *Residents of Lebanon* Returning from Travel in Foreign Countries

	Adults	Children
1. The information given hereafter covers the following number of persons:		
2. Nationality:		
3. Date you last left Lebanon:		
4. Airline or vessel you departed by:		
5. Date of re-entry into Lebanon:		
6. Airline or vessel you returned by:		
7. Approximate amount of fare:		
(a) Out-bound from Lebanon to	LL.	
In-bound to Lebanon from	LL.	
OR		
(b) Round trip by sea or plane from Lebanon to	LL.	
8. How much in addition to item (7) did you spend abroad for *all purposes* (lodging, food, amusements, gifts, visa and other fees, local travel, ... etc.)	LL.	
9. State the countries you have visited and the amount you spent in each:		
(Specify kind of currency)		

10. What was the main purpose of your visit? (underline)
Business Pleasure Government Service Study
Health Family visit Other (specify)

11. Comments

Appendix 5

000

DONATIONS

The information requested is of donations received directly from foreign countries.

Please fill in this form and forward either to the American University of Beirut, or to the Service de Statistique Générale, Ministère de l'Economie Nationale, Beyrouth, Liban.

	Foreign Country	Amount of Aid * Received
1951		
1952		

* All includes goods as well as money.

ME1 Lebanon ME1

8: Fei and Klat
125, 128

/For an account of the gathering of information on items affecting the balance of payments in Lebanon, copies of questionnaires used, etc. and an explanation of statistical methods used to derive balance of payment items, see category 116, entire source./

8: Fei and Klat
457

ME1 Lebanon ME1

/For a detailed statistical summary of Lebanon's balance of payments in 1951-52, see category 116, entire source./

Yr Lebanon G-5 (9552)953 MEI Lebanon MEI

VILLAGE SURVEY

000 KASMIE RURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT

LEBANON

RURAL STATISTICAL SURVEYS OFFICE
A COOPERATIVE PROJECT

OF THE

LEBANESE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL ECONOMY

AND

UNITED STATES TECHNICAL COOPERATION SERVICE

BEIRUT, LEBANON

NUMBER SPV — 1
JANUARY, 1953.

I

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PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

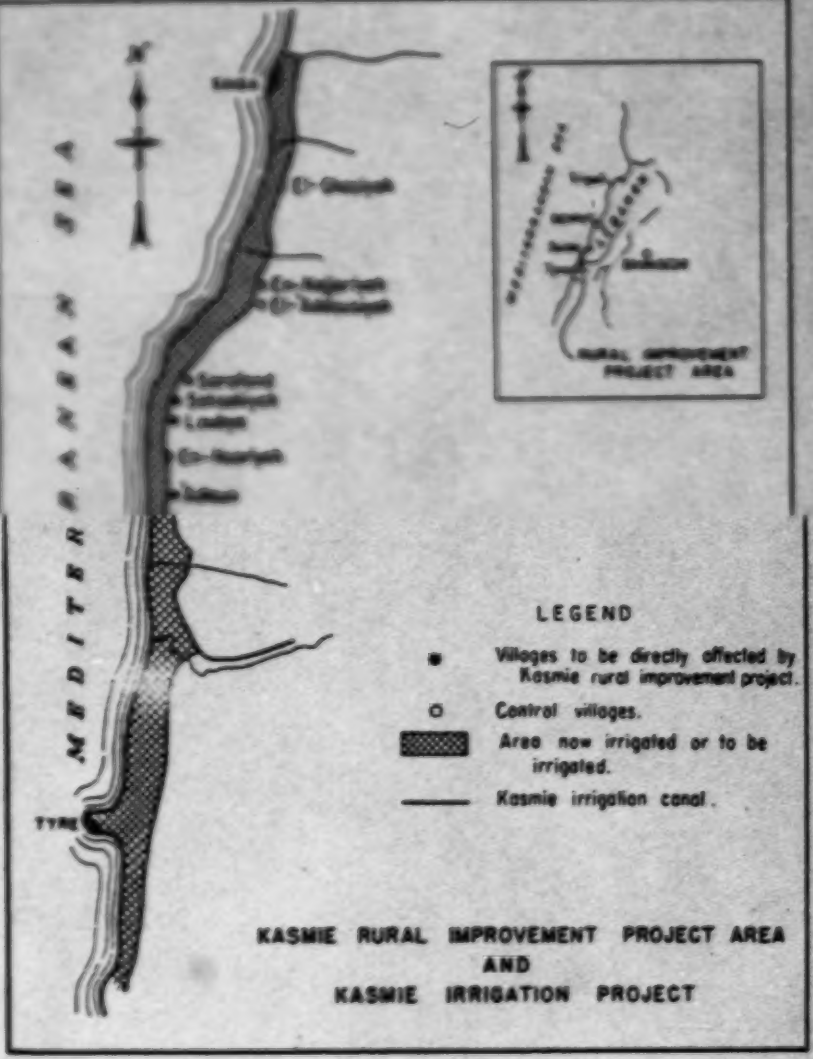
This is the first of a projected series of reports on the agricultural economy of Lebanon by the Rural Statistical Surveys Office. The Project is a joint cooperative effort by the Ministry of National Economy and the Technical Cooperation Service to investigate and report on the economic aspects of rural Lebanon.

This special report was prepared specifically to aid technicians connected with the Kamid Aoud Improvement Project. Because of time and other limitations the following material ought to be considered to be in the nature of a reconnaissance report. Plans are now under way to make an agricultural census which will provide more accurate data.

Personnel of the Rural Statistical Surveys Office, under the direction of the Ministry of National Economy, participated in collecting the field data for this report. The authors analyzed these data and prepared this report as collaborators with the Surveys Office.

They wish to express their appreciation to Mr. Naouli, Director General of the Ministry of National Economy; Mr. Hazarabedian, Director of the Central Statistical Office, Ministry of National Economy; Mr. Asad Nasr, Chief Statistician; and all of the technicians who aided in this study. Particular thanks are due to the mukhtars (mayors) of the villages included, since it was they who furnished the information upon which this report is based.

312


MEDITERRANEAN SEA
TYRE
RURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT AREA
LEGEND
Villages to be directly affected by Kasmie rural improvement project.
Control villages.
Area now irrigated or to be irrigated.
Kasmie irrigation canal.
KASMIE RURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT AREA
AND
KASMIE IRRIGATION PROJECT

Lebanon G-5 (1962)(1963) MEE Lebanon MEE

GRAPHIC SUMMARY

128 THESE PICTORIAL STATISTICS ARE INTENDED TO GIVE THE READER THE SALIENT FACTS REGARDING THE AREA TO BE AFFECTED BY THE KASAIE RURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT. THIS AREA COVERS THE FIVE PROJECT VILLAGES OF SABAYAND, SAKSA-IETAH, LOUBYA, EN-NEABIYAH, AND 'ASSOUN. ALSO INCLUDED IN THIS GRAPHIC PRESENTATION ARE THE CONTROL VILLAGES OF EL-GHAZIYAH, EN-NAJJARIYAH, AND EL-'ADDOUSIYAH THAT NEIGHBOR ON THE PROJECT AREA.

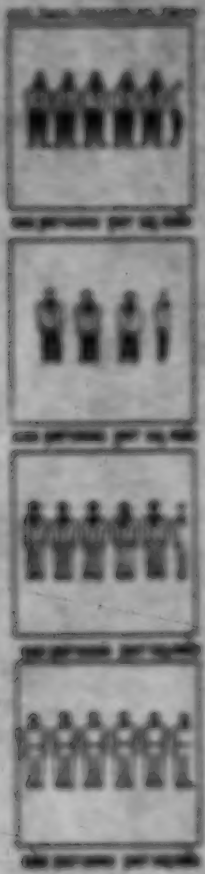
592 AVERAGE SIZE of HOUSEHOLD

Eight Villages

[illegible]

161 # POPULATION DENSITY

[illegible]



[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

POPULATION

Each figure represent 1000 people

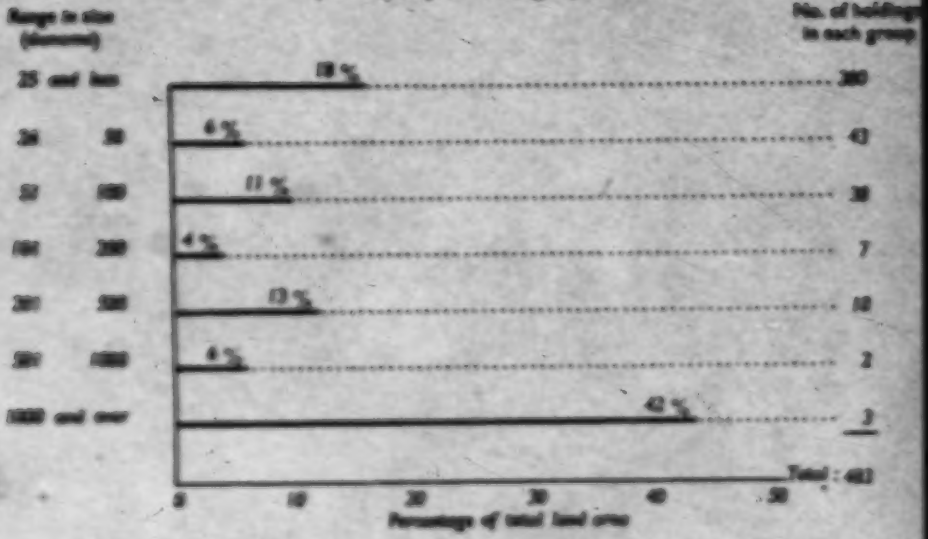
Total population of the project village

Total population in other control village

423

LAND TENURE

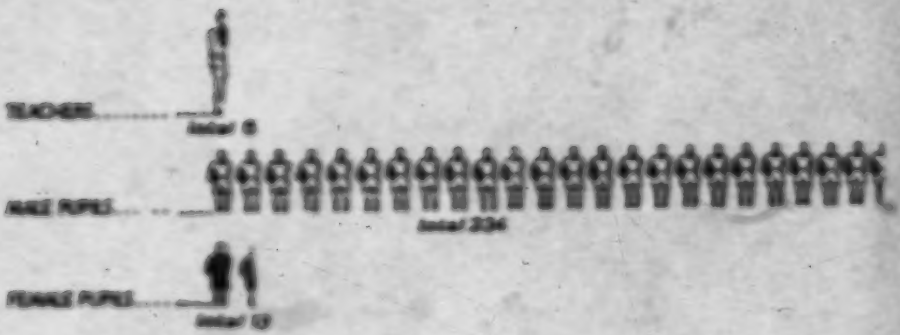
Percentage of holding in each class internal
(Five project villages)



871

SCHOOLS

Five project villages elementary only
Each figure represent 10 persons



9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

311

LAND USE

Land use in the eight project and control villages

231

LIVESTOCK

Total number of livestock in five project villages

Each unit 100 head

GOATS..... Total ...

CATTLE..... Total ...

SHEEP..... Total ...

DONKEYS..... Total ...

361

BUILDINGS

Five project villages
Each unit represent 100 buildings

Total: 92

Total: 84

Total: 143

Total: 11

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

VILLAGE SURVEY

KASMIE RURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT

LEBANON

BY

William W. Gorton,
Miles Prescott,
Gabriel Najjar[1]

361 312 653 The five villages to be affected by the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project are located along the northern branch of the Kasmie Irrigation Canal. The area comprising these kharajs[2] includes but largely lies above the Kasmie Irrigation Project which, when completed, will service the rich coastal plain extending from Saida in the notrh to Ras-El-Ain three miles south of Tyre. The Kasmie Irrigation Project was begun under the French Mandate, continued during the British occupation, and partially completed under the Lebanese Republic. Due to a lack of funds, work on the project was discontinued in 1950 when about half of the total area to be irrigated was under operating canals. It covers an area of 50,000 dunums of land and extends a length of 37 kilometers (23 miles). It averages 1.3 kilometers (one mile) in width. The completed portion of the irrigation works supplies water to prosperous new citrus orchards, banana groves and vegetable gardens. 245 244

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114 (1) Mr. Gorton is head agricultural economist with the Litani River Investigation Group and Chief of the Rural Statistical Surveys Project. Mr. Prescott is an assistant professor of economics at the American University of Beirut who participated in this study as a consultant to the Lebanese Ministry of National Economy. Mr. Najjar is a junior economist on the staff of the Litani Group.

128 (2) In the Arab Middle East the English term «village» can mean either the built-up area alone or the built-up area and all the surrounding land farmed by the villagers, which is legally appurtenant to it. To avoid misinterpretation, two Arabic terms have been adopted. The term «kharaj» is used to denote the larger concept which includes the built-up area and other lands appurtenant to it. The term «dei'ah» is used to designate the built-up area or the town itself. Size, either of population or land area, is not involved in the use of these concepts.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

648
185

In the Spring of 1952 the Lebanese Government submitted a request to the Technical Cooperation Service, Lebanon, for the completion of the project at an estimated cost of $ 650,000. The Government of Lebanon further requested that preliminary staff studies be made for the Kasmie area by Point Four technicians and their counterparts in the Government. On the basis of these studies, the Technical Cooperation Service, Lebanon, felt that the Kasmie area offered a splendid opportunity for a pilot demonstration Point Four Project. It was planned that the fields of public works, agriculture, public health, education, village craft and industry, and farm credit would receive immediate emphasis. It is these fields that are to be covered by a number of subprojects which constitute the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project. The end result sought is the economic and social improvement of an area where extreme poverty and a low standard of living are the normal conditions.

654
185

It was decided by those in charge of the Improvement Project to select representative villages in the Kasmie area for demonstration centers where the people could be shown the value of a positive rural development program. Five villages were tentatively selected as demonstration centers. Working toward the south, these villages include Sarafand, Sakiakiyah, Loubya, En-Nsariyah, and 'Adloun. These five villages are located in one segment of the Kasmie Irrigation Project which services a total of twenty-seven villages. Every facility will be utilized to extend the results obtained in the demonstration area to other parts of rural Lebanon.

[312]

The three villages of El-Ghaziyah, En-Najjariyah, and El-'Addousiyah, located just to the north of the proposed Kasmie Rural Improvement Project, have been included in the more important tables. The extension of the Kasmie Irrigation Canal will bring water to their fields. These villages can be considered a control area since they will be affected by construction of the canal but not by the Rural Improvement aspects of the project. It will be well to watch the economic and social impact of development in the project area on these three neighboring villages.

It should be noted that this report deals with the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project and not just the Kasmie Irrigation Project. Included in the Improvement Project are lands of the Irrigation Project but these latter lands constitute only about 20 percent of the total area of the eight villages reported upon.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Methodology and Purpose of Report.

659 654 In order to facilitate the planning and carrying out of the different aspects of the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project, an economic and social survey and analysis of the area to be affected by the demonstration projects was requested in August, 1952. It was decided that the report of these studies should include the general physical characteristics of the area, a description of local governmental institutions, population, farm organization, land utilization, irrigation and crop pattern, livestock, land tenure, crops and livestock, and a physical description of the village including the number and types of buildings and educational facilities.

Unfortunately, basic data with respect to the project area were not available. No official statistics on rural Lebanon exist and the few figures available on population are admittedly incorrect. Although the total land area in each kharaj was made available by the cadastral survey office in Saida there was no information available on land utilization and distribution.

A rational approach to the problem of rural improvement necessitated the procurement of a minimum amount of statistical data. In this report the best available basic facts and figures are 115 presented. Unless otherwise noted, the information was secured from the mukhtar of the village and other leading citizens by field staff enumerators.

659 The basic data essential for a report of this nature make apparent the necessity for an agricultural census of Lebanon. It should be realized, however, that many of the difficulties encountered in making this survey, such as lack of adequate maps, information on ownership of land, and accurate data on population must be resolved to prepare the way for a successful agricultural census. Until such a census can be made, however, studies based upon samples must be relied upon. As a by-product such studies will aid in obtaining the data necessary for undertaking the first agricultural census in Lebanon.

Any technician using these data must recognize the limitations of the source. Unless otherwise noted, it is felt that the information presented is reasonably reliable.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Physical Description of Area.

361 The coastal plain in the Kasmie area is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea on the west and
132 the Lebanon range on the east. The climate is Mediterranean with dry summers, nearly all of the
134 rain falling between October and May. The soil is chiefly a heavy clay. Much of this coastal area
941 is suitable for irrigation. While some of the land is rocky and in the United States would not be used for farm land, nearly all land capable of cultivation has been brought under the plow. The steeper slopes are protected from serious erosion by rock wall terraces. The climate is favorable to the growth of temperate and sub-tropical crops. Citrus fruits, bananas, vegetables, and cereal crops are found in abundance.

361 The major markets for the products of the five villages are Beirut and Saida. All of the project
491 and control villages are linked to the Tyre-Saida-Beirut main coastal road by gravel surfaced roads
187 except for Loubya and Saksakiyah, which are dependent upon trails. In no case is the dei'ah more
494 than two miles from the main road. The traffic on this road is heavy and trucks and buses are frequently available for taking products to Saida or Beirut. These towns are 12 and 42 miles respectively distant from 'Adloun, the most southerly village.

Village Government.

622 The five villages included in the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project have a similar form of
623 local government. Each village has a mukhtar (mayor) who is elected in a more-or-less democratic
471 manner. In each village there is also a board of aldermen or village elders. This board is also
556 elected to office and it consists of from two to six members. The mukhtar is generally the largest landowner or operator and one of the wealthiest men in the village. The aldermen as well are among the more well-to-do villagers. However, the concept of wealth is relative. Often the holdings owned by local villagers may be large in comparison with others in their own community, but small indeed when compared to the size of holdings in the village controlled by persons living outside the village. The common fellah does not enjoy representation by his peers in this area; whether he has such aspirations is not known.

A number of the villages are wholly dependent upon one or several large non-resident landowners, who own much of the agricultural lands farmed by the villagers. In these cases, the mukhtar acts only after consultation with these large landowners. 491 622

The mukhtar and the board of aldermen are elected for a period of four years. In case of the death or resignation of the mukhtar, the administrative officer of the Saida district (the qaimmaqam) is authorized to appoint one of the aldermen to fill the vacant position. A new election must be held within two months after the vacancy occurs. 622 623

The powers and obligations of the mukhtar include: acting as the representative of the government in the village; registering the newly born and deceased; apportioning the land tax among the holders of land; and, where land registration has not been completed, issuing certificates showing title to land for purposes of sale or mortgage. It is interesting to note, in conformance with Lebanese law, that when the police come to arrest a villager they are not permitted to enter a house unless accompanied by the mukhtar. 622 694

Table I has been prepared for the convenience of technicians working in the area. It shows the names of the mukhtars in the five affected villages as of September, 1952, and the number of persons on the board of aldermen. 622 623

These small villages have no income from taxes or property. What improvements the villagers desire must be achieved through mutual cooperation. This cooperation is reflected in their sharing the village threshing floor (beidar). In answer to the question, "What improvements have been financed (either in cash or in kind) by your village during the past five years?" none was reported. In the control area, the villagers in El-Ghaziyah and El-'Addousiyah contributed the maintenance of school buildings, and in En-Najjariyah voluntary village labor helped to build a new road from the dei'ah to the Saida-Beirut highway. 476

Where there are over two thousand inhabitants and a village income of over LL. 2,000 annual income, a municipality can be formed. The municipality takes care of locally financed projects such as street construction, water supply works, lighting, sanitation and sponsorship of public schools. Only in the control village of El-Ghaziyah does a municipality operate. As none of the five villages under discussion has the legal minimum of two thousand population, there are no municipalities in the demonstration area. 632

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEl Lebanon MEl

TABLE I

Village Officials

Kasmie Rural Improvement Project

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Name of Dei'ah	Name of Mukhtar	Number of Years in Office	Number on Board of Aldermen
Project Area			
Sarafand	Heidar Khaleefah	13	6
Saksakiyah	Muhammad Husein 'Abbas	6	4
Loubya	Ali Sami El-As'ad	2	2
En-Nsariyah	Shaheen Ahmad Yaseen	3	2
'Adloun	'Ali H. Wahbah	7	4
Control Area			
El-Ghaziyah [1]	Muhammad 'Abbas Khaleefah	2	6
En-Najjariyah	As'ad Tarraf	10	2
El-'Addousiyah	Jirjis Daghir	2	none

(1) El-Ghaziyah has a municipal government as well as a mukhtar and board of aldermen.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Population

Accurate current population figures are not available for Lebanon. Only one true census has been made since the days when Lebanon was a part of the Ottoman Empire. This census was made in 1932 during the French mandate. It is out of date and so is of little use where present population data are required.

An attempt to establish what the current population is was made in this survey. The basic method was to obtain an estimate by the mukhtar. In all cases his estimate was discussed by other village leaders who were present during the interview and the figure taken was the one the group agreed upon. As the mukhtar is the official government representative in the village, and included among his duties is the registration of births and deaths, he is the best available source for population information. Discussion by other villagers tended to reduce bias and made for as accurate an estimate as possible.

Since the figures obtained from the mukhtar are at best only considered estimates, it was decided to check his figures through a sampling technique. Village residences were counted, a sample of about 15 per cent was selected at random, and a house-to-house inquiry was made to determine the number of persons living in each one of the dwelling units selected. After the average number of persons in a household in the sample was determined, the total village population was derived by multiplying this number times the number of residences.

The results of this sampling can be seen in Table II. It should be noted that they coincide closely to the estimates furnished by the mukhtar. The total population in the project area according to the housing sample is 5,555 while the estimates of the various mukhtars give a total of 5,645. The average size of a household in the five project villages is 6.1 persons.

In light of the close agreement shown between the total population figures achieved by the sample and from the mukhtars, the inclination is to accept such estimates as being reasonably accurate. The results shown Table II are believed to be more reliable than any other available data arrived at to date. It is recommended that the population estimate made by the mukhtars (column 4, Table II) be accepted as correct for use in connection with the Improvement Project.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 ME1 Lebanon ME1

TABLE II

Population

Kasmie Rural Improvement Project

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Dei'ah	(1) Number of Houses	(2) Average Number of Persons per House	(3) Population Col. (1) x Col. (2)	(4) Population as Estimated by Mukhtar
Project Area				
Sarafand	310	5.5	1705	1800
Saksakiyah	198	5.8	1148	1025
Loubya	59	5.7	336	320
En-Nsariyah	92	7.1	655	800
'Adloun	252	6.8	1713	1700
Sub-total for project villages	911	(Weighted) 6.1	5555	5645
Control Area				
El-Ghaziyah	310	8.3	2573	3200
En-Najjariyah	60	6.1	366	540
El-'Addousiyah	27	6.8	183	175
Sub-total for control villages	397	(Weighted) 7.9	3122	3915
Total	1308	(Weighted) 6.6	8677	9560

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

Farm Organization

The isolated farmhouse, typical of agriculture in the United States, is rarely seen in Lebanon. 361
In the five project villages nearly all farmers live in the dei'ah or built-up area. Their wooden plows, harnesses, and other farm equipment are stored each day in their houses in the dei'ah. Often a stable is connected to or is part of the living quarters to take care of the family cow or other livestock. The concentration of dwellings in one area in the Middle East often results in a considerable expenditure of time in walking to fields located sometimes two to five miles from the village. In the project villages the land lies in a narrow strip. Farms at the far ends require an hour or more to reach by walking.

The share-tenant or small landowner has a cow or two which he depends on for draft and 231
milk, a simple wooden plow, and a few other simple hand tools. These comprise his capital equip- 572
ment. The field work is shared by all the members of the family, although in this shee'ah moslem 462
area there is a fairly rigid division of labor between the sexes. Plowing is a man's work, while rarely will a man be seen carrying water from the village fountain.

In the project area no evidence is seen of tractors, harrows, mechanical threshers, or other 407
mechanized farm equipment except on one or two large farms operated by non-resident owners. 365
None of the project villages has electric power. Farm organization is based upon an intensive use 464
of labor rather than capital. Low wage rates and an ample supply of laborers combine to make 465
the use of labor more advantageous than mechanization. In 1952 the prevailing rate for farm laborers was LL. 3 (about 85 cents) for men and half that for women per 12 to 15 hour day.

Most of the project villages have a plot of land called the beidar where the villagers, often 423
working in common, thresh their grain. Here the wheat or other seed crop is placed after it is 476
brought from the fields. For month after month in the summer, one finds the oxen pulling behind 241
them a mauraj, a flat board the underside of which is dotted with protruding stones or jagged pieces of metal. The farmer's wife or a small boy rides on this and with a stick directs the oxen over a layer of grain. In this way the kernels of grain are loosened and the straw is cut fine for fodder. In 241
order to separate the kernels of grain from the chaff, the farmer tosses the mixed grain and chaff

241 into the air. A slight breeze is all that is necessary to blow the chaff to the side while the heavier grain falls to the earth. Later the kernels of grain are hand-sieved to remove rocks and other debris. The harvesting of grain entails a tremendous amount of the villagers' time and effort but, since he usually has nothing else to do, this method of harvesting is less costly to him than mechanized methods.

Land Utilization

311 No reliable statistics are available in Lebanon concerning the breakdown of the land area according to the use to which it is put. From published information it is not possible to obtain a breakdown of the area in each village devoted to dry crops and irrigated crops, or as to land devoted to pasture, forests or waste. For this reason it was necessary to depend on the mukhtar and other village leaders for these estimates. It is evident, therefore, that the data contained in Table III on land use distribution is not exact, but only the calculated estimates of reasonably well-informed sources. The discrepancies between the mukhtar's estimates and figures given by the cadastral office could not be checked without a land use survey. As in the case of population figures, each technician will have to proceed with caution in using these figures.

The mukhtars of the five project villages estimated the total area of these villages to be 28,000 metric dunums[1] (6,900 acres). In order to check this figure, the total area of the five villages was obtained from the cadastral office. While these files did not give the land-use breakdown, they showed the total area as 30,630 dunums. There is a discrepancy of 2,630 dunums between the figures supplied by the mukhtars and those obtained from the government. This may be due to a failure on the part of the mukhtars to include waste land in the total village area.

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(1) A metric dunum is equivalent to 1,000 square meters or approximately one quarter of an acre.

TABLE III

Land Use Distribution

Kashe Rural Improvement Project

Name of Dei'ah	Land Use Distribution Estimates of Mukhtar							
	(1) Dry Crop Land	(2) Irrigated Crop Land	(3) Pasture Land	(4) Forest Land	(5) Waste Land	(6) Total Area Reported By Mukhtar	(7) Total Area From Cadastral Office	(8) Irrigated Land Compared To Total Area (Col. 2 and 6)
PROJECT VILLAGES	*Dunums*	*Dunums*	*Dunums*	*Dunums*	*Dunums*	*Dunums*	*Dunums*	*Percent*
Sarafand	7350	150	300	0	0	8000	9440	2
Sukunkiyah	850	450	200	0	0	1500	2870	30
Loubya	1410	40	0	0	50	1500	2230	3
En-Nuariyah	7800	400	800	0	0	9000	7340	5
'Adloun	1000	8000	0	0	0	9000	8750	80
Sub-total of five project villages	17810	9040	1100	0	50	29000	30630	32

CONTROL VILLAGES								
En-Najjariyah	1400	100	0	150	500	2150	2360	3
El-'Addawiyah	2000	400	0	1000	2000	5400	4320	7
El-Ghaziyah	10600	600	0	200	600[b]	12000	9140	5
Sub-total of three control villages	14000	1100	0	1350	3100	19550	15800	15
TOTAL	31810	10140	1100	1350	3150	47550	46475	32

(a) Under sand are sandy deserts which contain (over 95 metres, equal (One of a hectare, and are equivalent to about one quarter of an acre (0.405 ha for short).

(b) per cent of this has in the area which Tropilium is using for its truck farm and tractor loading facilities.

9:Lebanon G-5 [9952]953 MEI Lebanon MEI

Irrigation and Crop Pattern

312 The percentage of land under irrigation varies considerably among these five villages (see Table III, column 4). While 88 percent of the total land area of 'Adloun is estimated to be under irrigation, only 2 percent of the total land area of Sarafand to the north is irrigated because the irrigation canal now stops at the village limits of Sarafand. Lands of Loubya, and En-Nazriyah do not extend into the irrigated coastal strip.

241 In the project villages of 'Adloun and Sahmâtiyah, where a considerable portion of the land is under irrigation, the principal products by value are bananas, oranges and tomatoes. Other products grown on the irrigated land include okra, eggplant, squash and cucumbers. As the village lands in the project area only recently have been brought under irrigation, the emphasis at present is on the production of bananas and the establishment of citrus groves. The farmer in many cases has interplanted citrus trees with bananas. Bananas shoots planted in February will produce fruit the following November, but it takes from six to eight years for an orange tree to mature. Where dry farming is the predominant system, as in Sarafand, Loubya, and En-Nazriyah, the emphasis naturally switches to crops requiring less water. Here the principal crops according to value include wheat, barley, corn, olives, watermelon, and figs.

312 In the project area already serviced by the Kasmie Irrigation Canal, 9,040 dunums are under irrigation. Of this total irrigated area, only 415 dunums are irrigated by pumps, the remainder being irrigated by gravity. Supplementary sources other than the Kasmie Irrigation Canal are used to a very limited extent to irrigate the fields. Sarafand pumps water from local wells. Sahmâtiyah utilizes water from the Dammâtiyah spring and Loubya spring. Loubya, as well, obtains irrigation water from the Loubya spring. En-Nazriyah, with lands located above the canal, irrigates a few hundred dunums with water pumped from two wells. 'Adloun uses water from the spring of 'Adloun. Small areas of good quality land strung out along but above the canal are irrigated by pumping water from the canal.

Further north in the coastal area, which has not as yet been reached by the irrigation canal, the irrigated land is almost wholly serviced by pumps. Thus, in En-Najjariyah, El-'Ashmuniyah and El-Ghaziyah where 1,100 dunums are under irrigation, over 96 % of the irrigated area is served by pumps. The balance is irrigated by gravity from small springs.

Wheat was listed among the four most important agricultural items in every one of the eight project and control villages. Barley was included among the four most important crops for the villages of Sabsabiyah and 'Adloun. Reference has already been made to the prevailing types of crops grown in the villages, depending on whether the area is predominantly dry or irrigated.

Livestock

The livestock owned by villagers or landlords and kept upon the lands of the village included cows, goats, sheep, donkeys and chickens. No camels or horses were reported in the five project villages. It was not possible to estimate the number of chickens in each village. Goats formed the largest numerical group, numbering 1,020 animals. Eight hundred and eighty cows, 555 sheep and 82 donkeys were reported (Table IV). According to value, cattle were by far the most important animals.

In the village of Sabsabiyah, Mr. Fuad Idlibyi owns a herd of ninety head of Holsteins. The herd is valued at LL. 100,000 (about $28,000) and it was claimed that milk from the cows is sold for LL. 40,000 (about $11,000) annually. In addition to milk, a small amount of meat, goat hair, wool and manure is sold by the villagers. Due to the lack of pasture land, the herds of village livestock are fairly small. By and large the livestock in this region are for the purpose of local power and consumption. Cows provide the farmer with a draft animal and milk; goats furnish milk, goat hair and meat; donkeys furnish transportation for water, produce, and the farmer's family; while the wool from the sheep is utilized by the industrious housewife to furnish clothing for the family, [illegible] village family.

Land Ownership

Statistics are presented for only the five project villages regarding land ownership and operation distribution. It is, however, evident from available data that the patterns found in the project area applies to the three control villages.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

It was impossible to segregate the ownership and operation of the lands of the Kamin Irrigation Project from other lands of the villages involved. The data presented, therefore, do not necessarily reflect conditions on the lands of that project. Since less than 1,000 hectares of the total of about 5,000 hectares in the eight villages covered in this survey are in the Irrigation Project it is unsafe to make assumptions regarding the tenure from facts stated regarding the farms.

Land holdings vary in size from an infinitesimal parcel of less than one dunum to a holding of 7,000 dunums. In the five villages a total of 482 separate parcels of land were reported (Table V). In many cases a single parcel is owned in common by a number of people who have an undivided share in that piece of land. This situation is usually due to inheritance. Common ownership by relatives results in reducing the actual size of holding that each particular household actually has at disposal for its livelihood. On the other hand, it results in a larger number of owners of land than the records show. The usual practice is to register the land in the name of the senior or major owner and then in for the other holders of undivided shares. In this study the information given was on the basis of the land registration records.

Although the total land area is owned by a large number of persons, the great majority of owners control a very small area of land, while a few individuals have considerable holdings. For the five villages, there are 482 landowners hold 45 percent of the lands. It is also important to note that very small holdings predominate; 360 or nearly 80 percent of the 482 owners hold 25 dunums or less (5 acres), and account for only 10 percent of the total area. Landownership information for villages is shown in Table VI.

The percentage of the total land area falling in each class interval has been computed for each village (Table VII). These data were computed by multiplying the mid-value of the class interval by the frequency to determine the area of land in each class. From this figure the percentage of the village land in each class interval was derived. In these five villages, Sabakiyah has the lowest concentration of holdings over 200 dunums, 19 percent, and Ein Hashiyah the highest with 65 percent of the land being held in one large parcel.

[illegible]

TABLE V

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
25 and [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible] and over	[illegible]	Actual land area used	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	(Weighted Average) [illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

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TABLE VI

Land Ownership Distribution

By Villages

(Five Kadaa Rural Improvement Project Villages)

Name of Shrine	25 Donums and Less	26-50 Donums	51-100 Donums	101-200 Donums	201-500 Donums	501-1000 Donums	1001 Donums and Over
	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
Qamoleah	309	6	2	0	2	2	0
Sidoudiyeh	25	14	9	0	1	0	0
Lasdjeh	10	5	7	2	2	0	0
Ein Hamiyeh	15	6	0	0	0	0	1*
Ashmeh	nr	—	—	5	5	0	2*
Total	360	43	18	7	10	2	3

(*) The holding is Love domain, largest in the near village.
(*) These two holdings include other domains.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

TABLE VII

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PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL LAND AREA OF EACH OF

FIVE PROJECT VILLAGES AS DIVIDED BY CLASS INTERVAL

(LEBANON RURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT)

Name of District	25 Dunums and Less	26-50 Dunums	51-100 Dunums	101-200 Dunums	201-500 Dunums	501-1000 Dunums	1001 Dunums and Over	Total
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Kartchoul	61	9	2	0	12	25	0	100
Sahmaliyah	17	28	36	0	19	0	0	100
Lassiya	7	10	29	16	38	0	0	100
Ein Nourieh	5	2	0	0	0	0	93	100
'Adliyeh	4	8	17	0	30	0	41	100
Weighted Total	19	6	11	4	13	5	42	100

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

Land Operation

Hasty conclusions should not be drawn from the tables on land ownership, or the fact that 471
three persons own 42 percent of the land area in the project villages and reside in the cities 427
of Beirut and Saida. A condemnation of the system as representative of the absentee-owner «Feudal Land» pattern would not be completely justified. Under the absentee-ownership system typical in the Middle East, the large landowner resides in the city or abroad and the land is rented on a share basis. The owner provides virtually no capital or supervision.

In order to render valid conclusions about the area under discussion it is essential that not only the ownership pattern but also the system of operation be examined. Although the three largest landowners, owning 11,300 dunums of land in the five project villages, reside in Beirut or Saida, they directly operate 82 percent of their lands or all but 2,000 dunums. It can be concluded that these examples are not actually cases of absenteeism. Many others of the large landowners who reside outside the villages are within an hour's drive from their lands and take a personal interest in them. Owners often directly operate a considerable portion of their holdings by employing labor from the nearby villages. Therefore their lands often are not let on a share-crop basis. The landlord invests his energy, capital, and managerial ability in the land, and the work of field laborers is closely supervised. In light of the meager credit facilities in Lebanon, the landowner serves 452
as a valuable source of investment capital.

From scattered interviews with peasants, it appears that they would consider 100 dunums of 471
dry land or 20 to 30 dunums of irrigated land as a suitable farm unit. This might be considered as the «family-sized farm». Unfortunately, it was found impractical to obtain data on the ownership and operation of dry and irrigated land separately. It is therefore difficult to generalize about the ability of the existing holdings to support their predominantly agricultural population. It is, however, possible to conclude that few people own or operate holdings sufficient to secure them livelihood. In Sarafand where 150 dunums are irrigated, 330 persons operate farms of less than 25 dunums (6 acres). This is predominantly an area of dry farming and farmers work for less land than is needed for actual subsistence. Completion of the Kasmie Irrigation project will materially increase the irrigated area in this library.

Form 4 — 1

434 It is evident that in all the villages the great majority of the breadwinners must depend on sources of income other than their own fields. Therefore, younger members of the family seek income outside of the village, while the farmer himself must work part-time for one of the larger landlords or the oil company, hold a government job, get money from abroad, or subsist on a very low level.

Physical Description of Project Villages

392 It is not possible to describe with statistical accuracy the «average village home» in the project 545 area. A very general description must suffice until more detailed information is available. Homes are usually one-story stone structures of one or two rooms. They do not have electricity or running water. Usually the animals are accommodated in a stable connected to the house, or in a room in the house itself.

364 The villagers do not seem to be concerned with keeping their surroundings sanitary. In none 541 of the villages is there any attempt to collect and properly dispose of garbage. The uniform practice 744 is to «throw it in the fields». There are few toilets. Stone walls and fields close to town serve to 515 remain commonly used for sewage disposal. To serve the 5,643 people in the project area there are 82 pit privies. There are no tubs or showers. Homes have no screens and flies are free to contaminate food and manipulators to torment and transmit disease.

515 Homes are nearly always neat and clean and the people attempt to clothe themselves decently 602 with well-furnished garments. Though extremely poor, the village family is very hospitable and 574 insists on sharing with a guest its meager supply of cigarettes or treasured coffee and sugar.

361 In the five project villages there are 1,100 buildings. This number includes 912 dwelling units, 34 business establishments, 143 separate barns and 11 public buildings. A detailed break-down of the types of buildings by village is shown in Table VIII. Included in the category of public buildings are seven mosques. Sarafand and En-Nabriyah have two mosques each, while in each

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

TABLE VIII

36

Number of Buildings

Summer, 1952

(Five Kaiser Rural Improvement Villages)

Name of Dei'ah	Type of Building				Total
	Dwelling	Bakery	Separate Barn	Public[1]	
Project Villages					
Sarafand	310	12	15	3	340
Sakaakiyah	198	10	75	3	286
Loubya	60	1	20	1	82
Ez-Nbariyah	92	3	8	2	105
'Adloun	252	8	25	2	287
Total	912	34	143	11	1100

(1) Public buildings include mosques, schools, and those used as government buildings.

361 [RS] Of the other three project village there is one mosque. There are no Christian churches here as this region is populated by Moslems of the Shee'ah sect. These are often referred to as Metwalis and and are followers of the descendants of Ali.

362 The 912 dwelling units in the five project villages house an average of 6.1. persons per unit. A positive building trend has taken place in the area during the past five years. For this period, only 'Adloun reported more buildings torn down or otherwise made uninhabitable than were constructed. In the other four villages the opposite trend was reported. No attempt was made to determine the types of units constructed and heavy reliance should not be placed on Table IX, «Construction Trend in Last Five Years», for the data in this table are subject to a high degree of error.

Business and Industry

444 265 In the project villages the business district generally is composed of a few small shops selling meat, grain, groceries, small items of hardware, and a limited amount of other items. In these five villages there is a total of thirty-four small shops. There are 17 general stores, 11 meat stores, 2 barber shops and 4 cafes. As the shopping centers of Beirut and Saida are easily accessible by low-cost bus transportation, general stores carry only those items in heavy demand. Several of the cafes service the main Beirut-Saida-Tyre road. Of all the businesses, only these cafes employ the services of personnel other than the proprietor. Only the village of Loubya lacks any form of business center.

It is interesting to note that in these small villages the meat shops often cooperate by assigning specific days of operation for each shopkeeper. On days allotted to one shopkeeper, the carcasses will hang from his hooks and nearby meat shops will be closed. All the stores are extremely small and require but a meager capital investment.

433 There are no power-operated factories in the project area and very few home industries or handicraft enterprises. Two hand-operated olive presses were reported at Sakaskiyah and one at Loubya. With no wood or mineral resources at hand and with no electrical power available, this total lack of village industrialization is not surprising.

9:Lebanon-G-5 (0952)0953 MEI Lebanon MEI

TABLE IX

Reported Construction Trend in Last Five Years (Five Kabbir Rural Improvement Project Villages)

362

Name of Dei'ah	Reported Number of Buildings Built	Reported Number of Torn Down	Increase - (plus) Decrease - (minus)
Sarafand	30	4	(plus) 26
Sekaikiyah	15	4	(plus) 11
Loubiya	10	6	(plus) 4
En-Nourriyah	8	5	(plus) 3
'Adloun	6	10	(minus) 4
Total	69	29	(plus) 40

226 Fishing is important as a means of livelihood only at Sarafand. The village proper lies a couple of miles inland but a suburb has grown along the coast where a fishing community exists. The industry, primitive and using only row boats, employs some 200 persons on a part or full-time basis. The gross take is estimated at LL. 90,000 ($22,000) annually. These fishermen often own small plots of farm land, which accounts for many of the 300 small farms reported for Sarafand.

382 464 The Trans-Arabian Pipe Line (Tapline) has its Mediterranean terminus at Saida which lies just north of the area under discussion. About 600 Lebanese workmen are employed by the company, some of them coming from the villages under study. No statistical data are available on this question but it does not appear that employment by Tapline affects the five villages to any great extent.

It is reported that some of the member companies of Tapline are planning to erect an oil refinery near their present operations. During construction employment opportunities for local unskilled labor will probably occur. When the plant is in operation, two or three hundred men will be required, hence continuing employment opportunities will be available. It may be that small industries will be established to use some of the products of the refinery. This would offer an opportunity for limited industrial development. Such diversification is very desirable for this otherwise agricultural community.

Domestic Water, Sanitation and Health

000 Technical details concerning pollution of wells, types of diseases prevalent in the project villages, and similar data will not be found in this report. This aspect of the problem falls within the jurisdiction of the specialized and highly trained public health technicians attached to the Technical Cooperation Service, Lebanon.

30 An ample and safe supply of drinking water is not available for any of the five villages included in the improvement project. En-Nauriyah depends upon a covered shallow well for its domestic water supply, the other villages have access to springs. In most cases these sources are adequate as to quantity except during the summer months. In all cases the purity is questionable. Village

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

water supplies are not only inadequate and unsafe, they are also unhandy. In all cases the source is outside of the dei'ah and may be a mile or more away. This necessitates a long walk on the part of the women who carry the water in jugs to their homes. 312

One of the major items included in plans for the improvement project is that of furnishing domestic water to the villages. A well has been drilled near Loubya by the Technical Cooperation Service and it is planned to pump from it to a reservoir to be built on a high point. From here a pipe line distribution system will furnish water to fountains in each village. 312 185

In each of the five project villages, the persons interviewed stated that the nearest doctor, nurse, or hospital is located in Saida. Only Loubya reported having no midwife. Sarafand reported two midwives while the other three villages each has one midwife living in the village. It is beyond the province of this report to report upon the qualifications or training of the local midwives. 743 259

Schools

The information on village schools in the project area was secured from the local teachers (Table X). All of the project villages have government-run elementary schools, with the exception of Loubya. Loubya has no schools while Sakaakiyah has a privately-run school as well as the government elementary school. While the school in Ez-Nearyah has two rooms, the remaining ones are simple, one-room affairs. None of the villages offers education beyond the elementary level. Such higher education, however, is available at Saida or Beirut. 872 346

The number of pupils in each school varies from 20 in the private school of Sakaakiyah to 100 in the 'Adloun government elementary school. This latter school is the only one reporting two teachers. The one classroom is usually small and the children sit, closely packed, at their desks. It is interesting to note the breakdown of the students according to sex. While 247 students attend the five schools, only thirteen of these are girls. The Shee'ah Moslems do not encourage their daughters to attend school. They feel that it is a hindrance to a happy marriage and often encourages disobedience to one's elders. [542]

TABLE X

Schools

(Data from local teachers)

Five Kabbir Rural Improvement Project Villages

Winter, 1952

Dai'ah	Sponsoring Agency	Kind E.H.S.	Number of Teachers	Annual Pay	Number of Rooms	Annual Rent	Pupils From Village Male	Pupils From Village Female	Pupils From Outside Village Male	Pupils From Outside Village Female	Total No. of Pupils
Sarahnd	Government	Elementary	1	1400	1	100	30	0	0	0	30
Sahnakiyah	Government	Elementary	1	1800	1	50	25	0	0	0	25
	Private	Elementary	1	350	1	60	20	0	0	0	20
Londiya	No School		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ez-Nimriyah	Government	Elementary	1	1700	2	110	35	3	4	0	42
'Adloun	Government	Elementary	2	1600 1700	1	250	100	10	0	0	110
Totals			6		6		230	13	4	0	247

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91 Lebanon G-5 (1952)(53) MEI Lebanon MEI

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891 The government furnishes a teacher for government-sponsored elementary schools. The village
658 in turn rents a school room and the rent is paid by small contributions from the students. The annual rent for one room varies from L.L. 50 to L.L. 250 per year.

915 Four of the government elementary teachers have completed their secondary education. In the fifth government elementary teacher posted this area was shown, it was not possible to determine his educational background. None whom were has been teaching for more than four years or less than two. The annual salaries other government furnished teachers varies from L.L. 1,400 to Sarafand to L.L. 1,800 in Sahmdoun. The only individual teaching without more than an elementary education was attached to th Sahmdoun private school and received a meager L.L. 300 per year (about $100 at the current rate of exchange).

Local Attitude toward the Technical Cooperation Sup

609 Impressions of confidence in the Technical Cooperation Service and Americans in general
185 were heard in all of the villages. The researchers and others who visited these villages during the course of the study were all cordially received and were given fine cooperation. The expressed desire of the people to work with the Technical Cooperation Service seems genuine.

The ordinary villager has no conception of just why the Americans want to build irrigation projects, furnish schools, dig wells, or provide clinic health services for him, but he is hopeful that they will do these things for him. They want all of this projected activity on a personal basis and will judge its results on the basis of the benefits that they personally gain from it.

Many villagers made a point of wanting to assist in relieve their suffering in all-important. They felt that studies such as this are pointless unless they are followed by worth-while acts. To a large extent they believe that only through some such agency as the Technical Cooperation Service can action be obtained and their status improved.

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[following p. 97(A)]

[Continuing p. 97 (B)]

[Following p. 49 (C)]

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[following p. 27(D)]

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Emigration, A Force of Social Change In An Arab Village

*By Afif I. Tannous**

ABSTRACT

Between 1700 and 1890, Bishmizzeen, on the northern slopes of Lebanon, developed into an independent village community, with a population of 1200. Thereafter, the available land could not support any further increase, and, despite a high rate of natural increase, the population remained stationary. Pressure was relieved through intensive emigration. Three other factors seem to have contributed to this emigration trend: (1) The advent into the locality of "cash" as a prestige bearing value. (2) The influence of the American Protestant Mission. (3) Escape from cultural control. Between 1885 and 1939, about 487 people emigrated to foreign countries (mostly North and South America) and 33 to other localities within the country. As a result of this intensive emigration trend the village cultural organization was severely shaken, as evidenced by the following observed facts: (1) Social control broke down. (2) New social institutions arose. (3) Cash became a supreme value. (4) The village woman attained economic independence. (5) The kinship status relationships were disrupted.

Entre 1700 y 1890, Bishmizzeen, en las colinas del norte de Lebanon, se desarrolló en un pueblo independiente, con una población de 1200. Desde entonces, la única tierra arable que había, no podía soportar mayores aumentos y a pesar de más que la norma de aumento natural la población permaneció estacionaria. Se minimó la presión por medio de una emigración intensa. Hay tres factores que parecen haber contribuído más o menos tendencia de emigración: (1) La llegada del dinero a la localidad como señal de prestigio. (2) La influencia de la misión protestante americana. (3) El escapamiento del control cultural. Entre 1885 y 1939, cerca de 487 personas se emigraron a países extranjeros (mayormente a las Américas) y 33 a otras localidades dentro del país. Como resultado de esta intensa tendencia a la emigración, la organización cultural del pueblo se dislocó seriamente, como lo prueban los siguientes hechos observados: (1) El control social se disolvió. (2) Nuevas instituciones sociales nacieron. (3) El dinero asumió un valor supremo. (4) Las mujeres del pueblo obtuvieron independencia económica. (5) Las relaciones del parentesco se alteraron.

p. 62 (1)

M.Tannous G,S-6 (no date) 1941
MEI Lebanon MEI

In the period between 1700 and 1720, the village community of Bishmizzen, North Lebanon, began its existence. Three family groups, belonging to different kinship groups, from various parts of the country, made the start. A church was built, and around it, as a physical and a societal center, the physical structure and social organization of the village developed. By 1750, three or four other family groups joined the vil-

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* University of Minnesota.

p 42 (B)

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lage. These with the other family groups multiplied in time into distinct kinship groups, similar in structure and behavior to those from which they originally came. By intermarriage, by living together in close physical proximity and by working together on the land, members of the various kinship groups developed a village community consciousness.

Between 1650 and 1890 the village achieved a harmonious, smoothly functioning form of social organization. Its local government was simple

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What adequate for its needs and problems. Relationship with the central government was remote and did not go much beyond the payment of taxes and tithes. Loyalty to the kinship group struck a harmonious balance with loyalty to the village community. The church was one and the same for all.[1] Its authority was recognized and respected. The priest was always a member of the community and was elected by the people. Economic life was a mixture of private ownership of land requiring individual effort on the one hand and co-operation in various agricultural activities on the other. Education was simple, adapted to the needs of the community, and the teacher was a farmer, a member of the group. It was a type of education that emanated from and catered to the needs of community life.

After 1850, new factors, which were to a large extent beyond the expectation and control of the people, began to operate within the community, leading to a marked disruption in its harmonious organization. The most important among these factors or forces were the Protestant missions of the U. S., the silk factory, the educational movement, emigration and the new political-national spirit of the Arab World. The present article will deal with one of these—the emigration movement.

Why Did They Emigrate?

Disturbance of the land-population balance: Since the village began its

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[1] The Greek Orthodox Church predominates in Bishmizzeen and the whole of the Lake district.

By existence, some two hundred and fifty years ago, the amount of its landed property has remained practically the same. In fact, there has been some decrease in the land area, due to the sale of some plots to outsiders. The early families, who established the village, got hold of the land and made use of it to the extent demanded by their needs. They were few in number and their needs were very simple.

Consequently, during the first one hundred and fifty years or so, the balance of the land-population relationship was weighted heavily on the land side—a much greater supply than there was demand. This gave the village people (consciously or unconsciously) a strong impetus to increase their numbers. At the same time, it was realized that one more child on the farm was a decided economic asset, and not a liability. The growing child cost less to be brought up than he or she could produce. No taxation, school fees, medical expenses, etc., to speak of, were involved. The people went on multiplying and increasing, and concomitantly, dividing and subdividing the land without being in the least concerned with the point to which the process was leading them.

The village population went on increasing, until about 1890. A balance was then struck—between the capacity of the village land and the number of people. The land could not support any more people, and there was a vague consciousness of a growing problem—what will the rising generation do? Meantime, the village

B:Tannous C,1-5 (no date) [illegible].
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soil began to show signs of depletion. It could no longer give the same produce as when it was virgin soil; and the old methods of agriculture were not capable of rehabilitating the soil to the desired extent. This further disturbed the land-population balance and made the problem seem more acute. Emigration seemed to be the only solution.

The following table (I) of births and deaths for a period of 40 years is a fair indication of the rate at

TABLE I. BIRTHS OF BOYS AND DEATHS OF THE VILLAGE OF BASKINTA, DISTRICT LEBANON, 1870-1909

Period	Births	Deaths	Excess of births over deaths
1870-1874	100	57	43
1875-1879	94	40	54
1880-1884	72	56	16
1885-1889	85	44	41
1890-1894	214	120	94
1895-1899	133	87	46
1900-1904	194	43	151
1905-1909	179	43	136
Total	971	490	481

which the village population was growing. The period covered is 1870-1909. The increase due to immigration may be neglected since only a few families came to settle in the village after 1870. It must be admitted that the writer cannot affirm the perfect accuracy of the table. It was calculated from the village church records and verified, as far as their memories permitted, by some of the village elders. The table shows a very high increase of births over deaths for that period—about 2.3 times.*

*This means an average natural increase of about 12 per 1000 population for the period 1870-1909. Compare this rate with the following rates (1909-12): Australia,

The writer believes that such a high rate of increase is a true representation of the situation. The facts that tend to support this belief are: the strong desire for children, the large number of children per family, and the healthy condition of the people. This was further verified by mapping the village structure over a period of years. Each map showed the number of households in the village for a particular period. Estimating an average of 6 persons per household (based upon census records for 1880-89 and upon family trees and records for

TABLE II. GROWTH OF POPULATION IN HARMONSBURG, NEARBY LEBANON, AND PERCENT OF INCREASE; 1750-1930

Year	Households	Population
1750	15	100
1800	30	210
1850	125	750
1870		1000
1880		1200
1900	234	1404
1930	205	1210

previous periods) the map may be condensed into the following table (II):

It will be observed that the village population has increased steadily and rapidly until the period 1880-1900, when the peak was reached—between 1,200 and 1,400 people. For the past fifty years, the population has remained stagnant or has shown a slight decrease. The village resources could support that number and no more. The surplus was taken care of by emigration.

P.64 (B)

U.S.; Belgium, 1.8; France, 0.8; Ireland, 0.8; Russia, 10.7; England, 11.2; See Thompson, Warren S., Population Problems, McGraw-Hill Book Company, N. Y., 1935, pp. 313-317.

The lure of cash: At the beginning of this period under consideration (1890-1939) cash was becoming more and more significant in value—as a new form of prestige and as a means for the satisfaction of newly arising needs. People became conscious of it and began to search for ways of getting hold of it. America supplied the best answer for the new quest. Stories about that wonderful new country, where gold could be had for the asking, reached the village and stirred the imagination of a few adventurous souls. They sailed away, they sent gold back and then returned home with more gold. The ball started rolling, gathering size and momentum during the past fifty years.

Influence of the American Mission: When the missionaries began their activities in Bishmizzeen and other villages, they had no idea that, in the course of time, their message was going to enhance the emigration movement of the area. They taught the people English, thus making it easier for them to enter the U. S. A. and get hold of its coveted gold. Through the school curriculum and their religious message, they offered the people the elements of a new culture and led them to identify themselves with it. That identification gave additional impetus to the emigration movement. The following extracts from the early mission reports will serve to throw further light upon the emigration movement.

"In the centennial year of 1892 Syria discovered America. Since that

eral gullibility of the American people have been spread through the Maronite region of the Lebanon. In some districts, the excitement may be compared to the gold rush fever period of California and Australia. . . ."

"The American fever has touched us at a few points. In the spring, our teachers at Anfeh and Batroun resigned. After some delay, one of them went to America. The other wished to go, but discovered he could not do so. The leading member of the church . . . also went to America, having shared his cash possessions of 70 "Liras" (gold pound) with his wife, leaving her 3 and taking the rest with him. . . ."[9]

Escape from cultural control: It is obvious that every culture, in order to maintain its specific organization, has to establish and exercise a certain degree of social control over the behavior of the group members. It seems that, no matter how harmoniously integrated that organization may be, as long as social control exists, some of the individuals concerned have to suffer from a certain degree of frustration. This seems to be the inevitable price any cultural group has to pay for the attainment of group solidarity and continuity.

In the case of Blahnimmen, social control has never assumed an extreme character, and individual frustration has never been an acute problem. Before the American World (the world of free individualism) was discovered by Blahnimmen, those fru-

[9] Reports of the American Presbyterian Mission, Beirut, Lebanon, 1860 and 1865.

126 (167) ated individuals had to face the issue and put up with the stringent situation, in accordance with the dictates of the village culture. When America was "discovered," an outlet, an escape was provided, and many a frustrated individual took up the newly offered chance.

Extent of Emigration

167 *Emigration to foreign countries:* Prior to 1880, not a single individual had ever emigrated from the village to the outside, either within the country or to a foreign country. Bishmizeen constituted the world of the village group. Even mobility was highly restricted. Visits to neighboring villages were very infrequent. A few used to take occasional trips to the town of Tripoli, and still a fewer number had been to Beirut. Occasionally some adventurous souls would take a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or a cattle trading trip to Egypt. One of the old village songs, aiming at the praise of a husband's valor, begins with the following line: "Your husband, oh beautiful one, has gone to Damascus and come back, alone." Damascus is about 100 miles from Bishmizeen.

167 In 1884 the first young man from Bishmizeen emigrated to a foreign country. Others followed, and the number increased, year after year, first to the U. S. A., then to the four corners of the world. The following table (III) shows the geographical distribution of the Bishmizeen emigrants.

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167 TABLE III. NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS FROM THE VILLAGE OF BISHMIZZEEN, NORTH LEBANON, TO VARIOUS COUNTRIES, 1880-1939

Country	Number of emigrants
U. S. A.	196
Argentina	125
Australia	84
Brazil	43
Mexico	13
Jamaica	10
Egypt	7
West Africa	7
Paraguay	6
Dominicana	6
Java	5
Canada	5
Panama	5
Other	9
Total	497

The following table (IV) shows the trend of emigration from Bishmizzeen to various foreign countries by periods of five years each.

TABLE IV. THE TREND OF EMIGRATION FROM THE VILLAGE OF BISHMIZZEEN, NORTH LEBANON, TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES, BETWEEN 1880 AND 1939 (AVERAGE TOTAL VILLAGE POPULATION FOR THIS PERIOD, ABOUT 1,000)

Period	EMIGRANTS		
	Male	Female	Total
1880-1884			
1885-1889	6		6
1890-1894	6		6
1895-1899	15	6	21
1900-1904	15	6	21
1905-1909	15	6	21
1910-1914	15	6	21
1915-1919	6		6
1920-1924	15	6	21
1925-1929	15	6	21
1930-1934	6		6
1935-1939	6		6
Total	126	36	162

It will be observed that for the first ten or fifteen years, emigration moved slowly. The people were not yet sure of the fruits of emigration. After that initial period of hesitation, a rapid increase in the number of emi-

p44 (2)

grants began to take place. During/67
the period 1915-1919, a sharp drop occurred, due to the restrictions of the first World War. A similar drop occurred again during the period 1930-1934, and continued through the last period 1935-1939. The two causes responsible for this last drop were the world depression of 1929 (which led foreign countries to restrict immigration) and the appearance of a new trend of emigration—from the village to other parts of the country—as will be discussed below.

Emigration to other parts of the/66
country: Emigration within the country may be divided into two distinct types—permanent and temporary. The former covers those cases when the emigrants made their permanent residence in other parts of the country. The following table (V) indicates

TABLE V. EMIGRATION FROM THE VILLAGE OF BASKINTA, NORTH LEBANON TO OTHER PLACES WITHIN THE COUNTRY, 1890-1939 (ACCORDING TO THE VILLAGE POPULATION AS THEY FIRST ARRIVED THERE)

Year	Emigrants		
	Male	Female	Total
1890	1	1	2
1895	1	1	2
1900	1	1	2
1905	0	0	0
1910	0	0	0
Total	10	12	22

to what extent this type of emigration took place. (It must be pointed out that the figures of this and the previous table include only those emigrants who were born or established in the village and who migrated from it. The figures do not include those who were born and grew up in the adopted countries.)

p67(A)

The second type, or temporary emigration, refers to a unique phenomenon which has recently occurred in the village. With the development of modern means of communication, a relatively large number of people (89 men and 72 women, or about 12.5 per cent of the total population) now migrate to other parts of the country (chiefly Tripoli and Beirut) where they engage in business, hold jobs or go to schools for nine months of the year, and come back to live in Highminaren during the summer.

Illustrative Extracts from Personal Letters

In the course of his study in the village, the writer was fortunate in being able to examine about 100 letters written by emigrants to their people back home. Usually, the village people destroy such letters, and the writer had not expected to find any left in the village. The letters studied cover almost the whole of the emigration period, 1890-1910. The items they contain give first hand information of what was happening to the emigrants and to the village organization under the influence of emigration. The following are illustrative extracts from these letters:

1. From M. E. Daub to a distant relative, M. Y. Elias; on the way to Argentina, dated June 7th, 1895.

"... When we reached Kafarhata (village on way to Beirut) we stopped at the spring. There we met K. Milky, ... a sons and M. Habib, who were leaving for America too. ... At Beirut, we were betrayed by those

p67(2)

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6.21/186 friends. . . . We were made to pay seven gold pounds and a half for the ticket, while they paid five or six each. Never mind! Providence will reward them with what they deserve. . . . Please let us know about the health of your children and their mother, and about our son Deeb and his mother. Also, let us know how was the olive crop and how was the [571] wall case settled. . . ." (Stone walls are used as fences between pieces of land property, and have often been the cause of minor disputes in the village).

2. Same as above; dated March 14th, 1899.

". . . As regards L. Milky, he has sent me two letters so far, asking for the amount I owe him. I wonder what has happened to the man! Is he in such a great need, or is he afraid that I shall not pay him back the amount? Please do your best to settle the affair, and I shall send you the money soon. . . . Business is bad in this country at present, and I have opened a new store which needs all of my cash money. . . . Dear brother, please tell me about the house and our land property, also let me know what happened to the fig tree which I planted near the fence wall. . . ."

3. From M. Sarkis to his mother. Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 29th, 1906.

". . . Tell me how much it has cost you to plant the new orchard, and I shall send you the amount. . . . Is it true that my brother wants to sell his share of the land? If so, let me know how much is the amount, and I shall send it to you; then you will

P65(4)

transfer his share to my name. . . .
Tell me the truth about the whole situation and stop writing each time differently. . . ."

4. From above mother to her son; Dated Dec. 1st, 1902.

" . . . May God grant you health and happiness, with your two sisters, of whom I think day and night. So far I have received from you 16 pounds, then 14 pounds and lately 6 pounds. . . . Tell your sister Deeheb that her children are doing very well. I have sent her a small bunch of the hair of each child. My only request from you, my son, is to take care of your two sisters and be generous in sending us enough money; May God bless you. We have bought for you the olive orchard. If you have an extra amount now, send it, and we shall buy more land for you. . . ."

5. From M. E. Deeb to M. Y. Elias, Santiago, Argentina; dated July 25th, 1903.

" . . . . The anxiety you express about your son Selim has disturbed me a great deal. . . . Please be sure that he is working with me in the store as a son and not as a servant, as you say you were told by some of our people. Those are people of gossip and jealousy, who want to sow the seeds of dispute between us. . . . In the name of the love and friendship between us, I assure you that I love your son Selim more, than my own children. . . . The coming long years will prove this to you, and God will reveal the truth. . . ."

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6. From Y. M. Elias to his father

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Santiago, Argentina; dated Oct. 22nd, 1904.

" . . . I have previously written you that my aunt wants me to marry her daughter, Miriana. I see that this is a good match. She is nice and well educated, and I don't believe there is any better girl back in our village. But your consent is my primary concern, and I beg of you not to deny me this request, for Miriana is a gem . . ."

7. From three sons to their father, N. S. Nejjar, back home; Barrage, Australia, dated Dec. 22nd, 1908.

" . . . Two weeks ago, we sent you a check for 50 pounds. . . . Our dear father, we have to remark about the way you write to us, and that it should not be so. Your letters contain many statements in which you address us and praise us in such a way, as if we were the masters and you the follower. There is no need for this at all, and our financial success should not change the relationship between us. We are your sons and shall always be obedient to you and do all we can to serve you. . . . Write to us as father and master, who orders his servants to do their duty towards him. . . ."

8. From M. Saqkis to his relative I. T. Elias; Cleveland, Ohio; dated March 20th, 1911.

" . . . Please forgive the manner in which I wrote you last, doubting your honesty in handling money I sent you for my mother and the family. It was all the fault of my sister who sent me false news and made me write to you as I did. I know now that she was after her selfish

...mie. May God never bless such a ...sister. . . ."

9. From H. to his relative, I. T. Elias; Penna., August 6th, 1914.

". . . I have sent you a telegram to foreclose the land property of N. (a fellow emigrant). He has refused to pay me what he owes me or to give me a mortgage on his land in the village. Then he resorted to a mean and immoral trick. He instigated his wife to bring a case against me in the courts, accusing me of assulting her. He did that with the hope of getting much money out of me. . . . Don't pay much attention to the newspapers cuttings (referring to the case) that I understand some of our jealous and mean people here have sent to the village. In this country, all things, little and big, are written up in papers, and nobody pays much attention to them. . . . Later, N. discontinued the prosecution of the case and came over with some of my friends and begged my pardon. . . ."

10. From S. M. Habibi (middle aged woman) to her relative, I. T. Elias, U. S. A., April 3rd, 1919.

". . . The news of my son's death has broken my heart and my life. I don't know what to think or say. He was my only child. I brought him up until he was married, and then prevented him from sailing to America, as I did not want to expose him to any danger. I sailed away in his place, and have been laboring for years to gather some money, on which his children could grow up comfortably. . . . He is gone now, and his child is the only one left for me. Please pay

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affection to the child and his mother; give them all they need, until I come back. . . ."

11. From M. T. Elias to his wife; Argentina, Feb. 2nd, 1930.

" . . . Within two months, our son Selim will leave for home, so as to get married in the village and bring back all of you with him. Come with him to this country which is our new home and which gives us honey and milk. . . . Bring with you the following: (1) three fig seedlings (2) two grapevine seedlings 3) one red and one white hawthorne seedling (4) hindbane seeds (5) some "Arak" (local drink) (6) some olive oil. . . . Forget all about our property in the village. Let our relatives take care of it. Upon your arrival here, you will see that we own as much land as the whole village of Bishmizzeen. . . ." (Subsequently, the whole family left, father, mother, three sons and three daughters.)

12. From S. Najjar to her relative; Iowa, Argentina, March 7th, 1928.

" . . . I shall send you enough money to buy back all the pieces of land that used to belong to my late husband. You know I am not making of this a business affair for profit. I am doing this only because I want to keep alive the memory of my husband and ancestors who used to own that land. I want our son to inherit the land. . . ."

(A) The Village Organization in Shaken And New Adjustments Are Attempted

Analysis of the above mentioned tables, cases and letter extracts seem

to lead to the following general conclusions concerning the influence of emigration upon the social organization of the village:

1. *Social control breaks down.* The influence of emigration, as a convenient escape from social control, has been discussed above. It is mentioned again, with a view to emphasizing its significance. At first, social control with its inevitable individual frustrations—was a factor in the enhancement of the emigration movement. However, once that step was taken, emigration began to react upon the social organization of the village and became a strong factor in the breakdown of its social control. The church and the kinship patterns of behavior were no longer adequate for the control of the elements in the new situation. A state of disorganization was the result.

2. *Rise of the village post office as an institution.* Prior to the emigration movement, no regular post office existed in the village, and the people were not conscious of that institution in any significant manner. There was no need for it, as very few letters were received every month or so. With the advent of emigration, the situation was completely changed. Letters exchanged between the village and abroad became very frequent and highly significant. Through these letters, the ties between the emigrants and the folks at home were preserved and the flow of cash money into the village took place. Two concepts became highly significant in the people's vocabulary, as a result of

P. 74(B)

that flow of correspondence, "Mak-
tsab" (letter) and "Miktoob Mo-
sewker" (registered letter). A check
was always contained in the regis-
tered letter, and it became the symbol
of joy and festivities for the family
group.

Once or twice a week, the mail
came to the village. Many hours be-
fore the arrival of the mail, people
would assemble in the barber shop
of Uncle Dosh (for he became the
uncle of everybody) who was respon-
sible for the distribution of the mail.
For hours, before and after mail dis-
tribution, people would loiter there,
exchanging the news of their emi-
grants and having a social time.
Usually, Uncle Dosh preferred to put
the registered letters aside and then
give them in person to the families
concerned. That was his reward—to
be a messenger of joy to the people.
As he went around, he spread the
news of the registered letters far and
wide, until everybody began to talk
about them.

3. *Cash money becomes a supreme
value in village life.* Through the silk
industry, foreign missions and con-
tact with the city, cash money, as a
highly desirable article of value, was
introduced into the village organiza-
tion. In order to obtain more of this
new value, emigrants were lured
abroad. Through hard or easy work,
straight or crooked means, they got
hold of the precious cash and sent it
back to their people. Without any ex-
ception, every single one of those let-
ters mentioned above, referred to
cash money that had been sent, was

167 sent or would be sent to the folks at
336 home. Sending the money home had
359 a double significance to the emigrants.
178 It gave them the satisfaction of living up to the obligation to the kinship group and it built for them prestige in the home village. At the same time, prestige and the satisfaction of luxurious needs were the reward of those who received the checks. They could buy new things with the money, lend it for interest or acquire more land with it.

In a word, emigration was the last step with which the village plunged into the Western economic system and became highly "money conscious." Some fifteen years ago, one of the upstart leaders in Bishmizzeen was reminded of the fact that the business he was conducting in Tripoli and Beirut was not considered as honest by the village folks. His answer was "Once I have a substantial amount of cash in my pocket, the people will forget all about the means by which I got the cash."

167 4. *Emigrants fail to return to the*
634 *village:* At first, emigrants left the village, with a view to earning a certain amount of cash within a few years, and then returning to live in the village. The kinship and the communities ties were still strong, and the early emigrants considered the village as their true home. Some of those early emigrants, about 21, succeeded in carrying through the original intention—they came back and settled down permanently. The majority of those who returned, about 93, could not stay in the village more

P91 (B)

167 621 than a few months, a year or a few years, before emigrating again. Their business ties and the new ways of living they had adopted forced them to emigrate again. They began to realise that they had become partly strangers to their original culture.

The great majority of the emigrants, 373, never came back. These may be divided roughly into two classes—those who failed to come back because of their financial failure abroad, and those who emigrated fairly recently after the community ties began to break down. The latter did not feel especially attracted toward the village.

[581] Of those who came back to visit, a great many of them did so with a view to getting married to village girls, before settling permanently abroad.

5. *The village woman attains economic independence:* Cases 10 and 12 of the above quoted letter extracts are clear illustrations of the new tendency. Among the 193 women, who have emigrated, about one-half took that step independently. Some of them were single, some were widows and some left their husbands and children at home. Prior to emigration, 167 621 662 village culture assigned to woman a status subordinate to that of man. It seems that farm economy demanded that type of subordination. Emigration by women severely tested that established pattern of behavior. Through emigration, the village woman was suddenly thrown on her own resources. She moved from a status of subordination to one of dominance. She became the economic

P 72 (A)

head of the family, and her cash gave her prestige.

In this respect, the silk industry, the education movement, and emigration were equally influential. They brought about what may be called the "emancipation" of woman. However, it must be clearly stated that that emancipation brought in its wake a great deal of cultural conflict and social disorganization. Until now, people in the village are still confused about how to define a situation in which a woman is involved. Should they define it in terms of the old pattern of behavior, or in terms of the new economic prestige attained by woman? Can S. M. Joha ask his wife (who earned the money in America and who holds the property in her name) to do something for him, or must he obey her orders? Should the children of C. W. Deak look up to their father as the head of the family, or to their mother who sends them the cash from abroad?

6. *The parent-child status relationship is broken down:* Not only did the man-woman status relationship undergo a change but also that of the parent and child. Most of those who emigrated were young men, who had always played the role of dependents, subject to the authority of the parent or grandparent. Emigration put these young people on their own, when they had to face new situations as independent individuals. At the same time, they earned that coveted cash and sent it home. The symbol of economic prestige began to shift from the land to cash. With that, a corres-

p.72(6)

[illegible] shift in the parent-child status relationship took place. Again, confusion in behavior was the inevitable result.

In case 3 above, the young emigrant sends his mother much money; but at the same time he scolds her and orders her to tell him the truth about her financial situation.

In case 6, we see the young man still living up to the old standards by consulting his father about the girl he intends to marry. However, some twenty years later, that same young man deserted and completely neglected his parents and kinship group.

Case 7 is another illuminating illustration. The three young men are bewildered by the new status assumed by their father! They urge him to continue playing the role of the family head and master, while he insists on giving that to them, because of their financial prestige!

7. *Other indications of disorganization:* Case 1 shows how the cooperative background of the five or six emigrants was shattered by the elements of the new situation. Some of them were able to get tickets at the rate of five pounds a ticket, while the others had to pay seven and a half for a ticket. The latter felt betrayed by and estranged from their companions.

Case 2 shows how the emigrant became indignant over the fact that a friend at home wrote the emigrant insisting that he should pay back his debt. The emigrant cannot reconcile this attitude with his conception of village friendship.

p. 73(4)

Case 5 clearly shows the conflict between the role of a village friend or a kinship member and that of a profit-seeking man. The older emigrant is torn between the two roles. Should he share his business with the son of his friend and relative as they used to share back home, or should he keep the key in the store as a simple worker? At home, the son's father is bewildered, and his faith in people and life is shaken.

Case 8 shows the confusion and conflict in the behavior of the emigrant. His sister had instigated him against their relative, accusing him of mishandling the money that had been sent by the brother. The emigrant writes a scolding letter to the relative, then sends an apology, turning his wrath against his sister.

Case 9 shows the conflict between two cultures, the culture of the new country and the one imported by the emigrants. N. borrows money from H. and fails to pay it back. H. strikes back according to the pattern of the new culture—debts must be paid. He sends a telegram to a relative of both urging foreclosure of N's land. (The reader may imagine the influence of such a telegram descending upon the little quiet village of Bishmizzeen.) N. strikes back by accusing H. of assaulting his (N's) wife and taking the case to the court, demanding financial indemnity. That was the most extreme departure from the village mores. It meant that N. was selling his wife's honor for money.

P 73 (2)

[illegible]

[illegible] This and several similar scandals engaged the attention and gossip of the village for years. They went far to shatter the feudal awe of the village tyrants of Letchlade.

P.74 (A)

[redacted]

[redacted] in shaking the foundations of the vi[illegible] logo patterns of behavior.

P.74 (B)

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PREFACE

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The City Of

BEIRUT

A SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY

BY

CHARLES W. CHURCHILL

ASSOCIATE PROFESSOR OF STATISTICS AND SOCIOLOGY

AND

THE STAFF OF THE ECONOMIC RESEARCH INSTITUTE

OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY OF BEIRUT, LEBANON

1954

INTRODUCTION

This study of the city of Beirut by the Economic Research Institute of the American University of Beirut is intended primarily as a means of collecting some basic socio-economic information, and for training students and government employees in survey methods. It is the first in a series of similar studies of Arab cities which the Institute hopes to undertake. The Institute believes that by investigating Arab cities and providing useful socio-economic data in this field it is fulfilling a badly needed function. Previous studies of Arab communities have been largely anthropological and non-quantitative. Moreover, there is a tradition in international agencies as well as research foundations that the peasant should be the focus of attention of socio-economic studies. This attitude is an unbalanced one. In many Middle Eastern countries the urban population is very substantial. In Lebanon it is larger than the rural. Moreover, urban populations wield an influence far out of proportion to their numbers. Two important sections of Arab populations deserve a great deal more study. One is the urban working classes which are a very important source of social dynamics. These classes are typically underprivileged and must be reckoned with in the future development of Arab countries. A second urban group is the growing middle class which is gradually moving into a position of power. At any rate, political and economic change now finds its focus in Arab cities and, most likely, will continue to do so, at least for some time.

It was initially believed that funds existed for a sample of 4,000, and this figure was set as the initial target. It was expected, however, that the figure might be cut to a lower number if it was found that a smaller sample would be sufficient. This was realized inadvertently when costs were found to be much higher than expected; only 2,300 contacts were then made, of which 1,902 were residential and thus includable.

[illegible] operation of the Government Department was asked to suggest questions of interest to his own field, or general questions of interest to economists.* The study was therefore eclectic and multi-purposeful. Members of the Department were aware that no accurate, up-to-date, quantified information existed on the city of Beirut. "Expert" opinion for example, estimated the population of Beirut to be anywhere between [illegible] and 600,000 people.

During the course of the survey it became increasingly apparent that the material was definitely needed by all agencies interested in socio-economic planning. Information has been requested from as diverse agencies as the United Nations, the International Labor Office, the I.B.R.D. Litani project, research fellows from various foundations, private western businessmen interested in investing in Lebanon, etc.

A special word should be said about [illegible] people interviewed. They responded far better than had [illegible] hoped. Their patience and hospitality were seemingly inexhaustible, particularly since personal interviews were, in most, a new and strange experience.

In addition to those already mentioned, thanks are due for their unfailing cooperation to Abdul-Ghani Ayoub, present Director of the Central Office of Statistics of the Ministry of National Economy, Hakem Hamzeddine, head of the section for data collection, and Joseph Ghali, statistician of the Office. Adnan Fachri of the Ministry of Social Affairs was helpful in translation problems with the Ministry. Phoenix Ghazzoussian of the University willingly gave her time for translation problems with the Armenian press. Fuad Sarrouf, Vice President of the University, was of inestimable help in guiding public relations. The newspapers *Le Jour*, *Al-Jaridah*, *L'Orient* and *The Daily Star* helped greatly in publicizing the aims of the study to the public, as did the Lebanese Broadcasting Station.

* Copy of the schedule and instructions to interviewers are found in Appendix.

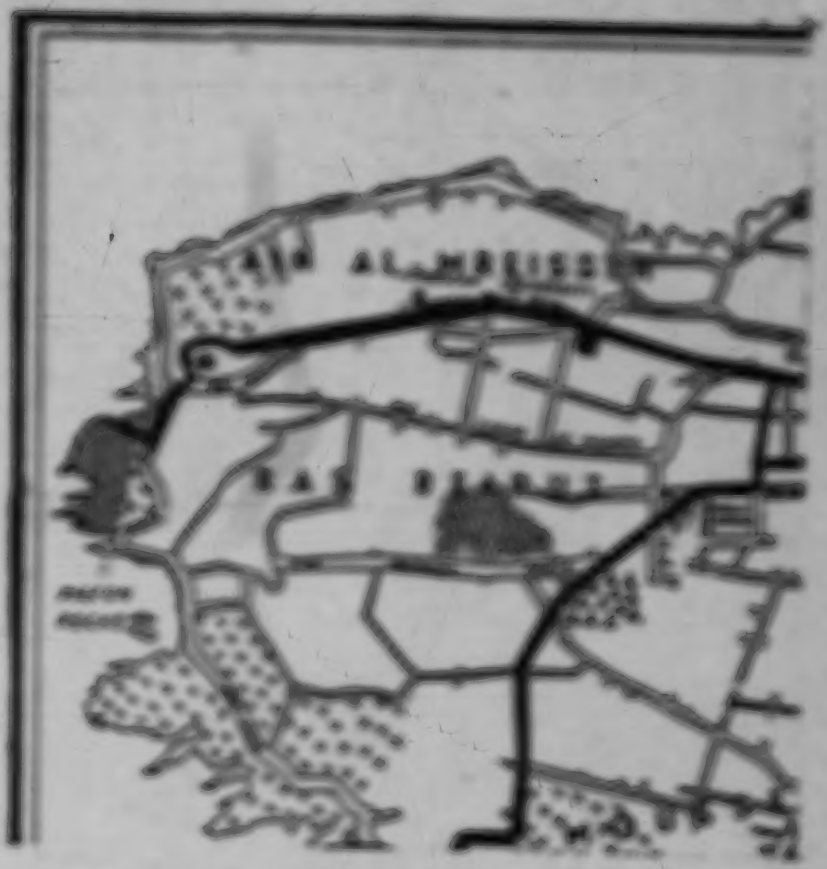
-(A)

/79 The staff of enumerators was drawn from several sections. As with every study of this nature, they were the indispensable workers. The Ministry of Social Affairs sent fourteen male and nine females. From the Ministry of National Economy there were Nazik Hajj-Ali, Mohsen and Farhat, Nicolas Jabbi, Talib Rabbi, Khalid Ghoniemi, Georges Ignatius, Wadie-el-din Tal and Antranik Tagherian. Beirut College for Women contributed Wadad Fakhreddine, Wadad Sami, Grace Sayegh and Salwa Talhuk. Private school teachers were Wadad Akhoud, Antoinette Bahgoun, Evelyn Jamale, Lydia Sheikhal, Samia Rahbi, Lily Khoury, Mary Nasr and Amale Omar. Finally from the American University student body were the following: Bahe' Abu Lahan, Mona Sabra, Munir Atallah, Leila Faris, Samir Sheikhal, Samir Haj, George Khalaouli, Diana Daris, Raymond Khalil, Grace Saad, Margaret Yakoubs and Ghazi Yakoubs. The office staff included Norma Abu Nasser, Jeanette Aouj, Salwa Badawy, Kamal Hamadi, Fouad Khalidah, Saad Khairat, Nada Sahlia, Nawaa Sahlia, Najwa Shaheen, Samir Shaheeb and Katherine Joseph. Supervising the field and office staff were Nathan Brownsides, Ellen Frank, and Doreen Jennifer. Above all others, the success of the survey was due to Ishayd Abu-Jaoudeh who has worked long and faithfully as head supervisor.

Mr. Stephen Bossert of the United Nations Technical Assistance Program was most helpful with his wide knowledge of housing in Beirut.

The above listed people represent a body of trained research workers on different levels who can be relied upon in future studies. Thus the primary purpose of the study has been fulfilled.

/81 The survey is deliberately limited in the matter of interpretation. The function of this particular volume is to present objective data for the use of all agencies concerned. Deductions and interpretations are left to those who read it.



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PORT
ACCRA

Fig ix (c)

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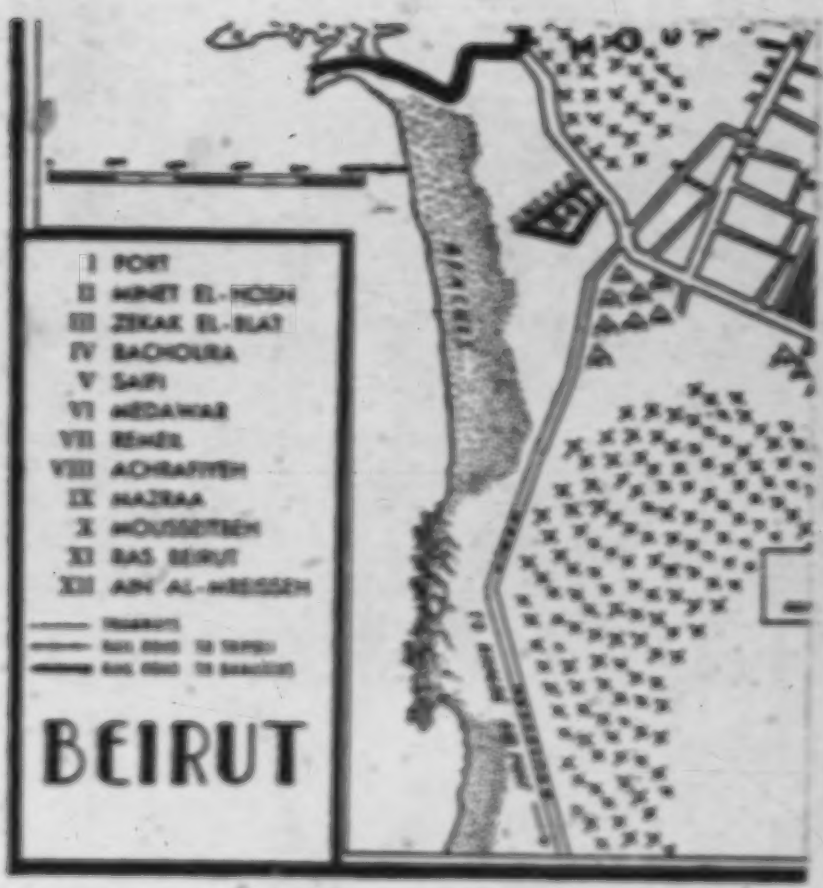
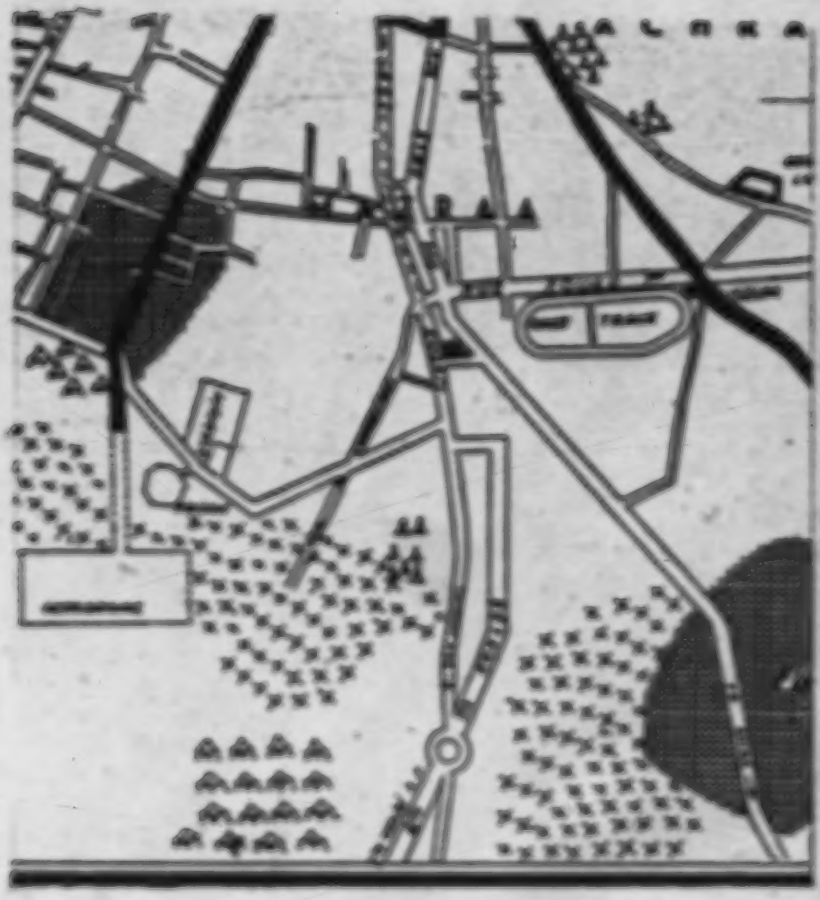

I PORT
II MINET EL-HOSN
III ZEKAK EL-BLAT
IV BACHOURA
V SAIFI
VI MEDAWAR
VII REMEL
VIII ACHRAFIYEH
IX MAZRAA
X MOUSSEITBEH
XI RAS BEIRUT
XII AIN AL-MREISSEH
BEIRUT

p. 12 (D)



p. ix (e)

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Warehouses
Wholesale
Business
Hotels, Cafés & Night Clubs
Residential
Slums
Factories
Construction
Beaches
Empty Land
Refugees
Cemeteries
BEIRUT
AIN EL CHERAK

p. ix (F)

12: Churchill 5-6 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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CHAPTER I

METHODOLOGY

p.2

1.1 In setting up a sampling study, the selection of the frame is of prime importance. Since the Service de Statistique Générale of the Ministry of National Economy wanted an up-to-date map of Beirut it was decided to use workers from the Service to revise the 1942 French map of Beirut. In the morning these workers worked their regular government hours and in the afternoons were paid by the survey. This phase of the work was under the direction of Mr. Assad Nasr, statistical expert attached to the Service at that time (1951). The old map was divided into sixty-eight pieces and workers made corrections as to streets, building placement and height of buildings. When finished, the pieces were reassembled. It was decided not to include suburban Beirut because of the cost. This decision was made with regret because the sociological organization of the metropolis is not confined to arbitrary political units. The non-coverage of Bourj Hammoud and Furn-el-Chebbak was particularly distressing as they constitute sociologically large sections of Beirut, although politically outside the city limits.

1.2 There were two stages in the sample design. A sample of floors was drawn in the first stage from which a sample of families was selected at the second stage. Stratification in the first step was achieved as follows.

The city had been divided by the French into twelve districts. The project further subdivided the districts into blocks which contained no more than 100 buildings and no less than fifty. Each of the buildings was then numbered by district, block and building in the block. All of the buildings were then listed by height with-

p. 1 (B)

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in their respective blocks. As it was believed that the height of building was some indication of economic stratification, buildings were accordingly grouped into one storey, two and three storey, four and five storey and above five storey.

A strictly proportional sample was then drawn by the use of random numbers. That is, in one storey buildings there was only one possible floor in the frame, but in two storey buildings there were, of course, two and so on. The sample was drawn proportionate to the number of floors in each height group. In the same way the number of floors in each block drawn in the sample was proportionate to the total number of floors in the district and the same for the number in the district to the number in the city.

1.2 The second stage was to have the enumerators interview the family on the right as they entered the building selected and the family on the left the next time they interviewed on a floor of the same height. From then on, they were to alternate. If there was only one family on a floor there was no problem.

1.4 A sample of one thousand floors was drawn originally. Since the project had no way of knowing whether a building floor was residential or not, it was decided to select our second thousand so that the proportions of interviews in each block were modified by the field experience on the first thousand. Thus the sample which was to have been obtained in the Port Area was cut drastically as a result of finding in the first thousand interviews that there were practically no residential floors in the area. Then other more heavily residential areas were increased.

p. 1(c)

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In other words, the first 1000 sample was not modified by the percentage which was residential since those percentages were not available. But after the first 1000 had been interviewed, it was possible to estimate the percentage residential in each district. Accordingly, the percentage of the total interviews for each district was modified to accord with the percentage which was residential in each district.

1.5 The elementary units were husband and wife and children, constituting the natural family as the sampling unit. Complete data were obtained only for husband and wife in order to keep the schedule from becoming too long. The size of the sample was determined by the amount of funds available. The adequacy of the sample, therefore, differed depending upon the questions asked. Sampling errors are shown on each individual table where measurable. Enumerators were hired from the Ministry of National Economy, the Ministry of Social Affairs and the Ministry of Education as well as from the American University, the Beirut College for Women and private-school teachers. All enumerators were required to attend meetings in which the original and successive schedules were analyzed, and interviewing training was given in English and Arabic. Interviewers were sent to the field with one of the sixty-eight sectional maps of Beirut on which were marked the floors in which families were to be interviewed. Instructions for interviewing on each question were printed in English and Arabic. From time to time supplemental instructions were given as the field situation demanded.*

1.6 It should be stated immediately that the project finished with only one breath of suspicion about an enumerator. He was promptly dismissed. A number were tried and found to be inefficient and were reluctantly released and replaced. All in all, the project director was greatly pleased with the entire staff. It is believed that morale was high and a competent group was formed. When morale sagged, the supervisor held parties to release the tensions.

p. 2 (A)

* See Appendix.

Starting with a group of eight, the enumeration staff was increased to twenty-eight, or fourteen teams of two each. Each team was composed of one male and one female and the pairs were changed weekly or biweekly. Using two enumerators for each interview was expensive but realistic. It was necessary to provide a solution for the problem of interviewing Muslim women who could not be interviewed by males. As many of the interviewers were unknown to the project supervisor at the beginning, it was felt necessary to use two at a time in order that they might check each other's accuracy, interpretation of the instructions and honesty. Necessary replacements from time to time made the total number used about fifty.

A weekly meeting was held of all enumerators in which their problems were discussed and policy decisions were made. Fundamental, it is believed, was the weekly analysis of what was being done and the reason for the methodology of sampling. Each enumerator, therefore, not only knew what to do, but also why it was being done in that way.

1.7 Promotions were made from within the ranks exclusively. Supervisors were selected on the basis of performance and background suitability for their positions. Two of the best enumerators were selected as checkers and were dispatched whenever there was a suspicion of irregularity. Without exception these irregularities were found to be technical, not venal.

1.8 The office supervisors received interviews daily and checked them for accuracy, completeness, and internal consistency. Interviewers were instructed to interview only in the late afternoon and early evening, when the family was expected to be home, and before bedtime. Only one interview per day was allowed except in unusual circumstances which the enumerators had to justify. Although it was expensive, it relieved the enumerators from feeling the pressure of producing quantities of schedules which would therefore suffer in quality. Enumerators were also rotated in districts in order to give each a

p. 2(B)

chance at the easy nearby assignments and the more difficult ones on the outskirts of the city.

The interviewers were sent to the field with the revised schedule after the original had been subjected to criticism. About sixty interviews were conducted as a pretest and the schedule revised and corrected in terms of field experience. In all there were four revisions of the first schedule for substance and one for the

order of the questions. The final revision was, therefore, numbered 5 A.

1.9 It is hoped that a second volume containing material on the sociological organization of the city may be forthcoming. There is also considerable cross-tabulation to be done which may offer useful clues as to historic-economic patterns of organization.

CHAPTER 2

GENERAL INFORMATION

A-4 (A)

2.1 **Dates of interview. Table 1***

Interviewing started in August of 1952 and continued to July of 1953. The large number of Beirutis who had gone to the mountains in the summer prevented a proportionate number of interviews in August and September. These people were revisited after the summer season ended. From October to November a fairly consistent percentage of people were interviewed except for the decline in December due to the holidays. From March until July, there was a tapering off, with May, June and July devoted to catching people who were hard to find at home.

2.2 **Relation of respondent to head of household. Table 2**

The person interviewed was asked to answer all questions in terms of the head of the family. Some of the incidence of no response occurred when the respondent was not able to answer for the head of the family, such as in economic questions or in opinion questions. The total of responses therefore varies.

About half of the respondents were heads of families (49.65 %). The next largest group was wives of heads of families (37.12 %). Thus, except for 13.26 % of the cases, information came from husband or wife. The others were

* Throughout the report Table Numbers at the heads of pa

people who were adult and sufficiently informed about the household to answer questions satisfactorily.

2.3 The sample and the estimate of the population. Tables 3 & 4

In accordance with the sampling scheme interviewers visited a total of 2200 floors of which 1901 were found to be residential (84 %). By inflating our sample figures, we arrived at a total of 33,003 residential floors out of 40,195.

Tabulations of the number of persons in households in the sample resulted in a mean of 5.76 persons per household, which, multiplied by our number of estimated floors and the mean number of households per floor (1.52), gave the total population figure of 290,020. This figure is subject to a large sampling error and must be considered as an approximation. It is generally below that estimated by "experts", but when it is remembered that the populations of Bourj Hammoud and Furn-el-Cheb'ak suburbs of Beirut are not included in the estimate, because they are outside of political Beirut, the estimate is not too far from probable. Another source of underestimation is the deliberate omission of hotels and pensions. If there is an under-estimate otherwise, it is believed that it lies in the poorest group of shanty dwellers.

ensuing refer to tables in the Appendix.

p 4(c)

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CHAPTER 3

HOUSEHOLD COMPOSITION

p. 5(A)

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The composition of the sample households by sex, age, age at marriage, and number of tenants was tabulated. Chapter five has additional material on nationality and citizenship. Generally there are separate tabulations for the head of household and children; grandchildren, parents, siblings, other family members and servants. The material thus usually covers three generations.

Plural Marriage

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It is particularly interesting that in only two of our sample households were there plural marriages. In one case the man had two wives, and in the other, three. The economics of subsistence militates against plural marriages.

Sex of Members of the Household

3.21 Head of household, Table 5

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The head of the household was defined by the respondents themselves. In nine-tenths of the cases these were male.

3.22 Children of head of household, Table 6

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Fifty-five percent of the children were male. The sex ratio of the first seven children and of the eighth through twelfth children, grouped, are shown in the table. It would appear that there is a significant difference in the incidence of children remaining in the household by sex.

[342]

It is possible that there is a survival differential in favor of male children, but on the other hand, there is also a greater tendency for male children to remain in the household.

p. 6(a)

3.23 **Grandchildren of head of household, Table 7**

Fifty-nine percent of the grandchildren of the heads of households are male. This figure is not significantly different from that of the children of the head of the household.

3.24 **Siblings of head of household, Table 8**

Females predominate slightly in the sample, although the difference is not statistically significant.

3.25 **Other family members in household, Table 9**

There is a significant difference in the sex ratio of other family members in the household which probably reflects the dependency of unattached females. At any rate, sixty-seven percent of this miscellaneous group are female.

3.26 **Servants of household, Table 10**

Servants in Beirut households are overwhelmingly female, constituting as they do about ninety-three percent of the sample of servants.

The incidence of servants living-in is high. Twenty-two percent of the families had at least one servant living with them. The only specialist category which is substantial is that of nurses. Generally, the maid cooks, cleans, and washes.

Age at Marriage of Members of Household

3.31 **Male head of household, Table 11**

The marital status of the male heads of household shows that only eight percent had not married. The modal interval for age at last

5(c)

THE MODAL INTERVAL FOR AGE AT LAST

582 marriage is between twenty-six and thirty. Over half of the sample married between twenty-one and thirty. The incidence of child marriage is quite low (.3 %) while only one-tenth delayed marriage until thirty-six or later.

3.32 Female head of household and wife of household head. Table 12

[574] When it comes to age at marriage, we find a considerable difference for women as compared to men. Only one percent are unmarried compared to eight percent of the men. Marriage occurred earlier, with eighteen percent married at the age of fifteen or younger compared to the men's three-tenths of one percent. The modal age of marriage is in the interval sixteen to twenty (45 %) and the second highest frequency is twenty-one to twenty-five (22 %). By the age of twenty-five, then, eighty-five percent of the female household heads and wives of heads were married.

Far fewer than among the men marry at thirty-six or over (.8 %).

3.33 Children of head of household. Table 13

582 Surprisingly, over ninety-seven percent of the children residing in the sample households are unmarried. This figure probably reflects the influence of urbanization. In addition, it is a symptom of a tendency to set up individual households when married. Of those 584 who are married, the modal age is between twenty-one and twenty-five.

The detailed breakdown of age at marriage for the first seven children and for the eighth through twelfth child, grouped, are shown in the table.

3.34 Father of head of household. Table 14

582 There were just twenty-five fathers of 582 heads of household in the sample, while there were two hundred and thirty-one mothers. This discrepancy is accounted for by the presumed greater incidence of widows, based on our knowledge of the age difference between men and women at marriage, and also by the grea-

6(A)

ter life span of females. About thirty-two per-
cent married at the age of twenty or under.

3.35 Mother of head of household, Table 15

The same sex difference as with the head of the household and his spouse in age at marriage occurs. Over seventy-two percent of the mothers of heads of households were married by the age of twenty.

3.36 Father-in-law and mother-in-law of head of household, Tables 16, 17

There were many less fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law of heads of household in residence than of fathers and mothers. The presumption is that parents go with their male children, if possible. Other values are not significant, but are shown for completeness.

3.37 Grandchildren of head of household, Table 18

A total of two hundred and twelve grandchildren were tabulated in the sample in ninety-one families; or roughly one in twenty households had grandchildren living with them. Ninety-one families had at least one child living with them, while two families had as many as eight. Of these, only one is married.

3.38 Siblings of head of household, Table 19

A tendency towards extended family living is seen in the incidence of siblings living with the head of the household. There were three hundred and fifty-eight siblings living with one hundred and ninety-four families in ten percent of the sample. Over eighty-six percent were unmarried.

3.39 Other family members in household, Table 20

There were two hundred and eighty-eight miscellaneous family members living in the sample households, or in about fifteen percent. The most significant figure, again, is that fifty-five percent are unmarried.

3.39.1 Servants of household, Table 21

The great majority of servants are un-

married (80 %). Many of these continue in service until marriage and are then replaced by younger unmarried girls.

Age Distribution

3.40 **Population pyramid. Chart I**

The population pyramid as indicated in the sample seems to show a fairly normal distribution of ages with the exception of a bulge in the female group between sixteen and twenty. The lowest level bracket (0-5) covers a span of six years. This was done deliberately to compensate for the fact that the 1952 interviews covered the period between August and December, while the 1953 interviews were only from January to July. Therefore, the youngest age group was collected in parts of two calendar years, but covers only one full year.

3.42 **Male head of household and wife of household head or female head of household. Table II**

The average age of male heads of households is forty-five. This is to be compared to the average of their wives and female heads of households which is almost thirty-nine. Interestingly enough, the modal age for both sexes falls in the same interval of 35-40. However, there is a decided tendency to marry younger among the women. By the time they reach the modal age only forty percent of the males as compared to fifty-eight percent of the females are married.

3.43 **Birthdates by post mandate, mandate or pre-mandate years.**

Birthdates of household members were tabulated in three groups, those who were born after the mandate, those born during the mandate, and those born before. The purpose of this tabulation is to indicate to what extent household members were exposed to mandate rule with all that that implies in cultural conditioning.

3.44 **Male head of household. Table III**

Of the male heads of household, about

eighty-five percent were born prior to the mandate, the remainder during the mandate.

3.45 Female head of household and wife of household head, Table 26

As in case of men, the women heads of households and wives of household heads were in great majority born before 1922 (70 %). However, thirty percent compared to fifteen percent for the men, were born during the mandate.

3.46 Children of head of household, Table 28

The majority of the children of the heads of households, unlike their parents, were born during the mandate years (64 %). Only a few were born before the mandate. As might be expected, a detailed breakdown of the children from the first to the twelfth indicates a shift from the pre-mandate and mandate birth years to post mandate time. Thus for the sixth through twelfth children a majority have been born under the Republic.

3.47 Father and mother and father-in-law and mother-in-law of head of household, Tables 26, 27, 28, 29

Both fathers and mothers of heads of households as well as fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law all dated back to before the mandate.

3.48 Grandchildren of head of household, Table 30

Over three-quarters of the grandchildren of heads of households have been born since the mandate rule ended.

3.49 Siblings of head of household, Table 31

It is interesting to note that the siblings of the heads of households have a majority born during the mandate years, unlike the heads of households themselves. This is to be expected inasmuch as the oldest boy in the normal heir to the position of head of household upon the the death of the father.

p. 7(b)

3.69.1 Other family members, Table 32

As with siblings, other family members tend to be a younger group than the heads of households with almost two-thirds being born during the mandate.

3.69.2 Servants of household, Table 33

Of all the household dwellers, the servant group has a larger percentage born during the mandate than any other. Almost four-fifths fall into this group.

3.03.3 Tenants, Tables 34, 35

To investigate the amount of crowding, respondents were asked if they had any tenants living in the same apartment. In only seven percent of the cases was there an affirmative answer. These people were asked if the tenant were part of the household consumption unit. One-third indicated that they were. It is estimated that in the population there are about 7,000 tenants.

P-1(B)

CHAPTER 4

100

EDUCATION

Education of Members of Household

4.2 Household Head

4.21 Number of years attended school. Table 36

871 Educational information was secured for the head of the household and the spouse as well as for their children.

The head of the household had a mean education, in terms of years of school attendance, of 6.1. The modal group had between five and eight years of schooling. Almost one in five had no formal education. In the upper schooling group (baccalaureate or above in terms of years of attendance) we find about thirteen percent.

4.22 Type of school attended. Table 37

Of those with formal education, over ninety percent of those responding had received it from private schools. This particular phenomenon is characteristic of Beirut but not of the school system in general in Lebanon. It represents an amazing concentration of private education in one city, mostly affiliated with religious groups.

4.23 Country of school attended. Table 38

Almost three quarters of the heads of households were educated in Lebanon. Another three percent were educated both in Lebanon and at least one other Arab country. Turkey contributed a substantial amount of education to Armenians and some Arabs (8 %). About one in ten were educated in another Arab country solely. Other categories were negligible.

• The trend started, however, with the arrival of British
•• Unfortunately, the conglomerate of the various possible Turkish were not known to the survey until recently.

p. 9(B)

4.24 **Languages spoken, Table 39**

191 The proficiency of household heads in languages was investigated for the major languages spoken in Beirut. Nine out of ten speak Arabic. The largest incidence of a foreign language spoken was French (42 %) with English next (22 %). The former of course reflects the mandate and other historical connections with French culture as well as the fact that French is the second official language, while the latter is part of a trend detectable very easily in Beirut with the great influx of Americans since the war.* Turkish is the fourth most significant language reflecting the old Ottoman Empire for Arabs and the bilingual speech of the Armenian refugees. Armenian itself is the next largest language group. No other languages have numerical significance.

4.25 **Languages read, Table 40**

191 As was expected a much smaller group
212 (67 %) of household heads read Arabic. The difference between speaking and reading of French and English is negligible. Private schools in both languages insist on training students in the language of the sponsoring country as well as Arabic. Indeed, many native born and bred Beiruti Arabs read French more fluently than Arabic. The drop in the reading of Turkish is still more spectacular, but Armenians seem to have learned both to speak and read the language.**

4.26 **Languages written, Table 41**

There is no significant difference between the reading and writing of any of the languages recorded in the survey for heads of households.

* during the war.
** of Arabic, Armenian, Greek and Western script vis-a-vis

p. 9(c)

R: Churchill 8-6 (1982) 1964 MI1 Lebanon MI1

Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

4.31 Number of years attended school, Table 42

871 The amount of schooling of spouses of heads of households is less than of the household heads. Almost forty percent have had no formal education. The mean schooling in years is 3.9, but interestingly, of those who have been to school, there is a somewhat higher average amount of schooling for the spouses.

In higher education (baccalaureate or higher) there are about four percent of the sample, indicating again the cultural belief in the greater economic utility of educating men. This is part of the oft expressed attitude that educating women is expensive and the benefits go to her husband, not her own family.

4.32 Type of school attended, Table 43

As with household heads, for those responding among the spouses, nine-tenths went to private schools while an additional small group went to both private and public schools.

4.33 Country of school attended, Table 44

Almost three-quarters of the women also were educated in Lebanon only. In general the pattern of schooling by type of school attended is like that of the household head.

4.34 Languages spoken, Table 45

191 Less spouses speak Arabic, probably due to the fact that for foreigners there is less need among women to speak the language of the country than there is for the bread winner. The order of secondary languages is again French, English, Turkish and Armenian. One peculiar difference lies in the larger proportion of men than women who speak both Turkish and Armenian.

4.35 Languages read, Table 46

191 212 Literacy is lower among spouses than household heads with over a third of the spou-

p. 10(A)

12: Churchill 5-5 (1988) 1854 ME1 Lebanon ME1

191 212 ses illiterate. Fewer women read in each language category which is statistically significant.

Those not reading correlate closely with the percentage of those who have not attended school.

4.36 **Languages written, Table 47**

As with the men there is no substantial difference in the ability to read and to write any of the languages recorded.

The fact that spoken language is the most common, then reading and last writing holds up in Beirut. The difference between reading and writing is not significant but accords with expectations.

Children of Head of Household

871 A special type of table has been constructed for the children of heads of households which shows the relationships between age and years of schooling for children now in school and now out of school. The tables are broken down by sex and are also shown with sexes grouped together.

4.41 **Male children now not in school, Table 48**

In the sample there were 1674 male children of heads of households who are now not in school. Of these thirty-two percent were below school age which was arbitrarily set at six or less. Another fifty-four percent were above school age. Here again it was necessary to set an arbitrary age. It was set at sixteen which is probably too high in terms of the actual situation. This leaves a group of male children of school age now not in school of fourteen percent.

4.42 **Female children now not in school, Table 49**

There were 1243 female children now not in school. Some thirty-eight percent were below school age and forty percent above school age. There was a residue of twenty-one percent who are of school age but not in school. These

p. 10(B)

771

figures indicate a continuing differential in the education of boys and girls but shows a narrowing of this difference also.

4.43 Total children now in school. Tables 51, 52, 53

1258 male children in school were in the sample. There were also 998 female children. For some reason the age distribution of those

13: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

871 children who are in school is normal while for those not in school, there is a decided dip in the incidence of children between five and fourteen.

It was thought useful to show these six tables in such detail because of the enormous significance of the training of Beirut youngsters for the prosperity and progress of the city.

p. 11 (B)

12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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CHAPTER 5

MOBILITY

12: Churchill S-6 (1962) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

Household Head

5.1 Birthplace of head of household. Table 54

166 The schedule included various items which were designed to give some insight into family mobility both intra and inter-state. The question on birthplace of the head of the household revealed that sixty-nine percent of our sample were born in Lebanon. (For purposes of the survey, urban Lebanon was defined as Beirut, Tripoli, Sidon, Zahleh, Baalbeck, Tyre and
167 Aley. All others were considered rural.) The great majority of the remainder came from Syria (7%), Palestine (5%) and Turkey (12%). Since interviewers were instructed to fill in the question in present political units, it is noteworthy that the Turkish figure consists almost entirely of Armenians as can be seen by comparison with the Languages Spoken table.* Only about three percent are from western countries.

5.11 Citizenship of head of household, Table 55

162 The permanency of residents is compli-
167 cated by the fact that only eighty-four percent claim to be citizens of the Republic. This is particularly interesting as Lebanon is almost always thought of as a country which sends out emigrants rather than receives them.

Birthplace of Household Members Other than Male Head

5.21 Birthplace of father and mother of head of household, Tables 56, 57

166 The birthplace of fathers of the heads of

* See Table 39 & 45

p. 12(A)

166 households shows a similar pattern of origin with a comparatively larger percentage coming from urban Lebanon. These figures, so far, remain unexplained as do figures indicating that thirty-seven percent of the sample claim mothers' origin in urban Lebanon as compared to thirty percent in rural regions. The trend to the city is there, but it does not seem to be solely a one way process. As in the case of mothers and fathers of heads of households so in heads of households and their spouses. A larger percentage of women seem to be city originated.

5.22 Children and grandchildren of head of household. Tables 58, 59

As might be expected, the percentage of native born Lebanese among the children is considerably higher than for the heads of households and their parents. Among grandchildren the native born figure includes over nine-tenths of the group. Similarly, there is a trend toward urban birth among the children which reaches its peak among grandchildren. A detailed breakdown of the children of the heads of households is shown in the table.

5.23 Female head of household or wife of household head. Table 60

166 167 About the same percent of women as men are Lebanese by birth and approximately the same numbers are urban or rural in origin, the women being slightly more urban. The difference is not statistically significant. Similar proportions hold for origin in other Arab countries and in Turkey. These figures are for women

12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1964 MEI Lebanon 8of7

heads of households and wives of household heads.

5.24 **Other members of household. Tables 61, 62, 63, 64, 65**

The birthplaces of other members of the household show no significant difference from the figures for the heads of households except where the sample is inadequate for accurate analysis. The tables are included for father-in-law, mother-in-law, siblings, other family members, and servants.

5.3 **Number of children away from home. Table 66**

The number of children away from home is rather small with less than one quarter of the sample so reporting. Since no qualification as to age was made, these are presumably children who have moved away for occupational reasons or have married and left the family.

5.41 **Length of time at present address. Table 67**

For an urban area, the length of time at which our sample households have resided at their present addresses is rather surprising. About forty-three percent of the sample have not moved for more than ten years. It is believed that the reason for this lack of mobility is the Rent Control Law. This law has been in operation for thirteen years (Dec. 28, 1940) and may have kept people relatively immobile. The Rent Control Law does not allow the raising of rents for a tenant already in residence, but does allow an increase for new tenants. Subsequent rent control laws have also had considerable influence. An indication that this is the proper hypothesis lies in the fact that our next biggest group lies in the interval of those who have been at the same address between one and three years. If it were disinclination to move rather than the Rent Control Law it would appear that the least frequency would have been in the category of less than one year with increasing frequencies as the time lengthened. Once having lost the benefits of rent control, the population of Beirut seems to be fairly mobile.

p. 13 (A)

5.42 Previous location of household, Table 68

591 The largest frequency of locations of previous households is in Beirut with over eighty-one percent of our sample so reporting. The belief that a large part of Beirut citizens have come from rural areas to the city fairly recently does not seem to hold true, with only approximately eight percent of the sample in this category. [167] A good part of the five and eight-tenths percent of the sample from other Arab states probably are accounted for by refugees from Palestine.

5.43 Length of time at previous address, Table 69

Here again the largest group, thirty-two percent were in residence at their previous addresses for more than ten years and the second highest incidence is between one and three years. The no answer category refers to those who had no previous address as well as those who were unable to recall.

5.44 Number of times moved in last ten years, Table 70

Forty-four percent of the sample had not moved at all in the last ten years, which conforms with the roughly forty-three percent who claim to have been in residence in their present household for more than ten years. These comparative figures constitute one of our checks for internal consistency. Of those who had moved, our largest frequency, twenty-eight percent, reported that they had moved only once, while our most mobile group, those who had moved more than six times in the past ten years, constitute slightly over one percent.

5.5 Reasons for moving to Beirut, Table 71

166 Of those who had moved to Beirut, the largest group (61 %), had moved for economic reasons, while the second largest category (22 %) moved for political reasons. The two together constituted eighty-three percent. The respondents were asked what their reasons for moving to Beirut were. Their free responses

12: Churchill S-5 (1958) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

166 were classified into the six categories in the headquarters office. It would be interesting to find out the reasons why they stay in Beirut. It is presumed that the fourth category, namely, they like it better, would be a relatively high category, considering the well-known attractions of metropolitan living as compared to rural living in other countries.

5.61 Incidence of summer migration to villages, Table 72

528 221 One of the best known phenomena of residents in Beirut is the tendency on the part of those who can afford it to return to the villages during the summer months, particularly mountain villages.

It may be seen in the Table that about one-third of the sample return to villages during the summer. It would be interesting for further study to find out what proportion returns to escape the heat of the coast and what proportion returns for economic reasons, either to reap the benefit of the summer harvest or to engage in service occupations for the summer vacationists.

5.62 Month of migration to village, Table 73

Those who do return to the village in the summer were asked what month they usually returned. It may be seen from the table that the exodus gets under way to the tune of one-third

p. 14(A)

* See Table 71 — Reasons for moving to Beirut.

** See Table 72 — Summer migration to village.

528 of the sample in June and rises to a peak with
221 about one-half of the sample in July, with the rest, who are unable to make it earlier, leaving in August.

5.63 **Month of return to Beirut from village. Table 74**

As the Beirutis go early, so they return late to Beirut from the village. About four-fifths of the sample returned to the pleasant fall climate in October. City institutions are geared to this return. For example, the schools do not open until October. A few, fifteen percent, returned in September - probably as late as possible in the month, while only a fraction, four percent, returned in July or August.

5.7 **Place of residence considered home. Table 75**

591 Overwhelmingly Beiruti residents considered their home to be in Beirut. This result is particularly surprising in view of the well-known verbal tendencies of Beirutis to identify themselves with their village of origin. Evidently this feeling for the village is more verbal than actual, a conclusion which, however, is in accordance with the attractions of cities as noted in other places.* Other indications, however, are that the village is still highly attractive, especially in the summer.** Perhaps the safest conclusion would be that the Beirutis are schizo-local.

p. 14 (B)

12: Churchill 5-6 (1918) 1934 MEI Lebanon MEI

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CHAPTER 6

OCCUPATIONS

p. 15(A)

6.1 Occupations of heads of households, Table 76

463 People work in Beirut at occupations which range from the modern technically trained experts to porters who astound new arrivals with their ability to carry huge loads over long distances both horizontal and vertical. These occupations have been grouped in categories in the table.

125[a] Classification of occupations represented one of the most difficult aspects of the survey. No suitable index was available. The special situation of Beirut made western and eastern categorizations invalid. A tentative categorization was made on the basis of eclectic knowledge of the city. Coding was done on several hundred cases. At the end of this time a conference was called of the three coders and the director and assistants. Coders had taken notes on occupations which were relatively frequent but which did not fit the established categories. A final draft agreed upon by all personnel involved was decided upon and interviews were recoded. Seventeen broad categories of occupations were finally established. It must be remembered that our study was limited to the *heads of families only* in respect to occupations.

It was decided not to publish sub-categories, because the samples of almost all of them were so small that they would have led almost inevitably to misinterpretation even with cautions given about their lack of statistical reliability.

125[a] 463 Professional and semi-professional occupations

Professional people were considered to be

p. 45(6)

the following: accountants, college teachers and upper administrative officers, dentists, engineers, lawyers, nurses, newspaper publishers, editorial writers, reporters, surveyors, clergymen and school teachers. The range of income of these groups was large as was the amount of training undergone.

Managers, officials, large businessmen and renters

There was considerable difficulty in forming this category, but in general it is meant to include an upper-class group which has general power and influence in the city, either from high-ranking official position or because of position in the business world. It formed the largest group, other than miscellaneous, with almost twelve percent of the total sample. Of these, almost half were large merchants as might be expected in a city which depends on commerce for its existence. This is a much larger group of this type than would be found in most cities.

One reason for the size of this category is that Beirut is a capital city and therefore would have an inordinate amount of public officials. Another reason is that the attractions of a metropolis lure people of wealth.

Small businessmen

Almost equally as large as the managers etc., category, is the group of small businessmen. The largest percentage of these are small retail owners. As a group, they represent marginal enterprises which fill small niches in the economy. They are very often such small spe-

p. 15(c)

4L3 4M3 values that western entrepreneurs of similar class status would be appalled. A small grocery store, for example, might have a stock and worth more than one thousand Lebanese pounds. It would consist of items turning over rapidly, such as cigarettes, which would be in good supply, and probably some canned goods which present a sales turnover of once a year. There would be no breadth to the inventory. Indeed, one of the commonest replies in these stores, and even in much larger ones, is that they will get an item requested later that day, or tomorrow, or next week.

On a shoemaker and repair man may have a shop two meters by five meters in which he operates by daily purchases of leather or purchases to meet yesterday's demand, so that there is no inventory whatsoever other than a little equipment.

Other small entrepreneurs make their livings variously in such business as small restaurants. These are mainly coffee houses for gossip and the accompanying group interactions.

Clerical

4L3 Under the heading of clerical, we included bookkeepers, agents usually representing foreign firms, messengers, secretaries, (a term locally used to include both stenographers and secretaries in the western sense) and telephone operators. They constitute slightly over six percent of the sample, which is remarkably small for a city.

Sales and kindred occupations

4L3 4M1 The next category, sales and kindred occupations, was subdivided into commission agents, peddlers, and salesmen. The peddlers are a particularly large group. They are typically small in their operations, hawking vegetables, fruit, soft drinks, and miscellaneous gadgets through the streets of the town. They, perhaps, should have been included among the small businessmen, but it was felt that even with the relative size of many businesses, the peddlers

p. 16(A)

were too small to be thought of in this category. They represent almost six percent of the sample.

Personal services

The category "personal services" was composed of the sub-groups, barbers, cooks, customs releasers, waiters, servants and miscellaneous occupations of similar calibre. Customs releasers, of whom seven were interviewed, is an occupation which would not have been thought of in most indexes of occupations, but constituted a significant part of our personal services sample category. Their occupation involves dealing with the customs officials as a service which relieves travellers and businessmen from the tedious procedures of customs.

Only twelve servants were found in the sample. This figure is misleading unless it is remembered that the servants are primarily women or young girls and they are not heads of families. The incidence of servants is better represented in the household composition chapter. The group accounts for over five percent of the sample.

Protective services

Protective services include policemen, firemen, gendarmes, guardians and soldiers. Firemen are not a significant part of the protective services, because a stone and concrete city has little call for their services. The biggest group is that of policemen and gendarmes. A surprisingly large number of soldiers were interviewed, considering the small military establishment in Lebanon. The entire category was only slightly over four percent.

Agricultural occupations and fishing

Agricultural workers are sub-divided into the workers proper who do not own land and owners who work on their land. Shepherds and fishermen were also included. It is interesting to note that, for a seaboard city, more shepherds were found than fishermen, although this is probably an accident of sampling. However, fishing is less of an occupation than might be supposed since fish are in short supply near the

#63 224 city and are very expensive as a result. Otherwise the sample is small as might be expected in a city.

Processors of food and other agricultural products

#63 The category of processing of food and agricultural products includes such sub-groups as bakers, meat cutters, and those engaged in tobacco and textile manufacturing. About three percent of the sample are in this category.

Clothing fabricators

Those who are engaged in the fabrication of finished clothing include such sub-groups as dressmakers, knitters and tailors. They represent almost five percent of the sample.

Fabricated wood and wood products

#63 336 Sub-groups include carpenters, paper-manufacturing employees, and others engaged in final processing of wood products. Carpenters were included in this category rather than in the construction industry, since the use of wood in almost negligible in the construction industry. Indeed, almost nothing but doors are made of wood. The principal work of carpenters is in building furniture and cabinets. They almost invariably work out of small shops. The group includes less than three percent of the sample.

Printing

#63 Less than half of one percent of the sample were engaged in the printing trade. This is probably an underestimate.

Potters and allied trades

About one percent of the sample was engaged in the making of pottery and the fabrication of other stone and clay products.

Metal working

Metal working occupations were sub-divided into blacksmiths, jewelers, machinists, and tinkers. Jewelers are primarily gold and silver craftsmen which accounts for their inclusion in

963 this category. Almost four percent of the sample falls into this group.

Construction workers

Construction workers include masons, painters, plasterers, plumbers, tile setters and electricians. Of course, some of the electricians are working in servicing of electrical appliances rather than in construction. The plumber is usually also a tinker and sells electrical gadgets. More than three percent of the sample falls into this category.

[334]

Transportation

The largest single sub-category of transportation workers is the auto driver. The next biggest group is porters. These porters do miscellaneous carrying jobs for persons and firms who find human labour power cheaper than mechanical transport or whose volume of deliveries is not sufficient to hire porters full time. Other sub-groups are longshoremen, motormen, truckmen, and motor vehicle sales and service. Longshoremen (lumber) are a significant subgroup as befits such an important port and transit center as Detroit. The entire group is our fourth largest category constituting almost eight percent of the sample.

Miscellaneous

The miscellaneous occupational group represents over eighteen percent of the total sample, but is relatively insignificant when it is realized that of the eighteen percent, thirty percent were housewives, another thirty percent were retired or ill, and over twenty-six percent were unemployed.

4.2 Length of time at last job. Table IV

464 Respondents were asked how long they had worked at the job before their present one. Almost forty-two percent had never worked at another job while the modal group of those who had had other jobs was between ten and twenty years. This seems to be high stability of employment.

p. 17(a)

6.3 Length of time at present job. Table 79

Here again stability of employment is evidenced by the fact that the modal group had been in the same job for more than twenty years, while three-quarters had been employed at their present position for five years or more.

6.4 Basis of payments. Table 79

For those who receive wage incomes, sixty-nine percent received their payments monthly while a fifth were paid daily. The self-employed category was almost half (46 %).

6.5 Number of hours worked per day. Table 80

The mean number of working hours per day was nine and one-half. Concentrations were found at eight hours (20 %), ten hours (15 %) and twelve hours (17 %). The high number of working hours is influenced by the amount of self-employment in small businesses which cannot afford relief personnel.

6.6 Number of days worked per week. Table 81

A substantial majority of the sample worked the six-day-week (86 %). But almost half as many worked seven days. (28 %). These are the customary hours of the occupation.

6.7 Number of days worked in month previous to interview. Table 82

To check the amount of underemployment, respondents were asked how many actual working days they had worked in the month prior to the interviews. Assuming that less than twenty days per month was underemployment, we find that, of those working, about one tenth fell in this category. The actual amount of unemployment was thirteen percent. Together, then, we see that almost a quarter of the sample were unemployed or underemployed in the month previous to the interviews.

* Cf., J. E. STOKES, [illegible] pp. 102 – 03.

6.8 Number of months of work in year previous to interview, Table 83

As a further check on underemployment and unemployment, respondents were asked the number of months worked in the year previous to the interviews. Assuming that twelve months is full employment, we find only sixty-nine percent in this category. About ten percent were unemployed or an estimated 4430 in the city. It should be pointed out that these figures are merely for heads of families and include no other persons.

6.9 Preferences of head of household for rural or urban work, Table 84

People were asked as to the type of work preferred based on location of occupation. There is no question but that the Beirutis prefer to work in urban employment, eighty percent so indicating. Only three percent definitely prefer rural work, while the remainder were undecided.

6.10 Attitude of head of household toward present job, Table 85

In an effort to find the occupational level of satisfaction, respondents were asked whether they liked their jobs or not. A seemingly surprising seventy-six percent indicated that they did like their present positions, while only nineteen percent were definite in their dislike.*

6.11 Reasons of head of household for liking present job, Table 86

The project asked those who liked their jobs what their reasons were for their opinions. The two largest specific categories of answers were that they liked them for economic reasons (41 %) and because they thought of them as being good training (23 %). Classification into these categories was done in the project office on the basis of the free response of the respondents.

* Journal of Applied Psychology, 35 (1951) pp. 347 - 54

p. 15(6)

12: Churchill S-6 (1962) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

6.12 Reasons of head of household for disliking present job. Table 87

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For those unhappy in their present positions, the major reason given was economic (44 %) but the second largest group (28 %) resented their jobs because they were too hard.

6.13 Occupational preference of head of household. Table 88

Respondents were then asked to state the occupation in which they would like to be employed. Free responses were again taken and were judged as to their level of reality. That is, if a porter wanted to become a surgeon, it was judged to be an impossible level of aspiration. Forty percent of the respondents were so satisfied with their present position that they indicated no other desires. Only seven percent were judged to have impossible desires in occupations. This is particularly striking since no attempt was made to precondition the respondent by limiting his range of choice. The Beiruti head of household seems to be practical even considering that thirty-two percent expressed job preferences which were improbable.

6.14 Occupational preference of head of household for eldest son. Table 89

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461

A striking difference between the respondents own occupational desires and those which they held for their children, at least male children, was revealed in answer to the question as to what they would like their eldest sons to be. Each of the response categories is striking. The same lack of impossible objectives was seen, occuring as it did in only six percent of the cases. A slightly different category was used, namely "very possible" into which forty-four percent of the answers fell - indicating a higher level of hardheadedness in attitudes toward children than towards themselves. Fewer wanted their children to continue in their present occupations (7 %). Of course, this may be low

12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

858 461 because a number are not of working age as yet. Some insight into the psychology of the household heads is evidenced in the low number (4 %) who answered freely that they wanted their eldest sons to choose their own jobs.

6.15 Incidence of village work by head of household for part of year. Table 90

464 Respondents were asked if they worked in the villages part of the year. Only one in twenty answered affirmatively. Since the sample is so small further analysis is unreliable. Results are presented, however, for whatever interest they may have in Tables 91, 92 and 93.

Summary

463 The classification scheme is crude, but is believed to give a fairer breakdown in the major categories than any existing system. Some of the categories are too broad, but further refinement was impossible with this size sample.

For a city its size, the division of labour is quite extensive. Beirut is a city of small businesses eking out a subsistence. As a footnote to this, it must be pointed out that many people have more than one job, far more than is usual in most cities.

As the division of labour is splintered, so also do many people operate as jacks-of-all-trades. For example, the tinker-plumber-electrician-plasterer service-man is a combination which combines the skills of what would be decidedly separate occupations in many cities. One unfortunate result of this is the all too often low level of skill which results from mastering none of the services fully.

It will be remembered that respondents were drawn only from political Beirut. The proportions of occupations are therefore only for the city residents. They might conceivably be altered if those who commute to the city had been included in the study.

12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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CHAPTER 7

HOUSING

100 The schedule included a number of questions designed to find out the status of housing in Beirut. These included the age of buildings, construction materials, building installations, condition of buildings, amount of crowding, and extent of home ownership.

7.1 Type of dwelling, Table 94

342 Beirut is a city of multiple family residen-
361 ces. Sixty-five percent of the sample was composed of residential buildings with two or more families in residence while only eighteen percent were single family. When it is realized that a good many of these one family houses are shacks it can be seen that the single family villa is not characteristic.

7.2 Basis of occupation of household, Table 95

362 Ownership of buildings has been achieved by a quarter of our sample which corresponds with our results showing most dwellings to be in multiple family buildings.

7.3 Building material used in dwelling, Table 96

361 Almost the entire city is built either of
362 stone or concrete (94 %). The floors are usually of tile. The poverty stricken tin shacks represent a fraction of the total (3 %). Wood is much too expensive for construction purposes as it must be imported. One result of this is that fire is an almost non-existent danger. Beirut is probably better housed in all but the poorest sections than most metropolitan centers in the world.

p. 20(B)

7.4 Number of floors in building, Table 97

342
362 The largest percentage of buildings in our sample were two stories in height (36 %) and the second largest group was of one story buildings (25 %). Tall buildings are relatively rare with only eight percent of the sample five stories or above.

7.5 State of building repair, Table 98

Only about one-fifth of the buildings were classified by the study as being in poor repair. Our definition of poor repair is a building in which extensive major repairs are necessary.

7.6 Age of building where household is located, Table 99

Approximately half (47 %) of the buildings in the sample are over twenty years of age, but the building boom in Beirut is shown by the unusually large percentage of relatively new buildings.

7.7 Permanency of building containing household, Table 100

Our residential sample indicated ten percent so-called "temporary buildings." Temporary is defined in the study as buildings not designed to be anything but temporary emergency shelters. The term is somewhat misleading because a large part of these so-called temporary buildings date back to those constructed to house the Armenian refugees who took refuge in Lebanon in the First World War. These are concentrated in the Medawar district. These places, plus shelters thrown up against permanent buil-

p. 20(c)

362
342 dings, constitute the physical housing problem of Beirut.

7.8 **Incidence of garden plots attached to residences, Table 101**

342 A substantial part of the sample (41 %) live in buildings with adjoining garden plots. No attempt was made to analyze the size or usage of these plots.

7.9 **Number of dwelling rooms in building, Table 102**

The number of dwelling rooms per building has its highest incidence in the interval of four - six dwelling rooms per building (18 %) and decreases steadily until the catch-all category of over twenty-four.

7.10 **Number of people living in building, Table 103**

The concentration of people in buildings is shown in the table. The crude mode is eight per building but includes only twenty-two percent. It is hoped later to cross-tabulate the number of dwelling rooms in the buildings with the number of people.

7.11 **Number of families on floor of interviewed household, Table 104**

The great majority of the sample (67 %) are the sole occupants of the floors on which they reside. When those floors which accommodate only two families are added, we find that eighty-eight percent of the households are included.

7.12 **Number of rooms per household unit, Table 105**

The modal number of rooms per family apartment is four. This should be compared to the mean family size of 3.7.

427 7.13 **Terms of rental payment for dwelling, Table 106**

Rental payments are generally made either

p. 21 (A)

427 monthly (39 %) or yearly (30 %). When the owner and those not paying rent are subtracted, we find relatively few (6 %) who have other contract terms.

7.14 Location of kitchen facilities by privacy, Table 107

342 In investigating the adequacies of households in Beirut it was found that nine-tenths of the enumerated households had private kitchen facilities in the house. Cooking outside the house was principally for one-room shacks.

7.15 Location of toilet facilities in household, Table 108

[574] Toilet facilities in the buildings were found in over ninety percent of the sample. Of these, almost nine-tenths are private toilets. Arab types are found overwhelmingly.

7.16 Source of water in household, Table 109

312 365 Water, too, is piped into the overwhelming majority of houses (93 %) making relatively few who were forced to obtain water from outdoor cisterns or from more fortunate neighbors. In some cases, such as the agglomeration of tin shacks, a city faucet is the only source of water.

7.17 Type of lighting in household, Table 110

354 365 Lighting is by electricity in over nine-tenths of the households in the sample. Charateristically, electrical fixtures are ceiling lights suspended by cords. Lamps are used much less than in western cities, even where wall plugs are available. Less electricity is delivered to households due to a shortage of generating capacity. Almost all of the remaining households use oil lamps.

7.18 Type of heating in household, Table 111

354 Charcoal burners are the sole means of heat in over half of the houses (57 %). One-fifth of the houses have no means of heat; this is not surprising considering the relatively mild cli-

p. 21 (B)

354 mate. Central heating is found in only a fraction (1 %) of the buildings. It is demanded only by non-Lebanese. Beirutis find it too warm for the type of clothing that they wear indoors and out in the winter.

7.19 Adequacy of living room furniture. Table 112

352 In general, the amount of furniture was judged adequate (80 %). Adequacy was defined as sufficient furniture in evidence in the

362 room in which the interview was held. Sufficiency was judged by the enumerator listing the furniture in sight, and judgement being made in the office.

7.20 Condition of furniture. Table 113

One quarter of those interviewed had furniture in such a poor state of repair that it was classified as bad or sub-standard. Interviewers made the judgement on the basis of their opinion of the state of repair.

12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

CHAPTER 8

110

INCOME AND SAVINGS

p. 23(A)

124 The family income of Beirutis was of major interest to the survey. Tables are presented showing these sources of income by category. The amount of savings and investments are included in the chapter. Finally, there is material on the attitude of Beirutis toward their economic status. As was expected, respondent resistance was greatest on the question of income. The greatest resistance was on the part of the middle and upper classes. The best interviewers at the disposal of the survey were sent to follow-up respondents who refused information. Eighty-one out of one hundred and twenty-eight original refusals were reclaimed. An additional ten refused economic information only. Five unsuccessful interviews were due to the absence of the potential respondent at every interviewing attempt. Twelve refused to answer because of lack of identification with Beirut.

It is quite evident that after the eighty-one initial refusals were redeemed there was little or no economic bias in the interviews refused. At any rate, the refusals amounted to only two percent plus one half of one percent who answered all but the economic questions.

8.1 Rate of pay per month for those on salary. Table 114

134 The amount of pay received by employees per month is estimated at 5,307,000 L.L. earned by an estimated 20,484 heads of households in all Beirut or a mean of 259 L.L. The crude mode, however, is 125 L.L. In the sample the amount of unemployment is ten percent or 2120 heads of families.

p. 23(a)

8.2 Incidence of money from any source other than employment in year previous to interview. Tables 115, 116

434 Four hundred and twenty-one (22.25 %) of the sample had received money from miscellaneous sources. The largest group of these was people receiving money from rent of property (33 %). The second biggest specific source was relatives (19 %). Of particular interest are [457] the remittances from overseas. About two and one half percent of our total sample, or an estimated 1250 families in Beirut, received income from abroad.

8.3 Total income. Table 117

Total income of the household from all sources for the previous year was tabulated in intervals of 1000 L.L. Over eight percent of the households had incomes of below 1000 L.L. The modal interval was 1001 - 2000 L.L. making the crude mode 1500 L.L. per year (20 %). Assuming that the average family needs 5000 L.L. as a minimum of health and decency per year, we find that about sixty-five percent do not meet this minimum.

434 565 Arbitrarily assuming the middle class to have incomes ranging from 5001 L.L. to 25,000 L.L. it is noteworthy that this class constitutes about one third of the population (31 %) leaving four percent of the families making more than 25,000 L.L. per year.

Percentage-wise those sixty-five percent of the households which make 2000 L.L. or less receive twenty-one percent of the income, those thirty-one percent which make between

p. 23(c)

5001 - 25,000 L.L. receive forty-three percent of the income and those four percent which make over 25,000 L.L. receive thirty-six percent of the income.

The total income of Beirut from all sources is estimated at 340,882,200 L.L. The mean income per family, which is not a good measure in this instance, is 6702 L.L. or 1170 L.L. per capita.

Distribution of income in the various census districts is much more even than is generally assumed. All income groups seem to be found in equal numbers in all census districts except Ain el Mreisseh which has a higher average.

8.4 Amount of savings in year previous to interview. Table 118

Only one household in twenty claimed to have saved money in the previous year or 2641 families estimated in the general population. However, only three percent of the households saved over four fifths (84 %) of the total. The estimated total for the population is 14,733,000 L.L.

p. 24(a)

8.3 Investment of savings. Tables 119

#54 An attempt was made to investigate to what form savings were invested. Unfortunately about half of the investments fell into our miscellaneous category. The largest three specific categories were in order: tangible miscellaneous assets (33 %), bank notes (23 %), and real estate (21 %). The figures are highly unreliable statistically and are presented for whatever interest they may have for future research.

8.4 Attitudes toward improvement in economic status. Tables 120, 121 and 122

#54 Relatively few of those interviewed (13 %) felt that there had been an improvement in their economic status compared to the previous year. On the other hand, it is not known how many felt that their status had deteriorated inasmuch as this question was not asked.

A substantially larger number (18 %) felt that their economic status had improved since five years before, and an even larger percentage (21 %) felt an improvement over conditions ten years before.

p. 24 (5)

CHAPTER 9

EXPENDITURES AND DEBTS

p. 25(a)

Respondents were asked a series of questions to get the amounts of individual expenditures in various categories. It was presumed that people would find difficulty in remembering the details of their household budgets. Further it was felt that for each category of expenditure there is a different recovery span. The final decision was to ask for details for differing lengths of time. The length of time for each category of expenditure was arrived at on the best guess of the project supervisors.

It was fully realized that this technique of estimating household expenditures from a single contact with the family is not good methodology. However, the method of recurrent visits was out of the question because of the cost, and asking people to keep accounts was equally unfeasible for various reasons. Among these are the fact that many people are illiterate. It must be remembered that the budget items in the schedule are only part of the survey. A full scale budget study is a large project in itself. The procedure of the project is justifiable mainly on grounds of expediency and because watching of behind exists. Nevertheless the internal consistency of the results led us to believe that the data are far better than sheer guess.

9.2 Furniture expenditures in year previous to interview. Table III

Furniture expenditures were thought to be sufficiently rare to be remembered over the course of a year. The modal expenditure is probably between twenty-six and fifty Lebanese pounds per year for those who bought any furniture. The mean, heavily influenced by upper

55% household spending, is two hundred and fifty-six pounds. Over eighty percent of the sample claimed not to have bought any furniture. The total estimated yearly expenditure for the population is 12,800,000 L.L.

9.3 Yearly rental cost (actual or imputed). Table 124

55% 927 Rental cost was another category which the project directors felt was likely to be known per year. A total of 1,000,000 L.L. was paid in rent by the people surveyed which led to our estimate of 40,324,000 L.L. as the total rental payment for the year by the population of Beirut, or a per family expenditure of 926 L.L. The modal expenditure, however, is quite low at about 300 L.L. per year. It should be remembered that rent control has been in operation for over thirteen years.

9.4 Cost of water bill in year previous to interview. Table 125

5% Water expenditures for those whose water rent was not included in the rent amounted to an estimated yearly total of 754,000 L.L. The amount spent for water by the landlords of the thirteen percent whose water costs were included in the rent are probably substantially higher than the average for those tenants who pay the company directly. A plurality of residents (38%) buy water by the quarter-cubic-meter per day per apartment. The maximum of a full cubic meter was relatively infrequent (3 %), but the unmetered apartments are apt to be newer and upper class and to have a greater usage of water. This amount is therefore unknown.

p 25 (c)

9.5 Total taxes (other than income and so
Table 126

(C) Respondents were asked what taxes they had paid other than income and excise taxes. Income tax returns are available to the government and were not thought worthwhile to include. Excise taxes are too hidden for respondents to know well enough. Thus the returns are primarily for rent taxes.

The estimate of the total population taxes from the sample runs to about 185,000 L.L. This is probably an underestimate. At any rate the project has no confidence in the figures due to the vagueness of the area covered in the questioning and the interviewing hazards inherent in the subject of taxes.

9.6 Cost of clothing purchased in month previous to interview. Table 127

(SC) Respondents were asked the amount of clothing purchased in the preceding month. Both item and cost were recorded as a check. The estimate of total population expenditure per family on clothing per year is 34,224,000 L.L. or 663 L.L. per family. However, the income is distorted by the heavy incidence of purchases in the over 300 L.L. per month category which constitutes fifty-four percent of the total sample expenditure and is probably mainly for the prosperous classes. Forty-four percent made no purchases at all.

9.7 Family expenditures on transportation in month previous to interview. Table 128

Transportation expenses amounted to an estimated total for the population per year of 34,426,000 L.L. Seventeen percent spent no money on transportation, while for those who did spend money on transportation the modal group was under 5 L.L. per month. The mean, distorted by those spending nothing, is L.L. 20.

p. 26 (A)

9.8 Miscellaneous monthly expenditures

other than food and household supplies in month previous to interview. Table 139

amounted to an estimated total of [illegible] L.L. which per year would be [illegible] L.L. for the population. This item was restricted to expenditures which have roughly a monthly occurrence.

9.9 Expenditures on recreation in month previous to interview. Table 130

Total expenditure on recreation for United for one year was estimated at [illegible] L.L. Respondents were asked their expenditure for the month previous to the interview and estimates were derived for the year. Just two-thirds (66 %) spent nothing and the highest incidence of spending was five pounds or less (19 %). However, one quarter (27 %) of the expenditure was made by those who could afford to spend over 200 L.L. on a week's recreation.

9.10 Incidence of illness in household in month previous to interview. Table 131

To find the cost of medical care, the incidence of illness for the month previous to the interview was investigated. It was found that there were some thought to be sufficiently serious as to require medical care in seventy-one per cent of the cases.

9.11 Cost of medical care in month previous to interview. Table 132

Costs were found to be 3,736,000 L.L. per month for the population which was raised to [illegible] L.L. per year. Since the largest incidence of illness coincided with the month in which most interviewing was done, it is believed that this is not an underestimate.

9.12 Miscellaneous expenditure in week previous to interview. Table 133

Miscellaneous weekly expenditure not otherwise specified amounted to an estimated

£35

[illegible] L.L. per year for the population. These are in the [illegible] over the [illegible] monthly expenditures. They are either non-recurring, or recurring on a weekly basis.

9.33 Cost of food on day previous to interview, Table 136

Food purchases were asked on the basis of food purchased on the day previous to the interview and raised to estimate the yearly expenditure. The decision was made to ask for only one day's expenditure rather than get the distortions of memory. On the whole the figure accords with intuition. The daily expenditure at 3.7 L.L. seems fair enough on a mean family expenditure of 2,000 L.L. per year. The modal expenditure of 3.31 L.L. per family per day (14 % of the cases) seems real. The grand total estimated expenditure per year for food was [illegible] L.L. for the population as a whole.

9.34 Total annual family household expenditure, Table 138

Total expenditures of respondents for the household for the year were figured in the present office from the individual item expenditures reported in the schedules.

A 47 (A)

The total estimate was 335,431,800 L.L. per year for the population. This amounts to a mean household expenditure of 6237 L.L. per year. This compares with the mean household income of 6048 L.L. The average savings per household amounts to 294 L.L. making a discrepancy in our figures of 125 L.L.

9.15 Incidence, amount, type and reasons for indebtedness. Tables 136, 137, 138, and 139

Respondents were queried as to their debts. An estimate of the total population indebtedness was made from the sample and came to 50,791,800 L.L. of which twenty percent of those responding is in amounts over 3000 L.L. per family. About one half (45 %) of the sample admitted to being in debt. Of these fourteen percent were unwilling to name the amount.

Over nine tenths (92 %) were private debts. It is believed that these are primarily family loans.

The reasons for indebtedness were due to lack of sufficient income in almost three out of five cases (58 %). An additional fifth (22 %) were accounted for by investment or other business reasons, while the only other significant private reason was health (10 %).

p 27 (8)

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APPENDIX I

Table 1

Date of Interview

Month of Interview	Number of Interviews	Percent each month
Total	1918	100
January 1953	271	14.13
February "	198	10.32
March "	251	13.10
April "	116	6.05
May "	33	1.72
June "	23	1.20
July "	6	0.31
August 1952	101	5.26
September "	119	6.20
October "	283	14.76
November "	292	15.23
December "	225	11.73

Table 2

Relation of Respondent to Head of Household

Relationship	Number	Percent
Total *	1908	100
Head	848	49.65
Wife	634	37.12
Son	63	3.68
Daughter	71	4.16
Father	2	0.12
Mother	19	1.11
Other	71	4.16

* Total smaller due to misunderstanding as to nature of question in early interviews.

19: Churchill E-6 (1959) 1954 MEI Interim MEI

[p. 21 has no textual material.]

p. 29 (a)

12(4)
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Table 3

Sample by French Census Districts of 1942 of Households, Residential and Non-Residential Floors and Buildings by Map Count

District	Households in Sample	Floors					Buildings
		Total Floors	Residential		Non-Residential		
			Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total	
Total	1903	2260	1903	84.12	357	15.88	22780
I Port	1	31	1	3.22	30	96.77	505
II Minet el Hosn	64	91	64	70.33	27	29.67	908
III Zoukak el Blat	72	84	72	85.71	12	14.28	785
IV Bachoura	87	112	87	77.68	25	22.32	1099
V Saifi	64	99	64	64.65	35	35.35	807
VI Medawar	74	114	74	64.91	40	35.09	1346
VII Remeil	189	216	189	87.50	27	12.50	1864
VIII Achrafieh	322	351	322	91.74	29	8.26	3453
IX Manra'a	390	430	390	90.70	40	9.30	4097
X Mousseitbeh	271	309	271	87.70	38	12.30	3520
XI Ras Beirut	232	264	232	87.88	32	12.12	1974
XII Ain el Mreisseh	68	82	68	82.93	14	17.07	636
XIII Tinabaek *	69	77	69		8		1786
Agglomerations in Medawar							

* Tabulated separately because of special characteristics.

P. 29(a)

12. Churchill S-A (1959) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

13: Churchill S-8 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Table

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361

Population Size, Residential Floors and A
Estimated from the Sample and T

District	Total	Floo	
		Residential	
		Number	% of Total
Total	40195	33812	84.12
I Port	1337	43	3.22
II Minet el Hosn	2008	1412	70.33
III Zoukak el Blat	1420	1217	85.71
IV Bachoura	2167	1683	77.68
V Saifi	1779	1150	64.65
VI Medawar	2122	1377	64.91
VII Remeil	3513	3076	87.50
VIII Achrafieh	3951	3459	91.74
IX Mazra'a	7000	6431	90.70
X Mouseitbeh	5702	5001	87.70
XI Ras Beirut	3835	3370	87.88
XII Ain el Mreisseh	1341	1112	82.93
XIII Tinshack *	1928	1738	
Agglomerations in Medawar			

* Tabulated separately because of special

Average number of apartments per resi
Average size of family

p. 30(A)

ble 4

162 d Apartments and Non-Residential Floors
361 nd Total Buildings by Map Count

Floors		Apartments	Buildings	Population
Non-Residential				
Number	% of Total			
6383	15.88	51394	22780	290029
1294	96.77	65	505	374
596	29.67	2146	908	12361
203	14.28	1850	785	10656
484	22.32	2538	1090	14734
629	35.35	1748	807	10068
745	35.09	2093	1346	12056
439	12.50	4676	1864	26934
492	8.26	8298	3453	47796
630	9.30	9775	4097	56304
701	12.30	7601	3320	43782
465	12.12	5122	1974	29503
229	17.07	1690	636	9734
190		2641	1786	15212

dal characteristics

esidential floor = 1.53
= 1.76

p. 30(B)

Table 5

Sex of Head of Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1831	100	
Male	1663	90.82	.007
Female	168	9.18	

Table 6

Sex of Children of Head of Household

Sex	Total	Percent	sp.	1st Child	Percent	2nd Child	Percent	3rd Child	Percent
Total	5071	100.00		1467	100.00	1243	100.00	981	100.00
Male	2804	55.29	.007	894	60.94	681	54.79	483	50.26
Female	2267	44.71	.004	573	39.06	562	45.21	478	48.74

4th Child	Percent	5th Child	Percent	6th Child	Percent	7th Child	Percent	8-12th Child	Percent
621	100.00	380	100.00	214	100.00	107	100.00	78	100.00
334	53.78	200	52.63	120	56.08	54	50.47	38	48.72
287	46.22	180	47.27	94	43.92	53	49.53	40	51.28

12: Churchill 8-5 (1965) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

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18: Churchill 6-5 (1962) 1864 MH Lebanon MH

Table 7

Sex of Grandchildren of Head of Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	212	100	
Male	126	59.43	.0334
Female	86	40.57	.0334

Table 8

Sex of Siblings of Head of Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	358	100	
Male	171	47.77	.0335
Female	187	52.23	.0335

Table 9

Sex of Other Family Members in Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	288	100	
Male	94	32.64	.0328
Female	194	67.36	.0328

Table 10

Sex of Servants of Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	393	100	
Male	39	6.55	.010
Female	353	93.28	.010
No Answer	1	.17	

p. 51 (A)

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162

Table 11

Age at Marriage of Male Head of Householdd

Age	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1015	100	
15 and under	3	0.30	
16 - 20	107	11.25	.008
21 - 25	535	27.33	.010
26 - 30	173	28.41	.011
31 - 35	230	13.81	.008
36 and over	182	10.93	.007
Unmarried	126	7.37	.006
No Answer	7	0.42	

Table 12

Age at Marriage of Female Head of Household and Wife of Household Head

Age	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1015	100	
15 and under	307	18.22	.009
16 - 20	753	44.81	.012
21 - 25	360	21.72	.010
26 - 30	176	10.45	.007
31 - 35	44	2.61	.004
36 and over	14	0.83	
Unmarried	17	1.00	
No Answer	6	0.36	

12; Chandigarh 1-6 (1969) 2004 MFI Lebanon 1971

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Table 93

Age at Marriage of Children of 15 and above in Households

Age	Total	Percent	Age	Rural Children	Percent	Rural Children	Percent	Rural Children	Percent
Total	3871	100.00		1467	100.00	1103	100.00	901	100.00
11 and under	63	0.35		0	0.00	2	0.05	1	0.10
11 - 13	33	0.01		20	0.36	10	0.00	–	–
15 - 17	80	1.00	2001	40	2.73	14	1.13	3	0.33
18 - 20	35	0.51		37	2.54	3	0.20	2	0.10
21 - 23	9	0.35		1	0.27	3	0.20	2	0.20
24 and over	6	0.00		1	0.27	–	–	–	–
Combined	3636	97.14	2002	1368	93.33	1250	97.34	893	98.34
Refused	3	0.00		–	–	1	0.00	–	–

Table 14

Age at Marriage
of Mothers of Deaf of Consanguineous

Age	Numbers	Percent
Total	25	100
15 and under	2	8.00
16 - 20	6	24.00
21 - 25	5	20.00
26 - 30	5	20.00
31 - 35	2	8.00
36 and over	4	16.00
No Answer	1	4.00

Table 15

Age at Marriage
of Mothers of Deaf of Consanguineous

Age	Numbers	Percent	...
Total	100	100	
15 and under	17	17.00	...
16 - 20	43	43.00	...
21 - 25	27	27.00	
26 - 30	11	11.00	
31 - 35	1	1.00	
36 and over	-	-	
No Answer	1	1.00	

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Table 16

Age at Marriage
of Father-in-law of Head of Household

Age	Number	Percent
Total	4	100
15 and under	–	–
16 - 20	1	25.00
21 - 25	1	25.00
26 - 30	–	–
31 - 35	2	50.00
36 and over	–	–
No Answer	–	–

Table 17

Age at Marriage
of Mother-in-law of Head of Household

Age	Number	Percent
Total	16	100
15 and under	11	21.57
16 - 20	25	45.10
21 - 25	9	17.65
26 - 30	1	1.96
31 - 35	–	–
36 and over	–	–
No Answer	9	13.72

Table 18
Age at Marriage of Grandchildren of Head of Household

Age	Number	Percent
Total	212	100
15 and under	–	–
16 - 20	1	.47
21 - 25	–	–
26 - 30	–	–
31 - 35	–	–
36 and over	–	–
Unmarried	211	99.53

Table 19
Age at Marriage of Siblings of Head of Household

Age	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	358	100	
15 and under	3	.84	
16 - 20	12	3.35	
21 - 25	11	3.07	
26 - 30	9	2.51	
31 - 35	7	1.96	
36 and over	5	1.40	
Unmarried	309	86.31	.019
No Answer	2	.56	

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Table 20

Age at Marriage
of Other Family Members in Household

Age	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	288	100	
15 and under	8	2.78	.026
16 - 20	78	26.39	
21 - 25	21	7.29	
26 - 30	13	4.51	
31 - 35	5	1.74	
36 and over	2	0.69	
Unmarried	159	55.21	.019
No Answer	4	1.39	

Table 21

Age at Marriage
of Servants of Household

Age	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	305	100	
15 and over	3	.84	
16 - 20	11	1.85	
21 - 25	3	.20	
26 - 30	6	1.61	
31 - 35	4	.67	
36 and over	—	—	
Unmarried	337	88.57	.013
No Answer	39	6.56	

Table 25

Birthdate of Male Head of Household
by Post Mandate,
Mandate or Pre-mandate Years

Year	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1005	100	
1946 - Present	—	—	
1923 - 1945	251	15.00	.008
Before 1923	1413	84.85	.008
No Answer	1	0.06	

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Table 22

Age of Male Head of Household
and
Wife of Household Head
or
Female Head of Household

Age	Male	Female
Total	1085	1084
16 - 20	10	32
21 - 25	72	176
26 - 30	149	250
31 - 35	163	199
36 - 40	202	204
41 - 45	243	241
46 - 50	214	181
51 - 55	207	143
56 - 60	136	67
61 - 65	97	36
66 - 70	66	22
71 - 75	30	5
76 - 80	11	3
81 - 85	3	4
86 - 90	2	—
Over 90	—	1
No Answer	—	1

Table 24

Birthdate of Female Head of Household and Wife of Household Head by Post Mandate, Mandate or Premandate Years

Year	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1083	100	
1946 - Present	—	—	
1922 - 1945	500	28.71	.011
Before 1922	1183	70.30	.011
No Answer	—	—	

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Table 25

Birthdate of Children of Head of Household by Post Mandate, Mandate or Premandate Years

Year	Total	Percent	sp.	1st Child	Percent	2nd Child	Percent	3rd Child	Percent
Total	5071	100.00		1467	100.00	1243	100.00	961	100.00
1946 - Present	1723	33.97	.006	335	22.87	305	29.37	313	32.57
1922 - 1945	3231	63.72	.006	1055	72.01	852	68.54	641	66.70
Before 1922	112	2.21	.002	75	5.12	26	2.09	7	0.73
No Answer	5	0.10		2	—	—	—	—	—

4th Child	Percent	5th Child	Percent	6th Child	Percent	7th Child	Percent	8-12th Child	Percent
621	100.00	390	100.00	234	100.00	107	100.00	78	100.00
261	42.03	181	47.83	122	61.68	79	73.83	57	73.08
357	57.49	197	51.84	82	36.32	28	26.17	19	24.36
2	0.32	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2.56
1	0.16	2	0.53	—	—	—	—	—	—

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Table 26

Birthdate of Father of Head of Household by Post Mandate, Mandate or Premandate Years

Year	Number	Percent
Total	35	100.00
1946 - Present	—	—
1923 - 1945	—	—
Before - 1922	35	100.00
No Answer	—	—

Table 27

Birthdate of Mother of Head of Household by Post Mandate Mandate or Premandate Years

Year	Number	Percent
Total	232	100.00
1945 - Present	—	—
1922 - 1945	—	—
Before 1922	232	100.00
No Answer	—	—

Table 28

Birthdate of Father-in-law by Post Mandate, Mandate or Premandate Years

Year	Number	Percent
Total	4	100.00
1946 - Present	—	—
1923 - 1945	—	—
Before 1922	4	100.00
No Answer	—	—

Table 29

Birthdate of Mother-in-law by Post Mandate, Mandate or Premandate Years

Year	Number	Percent
Total	51	100.00
1945 - Present	—	—
1922 - 1945	—	—
Before 1922	51	100.00

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Table 30

Birthdate of Grandchildren of Head of Household by Post Mandate, Mandate or Premandate Years

Year	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	212	100.00	
1945 - Present	167	78.77	.028
1923 - 1945	45	21.23	.026
Before 1922	—	—	
No Answer	—	—	

Table 31

Birthdate of Siblings of Head of Household by Post Mandate, Mandate or Premandate Years

Year	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	358	100.00	
1945 - Present	7	1.95	.028
1922 - 1945	220	58.66	.035
Before 1922	138	38.55	
No Answer	3	.84	

Table 32

Birthdate of Other Family Members
by Post Mandate,
Mandate or Pre-mandate Years

Year	Number	Percent	sig.
Total	265	100.00	
1945 - Present	37	9.47	
1923 - 1945	183	64.21	.028
Before 1923	71	24.91	.008
No Answer	4	1.40	

Table 33

Birthdate of Servants
by Post Mandate,
Mandate or Pre-mandate Years

Year	Number	Percent	sig.
Total	265	100.00	
1945 - Present	4	.08	
1923 - 1945	474	79.66	.028
Before 1923	98	16.47	.015
No Answer	19	3.19	

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Table 34

Number of Persons in Household

No. of Household	Number	Percent
Total	1522	100.00
One	47	3.45
Two	39	2.56
Three	10	4.73
More than three	47	3.45
None	1785	85.36

χ^2 = 2.45
α = .005

Table 35

Persons by Membership in Household Consumption Unit

	Number	Percent	χ^2
Total	100	100.00	
Considered Members	30	30.70	.005
Non Considered Members	70	69.30	.005
Some One	9	9.70	
None No			

$(n-1)s^2$

Table 56
Number of Years Household Head Attended School

No. of Years in School	Number	Percent	Mean
Total			
[illegible]			
[illegible]			
[illegible]			
[illegible]			
[illegible]			
[illegible]			

Table 57
Type of School Attended
by Household Head

Type of School	Number	Percent	Mean
Total			
Public			
Private			
[illegible]			
[illegible]			

(a) [illegible]

Table 38
Country of School Attended by Household Head

Country	Number	Percent	▲
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Table 39
Language Spoken by Household Head ▪

Language Spoken	Number
Total	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

Table 45
Languages Written by Household Head

Languages Written	Number	Percent
Total		
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
None		

Table 46
Languages Read by Household Head

Languages Read	Number	Percent
Total		
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
[illegible]		
None		

Table 42

Number of Years Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head Attended School

No. of Years in School	Number	Percent	σ_p
Total	[illegible]	100.00	
None	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
1 – 4	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
5 – 8	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
9 – 12	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
13 – 16	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Other	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Don't Know	[illegible]	[illegible]	

[illegible]

Table 43

Type of School Attended by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Kind of School	Number	Percent	σ_p
Total	[illegible]	100.00	
Public	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Private	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mixed	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Don't Know	[illegible]	[illegible]	

Table 45

Language Spoken by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Language Spoken	Number	Percent
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Table 46

Country of School Attended by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Name of Country	Number	Percent	Age
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(a) [illegible]

Table 46
Languages Read by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Language Read	Number	Percent
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Table 47
Languages Written by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Language Written	Number	Percent
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

(a) [illegible]

Table 46

Education of Male Children of Household Head by Age and Years of Schooling for Children Now Not in School

Age	Total	Rural	Urban	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Low)	8	9	10 (Middle)	11	12 (H.S.)	13 (Some C.)	14 (B.A.)	15	16 (M.A.)	17	18 (Prof. Degree)	Other	N.A.
Total	1473	1	1472	34	47	60	1000	79	130	245	140	34	45	30	6	35	32	13	5	27	11	3	3	9	4	6
(Number)				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1-2				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
3-4				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
5-6				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
7-8				-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
9-10				-	1	0	1	-	-	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
11-12				-	1	0	1	0	0	-	1	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
13-14				-	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
15-16				-	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
17-18				-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
19+				-	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Table 49

Education of Female Children of Household Head
by Age and Years of Schooling for Children Now Not in School

Age	Total Persons	1	2	3	4	5	6 (Class)	7	8	9	10 (Matric)	11	12	Above 12 (But Below B.A./B.Sc.)	B.A./B.Sc.	Above B.A./B.Sc.	Other Prof. Courses	Total	Other N.A.
Total																			
Below 1																			
1-2																			
2-3																			
3-4																			
4-5																			
5-6																			
6-7																			
7-8																			
8-9																			
9-10																			
10-11																			
11-12																			
12-13																			
13-14																			
14-15																			
15-16																			
16-17																			
17-18																			
18-19																			
19-20																			
20-21																			
21-22																			
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23-24																			
24-25																			
25-26																			
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27-28																			
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49-50																			
50-51																			
51-52																			
52-53																			
53-54																			
54-55																			
55-56																			
56-57																			
57-58																			
58-59																			
59-60																			
60 & above																			

(a) Age not stated

Note: Number of persons in each age group is less than 50.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Table 38

Education of Children (Male and Female) of Household Head
by Age and Years of Schooling for Children Now Out of School

Age	Total Persons		1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Class)	8	9	10 (Non-reg)	11	12 (10+2)	13 (Non-Tech)	14 (Tech)	15	16	17 (B.A.)	18 (Sc. comm)	19	20	21 (M.A.)	22 (Tech. Sc. group)	Others	N.A.
Total																										
Under 5																										
5 - 9																										
10 - 14																										
15 - 19																										
20 - 24																										
25 - 29																										
30 - 34																										
35 - 39																										
40 - 44																										
45 - 49																										
50 - 54																										
55 - 59																										
60 - 64																										
65 - 69																										
70 - 74																										
75 - 79																										
80 - 84																										
85 - 89																										
90 - 94																										
95 - 99																										
100 +																										

Table 51

Education of Male Children of Household Head by Age and Years of Schooling for Children Now in School

Age	Total Nums	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Cont.)	8	9	10 (Non-voc.)	11	12 (B.A.)	13 (Non-T)	14 (Non-H)	15	16 (M.A.)	17	18 (M.A.)	19 (Phd. Pre-grad.)	Other N.A.	
Total	1258	204	132	101	136	118	80	86	41	32	46	29	34	3	37	27	17	6	10	1	2	1	1	1	1
3	7	7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4-5	118	78	25	15	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6-7	185	83	54	29	15	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
8-9	218	30	39	73	43	24	8	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10-11	191	6	14	29	63	37	19	14	4	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
12-13	191	–	1	12	37	45	32	37	14	20	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
14-15	117	–	–	3	8	10	13	27	9	10	10	4	7	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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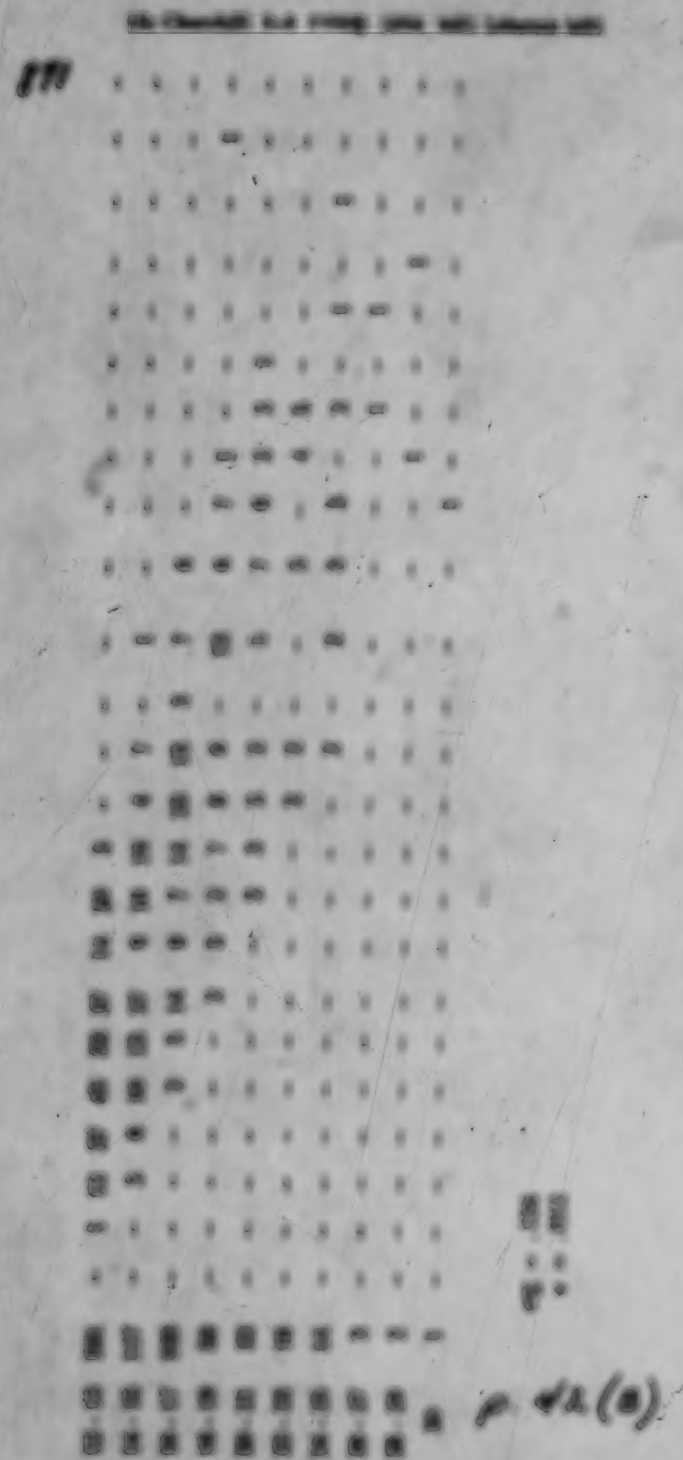

Table 12

Education of Female Children of Household Head
by Age and Years of Schooling for Children Now in School

Age	Total Rural	Total Urban	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Cont.)	8	9	10 (Non-voc.)	11	12 (H.S.)	13 (Non-T)	14 (Non-TI)	15	16 (H.S.)	17 (Coll. voc.)	18 (H.S.)	19+ (Grad. Sch. prof.)	Other	N.A.
Total	988	548	120	116	133	110	68	79	34	34	36	49	16	30	7	19	6	4	3	1	0	1	0	0	0
3	53	53	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
4–5	43	43	36	3	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
6–7	208	62	54	28	19	4	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
8–9	173	28	27	43	35	25	3	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
10–11	158	3	7	26	54	34	17	16	3	1	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--
12–13	140	--	3	17	22	29	27	28	5	9	6	9	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--	--

[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	1	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	[illegible]	–	–
[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–
[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[illegible]	–	–	[illegible]	–	–	[illegible]	–	[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	[illegible]	–
[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[illegible]	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	[illegible]	–	[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
[illegible]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

[illegible]

Table 53

Education of Children (Male and Female) of Household Head
by Age and Years of Schooling for Children Now in School

Age	Total Persons	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Class)	8	9	10 (Sec. Yr.)	11	12 (B.A.)	13 (Sec. Yr.)	14 (Sec. Yr.)	15	16 (B.A.)	17 (Ist Year)	18 (B.A.)	19 (Post Sec. Year)	Other B.A.
Total	12901	373	356	377	399	333	148	174	65	66	63	68	48	12	34	17	10	13	13	4	3	3	1	3	1
5	39	39	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
5–6	307	143	42	59	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6–7	553	145	308	57	34	4	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
7–8	391	16	63	225	78	45	11	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
8–9	349	6	31	36	227	71	39	39	1	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9–10	329	–	4	20	46	74	43	40	10	38	7	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10–11	244	–	–	5	23	26	26	33	15	25	34	33	13	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
11–12	270	–	–	–	1	20	5	34	15	3	26	29	21	6	3	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

(c) [illegible]

Table 53

All

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Table 38

Distribution of Children of Head of Household

Caste	Total	Percent	Sex	1st Child	Percent	2nd Child	Percent	3rd Child	Percent
Total	1870	100.00		1487	100.00	1241	100.00	983	100.00
Rural Scheduled	180	9.63	204	149	10.02	123	9.92	89	9.06
Other Scheduled	1419	75.93	205	1113	74.84	917	73.89	770	78.33
Other Rural Hindu	251	13.43	240	187	12.57	154	12.41	74	7.53
Muslim	36	1.93		23	1.55	19	1.53	9	0.92
Christian	7	0.37		5	0.34	5	0.40	5	0.51
Sikh	4	0.21		3	0.20	3	0.24	—	—
Parsi	13	1.70	865	10	0.71	10	0.81	13	1.32
Other	39	2.09		27	1.82	9	0.73	9	0.92
No Answer	7	0.37		5	0.37	1	0.08	—	—

(Contd.)

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Table 49
Distribution of Female Head of Household and Wife of Household Head

Country	Number	Percent	Year
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

Table 50
Distribution of Female Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	Year
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[redacted]

Table [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]

Table [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]

[redacted]

Table 48

Length of Time at Previous Address

No. of years	Number	Percent
Total	1000	100.0
Less than 1 year	90	9.0
1 - 2 years	180	18.0
3 - 5 years	250	25.0
6 - 10 years	280	28.0
More than 10 years	200	20.0
No answer	100	10.0

$\chi^2 = .000$
$r = .000$

Table 49

Number of Times Moved in Last Five Years

No. of times moved	Number	Percent
Total	1000	100.0
None	150	15.0
1-2	300	30.0
3-4	350	35.0
More than 4	100	10.0
None	100	10.0
No answer	100	10.0

$\chi^2 = .000$
$r = .000$

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

Table [illegible]

[illegible] of Seasonal Migration in Village

Migration	Number	Percent	Rs
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Remittance	[illegible]	[illegible]	

Table [illegible]

Month of Migration in Village

Name of Month	Number	Percent	Rs
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Remittance	[illegible]	[illegible]	

Table 74

Month of Return to Beirut from Village

Name of month	Frequency	Percent
Total	634	100.00
July	3	0.47
August	23	3.63
September	94	14.83
October	503	79.34
No answer	11	1.73

Table 75

Place of Residence Considered Home by Head of Household

Location	Number	Percent	sp
Total	1859	100.00	
Beirut	1554	83.60	.008
Other urban in Lebanon	9	0.48	
Village	101	5.43	.035
Foreign	49	2.64	.004
No answer	146	7.85	

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Table 76

Occupations of Heads of Households

Occupation	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1032	100.00	
Professional and semi-professional occupations	189	9.78	.007
Managers, officials, large businessmen, retailers	224	11.58	.007
Small businessmen	202	10.45	.007
Clerical occupations	117	6.05	.005
Sales and kindred occupations	113	5.85	.005
Personal service	104	5.38	.005
Protective service	78	4.04	.004
Agricultural occupations and fishing	37	1.91	.003
Processors of food and agricultural products	54	2.79	.004
Clothing fabricators	85	4.40	.004
Fabricated wood and wood products	57	2.95	.004
Printing	9	0.46	
Potters and allied trades	19	0.98	
Metal working trades	74	3.83	.004
Construction and allied trades	61	3.16	.004
Transportation	151	7.82	.008
Miscellaneous occupations	354	18.33	.008

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Table 77

Length of Time at Last Job

Period	Number	Percent
Total	1520	100.00
Less than 6 months	10	0.66
6 month — 1 year	1	0.06
Over 1 year — 2 years	65	4.28
Over 2 years — 3 years	73	4.80
Over 3 years — 4 years	75	4.93
Over 4 years — 5 years	67	4.41
Over 5 years — 10 years	213	14.01
Over 10 years — 20 years	219	14.41
Over 20 years	157	10.33
Only job he has worked at	640	42.11

$\sigma_{\bar{y}}$ = .270

v = .024

Table 78

Length of Time at Present Job

Period	Number	Percent
Total	1577	100.00
Less than 6 months	39	2.47
6 months — 1 year	50	3.17
Over 1 year — 2 years	69	4.38
Over 2 years — 3 years	74	4.69
Over 3 years — 4 years	81	5.14
Over 4 years — 5 years	70	4.44
Over 5 years — 10 years	271	17.19
Over 10 years — 20 years	411	26.06
Over 20 years	511	32.40
Unemployed	1	0.06

$\sigma_{\bar{y}}$ = .221

v = .016

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Table 79

Time Basis of Payment on Job

Basis of payment	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1617	100.00	
Daily	157	9.71	.007
Weekly	73	4.52	.005
Semi-monthly	9	0.56	
Monthly	534	33.02	.012
No answer	6	0.37	
Not paid	94	5.81	.006
Other	744	46.01	.012

Table 30

Number of Hours Worked per Day

Hours worked per day	Number	Percent
Total	1405	100.00
One	2	0.14
Two	–	–
Three	8	0.57
Four	15	1.07
Five	26	1.85
Six	140	9.97
Seven	84	5.98
Eight	356	25.34
Nine	106	7.55
Ten	217	15.44
Eleven	70	4.98
Twelve	241	17.15
Thirteen	15	1.07
Fourteen	44	3.13
Fifteen	40	2.85
Sixteen	28	1.99
Seventeen	4	0.28
More than seventeen	9	0.64

η^2 = .080
ϵ = .006

Lb: Churchill 4-4 (1959) 1954 MH Lebanon MH

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Table 81

Number of Days Worked per Week

Days worked per week	Number	Percent
Total	1435	100.00
One	8	0.42
Two	5	0.35
Three	15	1.04
Four	17	1.18
Five	46	3.21
Six	941	65.58
Seven	405	28.22

$\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = .020
σ = .893

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Ills Churchill 4-4 (1980) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 82

Number of Days Worked in Month Previous to Interview

Days worked per month	Number	Percent
Total	1676	100.00
None	221	13.19
1 – 5	18	1.07
6 – 10	40	2.39
11 – 15	52	3.10
16 – 20	69	4.12
21 – 25	229	13.66
26 – 30	1047	62.47

η^2 = .229
v = .011

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#4

Table 85

Number of Months Worked in Year Previous to Interview

No. of months worked last year	Number	Percent
Total	1657	100.00
One	3	0.18
Two	8	0.47
Three	23	1.36
Four	25	1.48
Five	18	1.07
Six	48	2.85
Seven	19	1.13
Eight	30	1.78
Nine	65	3.73
Ten	47	2.79
Eleven	48	2.91
Twelve	1171	69.41
None	160	9.84

eq = .094
v = .009

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Table 84

Preference of Head of Household for Rural or Urban Work

Area preferred	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1853	100.00	
Rural	64	3.45	.004
Urban	1489	80.36	.009
No choice	42	2.27	.003
Don't know or No answer	258	13.92	.008

Table 85

Attitude of Head of Household Toward Present Job

Attitude	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1595	100.00	
Likes it	1210	75.86	.010
Does not like it	299	18.75	.010
Don't know	86	5.39	.006

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Table 86

Reasons of Head of Household for Liking Present Job

Type of reasons	Number	Percent	sig.
Total	1191	100.00	
Economic	493	41.39	.014
Good working	276	23.24	.012
Easy	33	2.77	
Prestige	10	0.84	
Future	5	0.42	
Other	351	29.47	.013
Don't know	21	1.77	

Table 87

Reasons of Head of Household for Disliking Present Job

Type of reasons	Number	Percent	sig.
Total	202	100.00	
Economic	120	44.16	.029
Training to other job	11	3.77	
Hard	43	38.42	.026
No future	5	1.71	
No prestige	11	3.77	
Other	33	17.81	.022
Don't know	9	0.34	

(a) 52 .p

Table 88

Occupational Preference of Head of Household

Degree of responsibility	Number	Percent	ep.
Total	1450	100.00	
Possible but improbable	460	31.75	.013
Possible and probable	322	22.14	.011
Impossible	96	6.58	.006
Satisfied with present	577	39.55	.013

Table 89

Occupational Preference of Head of Household for Oldest Son

Degree of responsibility	Number	Percent	ep.
Total	1348	100.00	
Possible but improbable	405	30.06	.013
Very possible	595	43.98	.013
Same as father	108	8.00	.007
Impossible	83	6.17	.006
What he is doing	100	7.43	.007
What he chooses	56	4.16	.005

(c) 52(c)

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Table 90

Incidence of Village Work by Head of Household for Part of the Year

Response	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1853	100.00	
Worked in village	91	4.91	.005
Did not work in village	1762	95.09	.005

Table 91

Occupations in Village for Part of Year

Type of occupation	Number	Percent
Total	91	100.00
Agriculture	34	37.36
Handicraft	17	18.68
Business owner service	11	12.09
Business owner repair shop	4	4.40
Wages	13	14.28
Other	1	1.10
No answer	9	9.89

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PKS

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Table 92

Amount of Pay Per Week in Village if there is Part of Year Work

Amount in Lebanese pounds	Number	Percent
Total	91	100.00
0 – 25	6	6.59
26 – 50	7	7.69
51 – 75	5	5.49
76 – 100	1	1.10
101 – 150	2	2.20
151 – 200	–	–
201 – 300	–	–
301 – 400	–	–
401 – 500	2	2.20
501 – 750	–	–
751 – 1000	–	–
1001 – 2000	–	–
2001 – 3000	–	–
Over 3000	–	–
None	9	9.89
No answer	59	64.84

$\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = 18.78
v = 0.317

464

Table 93

Incidence of Work on Own Land for Those Working in Village for Part of Year

	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	91	100.00	
Yes	35	38.46	.050
No	38	41.76	.052
No answer	18	19.78	

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361

Table 94

Type of Dwelling

Type	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1873	100.00	
One family house	340	18.15	.009
Multiple family	1211	64.66	.011
Combined dwelling & office	16	0.85	
Combined dwelling & commercial	250	13.35	.008
Combined dwelling & industrial	34	1.82	
Other	15	0.80	
No answer	7	0.37	

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19: Churchill 5-6 (1952) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 95

Basis of Occupation of Household

Owned	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1831	100.00	
Yes	476	26.00	.010
No	1346	73.51	.010
Part owner or owned / Yes but mortgaged	5	0.27	
No answer	4	0.22	

Table 96

Building Material Used in Dwelling

Type of bldg. material	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1926	100.00	
Stone	910	47.25	.011
Tin	61	3.17	.004
Wood	48	2.49	.003
Brick	7	0.36	
Concrete	891	46.28	.011
Other	9	0.47	

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Table 97

Number of Floors in Building

No. of Floors	Number	Percent
Total	1852	100.00
One	465	25.11
Two	672	36.28
Three	367	19.82
Four	193	10.42
Five	98	5.30
Six	38	2.05
More than six	15	0.81
No answer	4	0.21

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .030$
$v = .012$

Table 98

State of Building Repair

State of repair	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1825	100.00	
Good	714	39.12	.011
Fair	758	41.54	.011
Poor	348	19.07	.009
No answer	5	0.27	

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13: Churchill S-5 [1965]: 1964 MEI: Lebanon MEI

18; Churchill 6-6 (1965) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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Table 99

Age of Building where Household is Located

Age of building	Number	Percent
Total	1826	100.00
Less than 1 year	14	0.77
1 — 5 years	266	14.57
6 — 10 years	193	10.57
11 — 15 years	176	9.64
16 — 20 years	259	14.18
More than 20 years	858	46.99
No answer	60	3.28

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362

$\sigma_{\overline{x}}$ = .203
v = .012

Table 100

Permanency of Building Containing Household

Type of building	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1926	100.00	
Permanent	1727	89.67	.007
Temporary	199	10.33	.007

3442

Table 101

Incidence of Garden Plots Attached to Residences

Garden plot	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1839	100.00	
Yes	748	40.67	.011
No	1087	59.11	.011
No answer	4	0.22	

12; Churchill S-6 (1965) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

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15. Churchill S-5 (1968) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

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Table 102

Number of Dwelling Rooms in Building

No. of dwelling rooms	Number	Percent
Total	1853	100.00
1 – 3	236	12.74
4 – 6	328	17.70
7 – 9	229	12.36
10 – 12	271	14.62
13 – 15	174	9.39
16 – 18	132	7.12
19 – 21	111	5.99
22 – 24	83	4.48
More than 24	275	14.84
No answer	14	0.76

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .180$
$v = .015$

Table 103

Number of People Living in Building

No. of people	Number	Percent
Total	1854	100.00
1 – 5	225	12.14
6 – 10	401	21.63
11 – 15	343	18.50
16 – 20	275	14.83
21 – 25	183	9.87
26 – 30	109	5.88
31 – 35	81	4.37
Over 35	189	10.19
No answer	48	2.59

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .026$
$v = .015$

18: Churchill 6-6 (1955) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

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Table 104

Number of Families on Floor of Interviewed Household

No. of families	Number	Percent
Total	1853	100.00
One	1236	66.70
Two	398	21.48
Three	132	7.12
Four	38	2.05
Five	15	0.81
Six	7	0.38
Seven	5	0.27
Eight	2	0.11
Nine	2	0.11
Ten	—	—
More than ten	2	0.11
No answer	16	0.86

$\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = .023
v = .015

Table 105

Number of Rooms Per Household Unit

No. of rooms	Number	Percent
Total	1833	100.00
One	140	7.64
Two	263	14.35
Three	322	17.57
Four	334	18.22
Five	280	15.27
Six	211	11.51
Seven	151	8.24
More than seven	132	7.20

$\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = .047
v = .011

12: Churchill 5-5 [1965]: 1964 MEI Labour MEI

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342

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Table 106

Terms of Rental Payment for Dwelling

Rental payment terms	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1700	100.00	
Monthly	656	38.59	.012
Quarterly	75	4.41	.005
Semi-annual	30	1.76	
Yearly	513	30.18	.011
Owner	341	20.06	.009
Free lease	73	4.29	.005
No answer	12	0.71	

Table 107

Location of Kitchen Facilities by Privacy

Location of kitchen facilities	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1742	100.00	
Private in house	1558	89.44	.007
Shared in house	108	6.20	.006
Private outside	56	3.21	.004
Shared outside	20	1.15	

18. Churchill 4-5 (1965) 1964 MIT Lebanon MIT

Table 108
Location of Toilet Facilities in Household

Location of toilet facilities	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1904	100.00	
In house	1534	80.57	.009
Outhouse	115	6.04	.005
Public	16	0.84	
Shared	200	10.50	.007
None	32	1.68	
No answer	7	0.37	

Table 109
Source of Water in Household

Source of water	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1840	100.00	
City	1718	93.37	.006
Neighbour	76	4.13	.004
Cistern	28	1.52	
None	18	0.98	

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312
365

Table 110
Type of Lighting in Households

Kind of lighting	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1825	100.00	
Natural only	12	0.66	
Electricity	1664	91.18	.008
Candles	1	0.05	
Oil	148	8.11	.005

Table 111
Type of Heating in Households

Type of heating	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1900 *	100.00	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

* Total is larger because some families have more than one source of heating.

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434
457

Table 116

Source of Income Other than Work

Source	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	421	100.00	
Overseas	47	11.16	.015
Rental of rooms in own home	16	3.80	
Rent of property owned	138	32.78	.023
Relative	78	18.53	.019
Pension	6	1.42	
Debt return	1	0.24	
Others	130	30.88	.022
No answer	5	1.19	

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Table 117

Total Income Per Year by French Census Districts of 1942

	Total	Percent	Port	Minet el Hosn	Zokak el Blat	Bechoura	Saifi	Medawar	Remeil	Ach-rafieh	Mazra'a	Mousaitbeh	Ras Beirut	Ain el Mreisseh	Tin-shack Village	Complete Economic Rejects	Section Unknown
Total	1792	100.00	1	50	70	83	54	66	174	294	350	250	173	60	58	59	50
1 – 1,000	151	8.43	–	4	5	8	3	4	14	25	25	25	10	1	23	1	3
1,001 – 2,000	352	19.64	–	6	17	21	7	14	22	64	70	53	31	9	21	5	12
2,001 – 3,000	334	18.64	–	10	10	14	3	16	36	71	72	46	20	10	11	5	10
3,001 – 4,000	210	11.72	–	3	6	7	8	13	27	37	41	38	15	5	2	5	3
4,001 – 5,000	123	6.86	1	1	3	5	2	5	15	14	30	12	16	2	1	9	2
5,001 – 6,000	134	7.48	–	5	5	7	7	5	15	14	27	18	14	4	–	7	6
6,001 – 7,000	56	3.12	–	1	5	1	5	2	3	9	18	4	6	1	–	–	1
7,001 – 8,000	69	3.85	–	4	1	2	3	1	7	11	14	14	9	1	–	–	2
8,001 – 9,000	35	1.95	–	4	1	2	1	–	6	3	6	5	3	1	–	–	–
9,001 – 10,000	51	2.84	–	–	3	5	–	1	8	7	12	1	3	6	–	3	2
10,001 – 11,000	19	1.06	–	1	–	–	2	–	–	2	2	7	3	2	–	–	–
11,001 – 12,000	37	2.06	–	1	1	3	–	1	4	6	5	6	7	2	–	–	1

19 Census II 5-5 (1959) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

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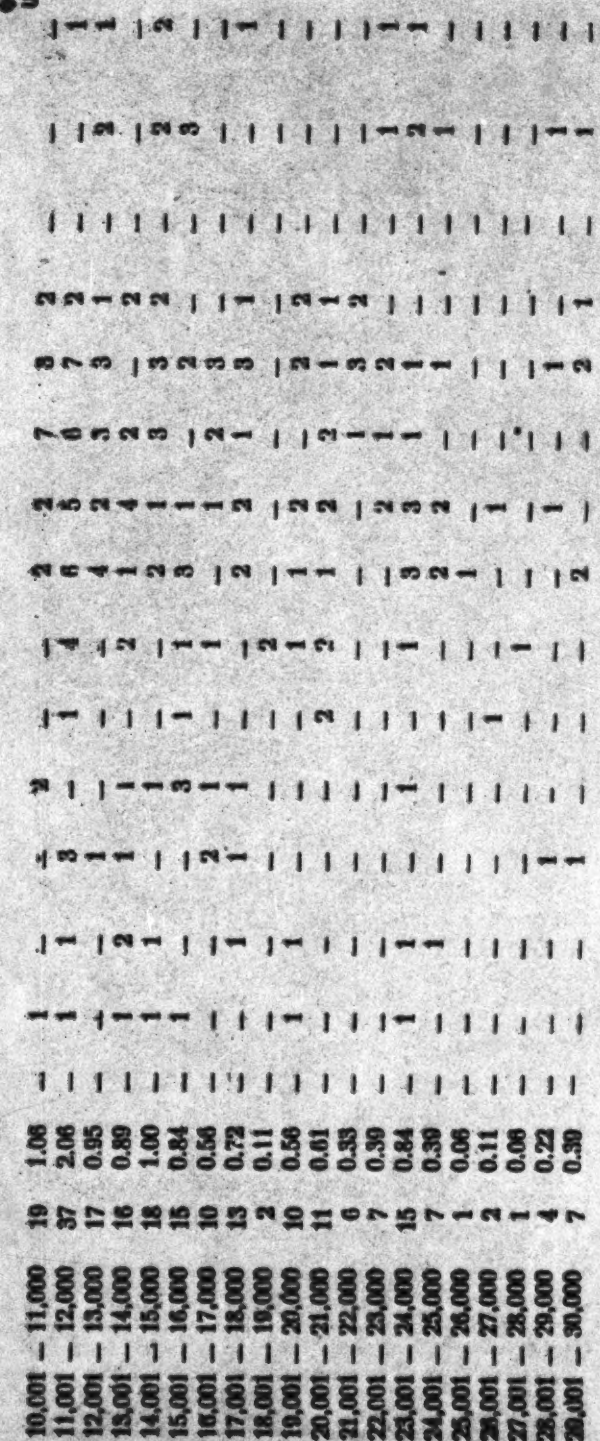

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53,001 – 54,000	2	0.11																	
50,001 – 53,000	1	0.06																	
49,001 – 50,000	1	0.06																	
48,001 – 49,000	1	0.06																	
47,001 – 48,000	1	0.06																	
46,001 – 47,000	1	0.06																	
45,001 – 46,000	1	0.06																	
44,001 – 45,000	3	0.16																	
43,001 – 44,000	1	0.06																	
42,001 – 43,000	1	0.06																	
41,001 – 42,000	4	0.22																	
40,001 – 41,000	4	0.22																	
39,001 – 40,000	4	0.22																	
38,001 – 39,000	1	0.06																	
37,001 – 38,000	4	0.22																	
36,001 – 37,000	1	0.06																	
35,001 – 36,000	4	0.22																	
34,001 – 35,000	1	0.06																	
33,001 – 34,000	3	0.16																	
32,001 – 33,000	2	0.11																	
31,000 – 32,000	3	0.16																	

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595

| | | |

12: Churchill S-6 (1957) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Table 118

Amount of Savings in Year Previous to Interview

Amount in Lebanese pounds	Number	Percent
Total	1821	100.00
0 — 25	—	—
26 — 50	—	—
51 — 75	—	—
76 — 100	—	—
101 — 150	2	0.11
151 — 200	3	0.16
201 — 300	8	0.45
301 — 400	3	0.16
401 — 500	4	0.22
501 — 750	3	0.16
751 — 1000	13	0.71
1001 — 2000	26	1.43
2001 — 3000	12	0.66
Over 3000	28	1.53
None	1719	94.40

$\sigma_{\bar{M}}$ = 46.5

v = .158

Table 119

Investment of Savings

Uses to which savings were put	Number	Percent
Total	105	100.00
Gold	2	1.90
Foreign currency	—	—
Bank notes	13	12.38
Real estate	12	11.43
Bank account	7	6.67
Tangible miscellaneous assets	14	13.34
Stocks and bonds	1	0.95
Insurance	1	0.95
Others	53	50.48
No answer	2	1.90

18: Churchill 8-5 (1965) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 120

Attitude Toward Improvement in Economic Status since Previous Year

Status compared to last year	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1866	100.00	
Improved	238	12.76	.008
Not improved	1613	86.44	.008
Don't know	15	0.80	

Table 121

Attitude Toward Improvement in Economic Status Compared to Five Years Previously

Status compared to 5 years previously	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1796	100.00	
Improved	352	19.60	.009
Not improved	1417	78.90	.009
Don't know	27	1.50	

p. 40(e)

Table 122

Attitude Toward Improvement in Economic Status Compared to Ten Years Previously

Status compared to 10 years previously	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1781	100.00	
Improvement	374	21.00	.009
No improvement	1366	76.70	.010
Don't know	41	2.30	

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Table 123

Furniture Expenditures in Year Previous to Interview

Furniture expenditures	Number	Percent
Total	1944	100.00
Under 25 Ll.	19	1.05
26 – 50	21	1.14
51 – 75	19	1.05
76 – 100	19	1.05
101 – 200	39	2.11
201 – 300	34	1.84
301 – 400	32	1.74
401 – 500	17	0.92
501 – 750	22	1.19
751 – 1000	25	1.36
1001 – 1500	42	2.28
1501 – 2000	18	0.98
2001 – 5000	43	2.33
Over 5000	16	0.87
None	1408	79.36
No answer	12	0.65

$\sigma_{\overline{y}} = 26.330$

$v = .105$

p. 61 (A)

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#27

Table 124

Yearly Rental Cost (Actual or Imputed)

Rental	Number	Percent
Total	1851	100.00
Less than 100 L.L.	74	4.00
101 – 200	202	10.91
201 – 300	233	12.59
301 – 400	135	7.29
401 – 500	169	9.13
501 – 750	245	13.23
751 – 1000	234	12.64
1001 – 1500	262	14.15
1501 – 2000	104	5.62
2001 – 2500	55	2.97
2501 – 3000	46	2.59
3001 – 3500	21	1.14
3501 – 4000	20	1.08
4001 – 4500	4	0.22
4501 – 5000	11	0.59
5001 – 5500	1	0.05
5501 – 6000	6	0.32
6001 – 6500	9	0.49
6501 – 7000	1	0.05
7001 – 7500	–	–
7501 – 8000	–	–
8001 – 8500	–	–
8501 – 9000	–	–
9001 – 9500	–	–
9501 – 10000	1	.05
10001 – 10500	2	.11
10501 – 11000	–	–
11001 – 11500	–	–
11501 – 12000	–	–
12001 – 12500	–	–
12501 – 13000	–	–
13001 – 13500	–	–
13501 – 14000	–	–
14001 – 14500	–	–
14501 – 15000	–	–
15001 – 15500	1	.05
No answer	27	1.46

$\sigma_{\bar{y}} = 25.3$
$\sigma = .827$

p 41(c)

Table 325

Cost of Water Bill in Your Province
in Interview

Cost	Number	Percent
Total	1039	100.00
[illegible]	143	2.79
13	739	38.61
28	701	31.28
29	22	1.39
22	57	5.50
Over 32	16	0.87
0 to 25	135	7.35
26 — 30	68	3.70
31 — 100	50	2.72
Included in rent	256	13.83
Don't know	11	0.00

sig = .388
r = .013

p. 41(c)

Table 112

Adequacy of Living Room Furniture

Degree of adequacy	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1799	100.00	
Adequate	805	44.76	.011
Fairly adequate	646	35.91	.011
Inadequate	329	18.29	.009
None	17	0.94	
No answer	3	0.16	

Table 113

Condition of Furniture

Condition of furniture	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1797	100.00	
Good	537	30.05	.011
Fair	808	44.94	.012
Bad	442	24.73	.010
No answer	5	0.28	

Lib Churchill 4-5 (1959) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

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Table 114

Rate of Pay Per Month for Those on Salary

Lebanese pounds	Number	Percent
Total	763	100.00
0 – 25	6	0.79
26 – 50	17	2.23
51 – 75	33	4.33
76 – 100	68	8.91
101 – 150	133	17.43
151 – 200	96	12.58
201 – 300	148	19.40
301 – 400	63	8.26
401 – 500	40	5.24
501 – 750	36	4.72
751 – 1000	22	2.88
1001 – 2000	20	2.62
2001 – 3000	2	0.26
Over 3000	–	–
None	79	10.35

cq = 10.880
v = .062

Table 115

Incidence of Money from Any Source Other than Employment in Year Previous to Interview

Response	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1892	100.00	
Yes	421	22.25	.009
No	1471	77.75	.009

p. 57 (8)

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Table 126

Total Taxes Other than Income and Excise in Year Previous to Interview

Taxes	Number	Percent
Total	1831	
None	1148	100.00
1 – 50	201	41.40
51 – 100	180	25.61
101 – 150	63	8.66
151 – 200	42	5.66
201 – 250	24	3.41
251 – 300	24	3.41
301 – 400	24	3.41
401 – 500	17	2.43
501 – 750	14	1.99
751 – 1000	8	1.14
1001 – 2000	11	1.56
2001 – 3000	4	0.57
Over 3000	1	0.14

χ^2 = 5.637
ν = .002

Table 127

Cost of Clothing Purchased in Month Previous to Interview

Cost of clothing	Number	Percent
Total	1838	100.00
Under $ 5	13	0.71
5 – 10	39	2.12
10 – 20	74	4.03
20 – 30	85	4.63
30 – 40	54	2.94
40 – 50	63	3.43
50 – 100	164	8.92
100 – 150	74	4.03
150 – 200	87	4.73
200 – 250	41	2.23
250 – 300	31	1.69
300	103	5.61
None	1013	55.11
No answer	24	1.30

χ^2 = 5.637
ν = .002

p. 42 (A)

10: Churchill 8-6 (1960) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

457
556

Table 128

Family Expenditure on Transportation in Month Previous to Interview

Expenditure	Number	Percent
Total	1785	100.00
Under 5 L.L.	390	21.85
6 – 10	337	18.88
11 – 15	107	5.99
16 – 20	114	6.39
21 – 25	82	4.59
26 – 30	106	5.94
31 – 35	31	1.74
36 – 40	33	1.85
41 – 45	16	0.90
46 – 50	52	2.91
51 – 75	53	2.97
76 – 100	47	2.63
101 – 200	68	3.81
201 – 300	20	1.12
301 – 400	8	0.45
Over 400	12	0.67
None	309	17.31

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = 1.500$
$v = .055$

Table 129

Miscellaneous Monthly Expenditures Other than Food and Household Supplies in Month Previous to Interview

Monthly expenditures	Number	Percent
Total	1838	100.00
0 – 10 L.L.	176	9.58
11 – 20	348	18.93
21 – 30	305	16.59
31 – 40	231	12.57
41 – 50	147	8.00
51 – 75	213	11.59
76 – 100	111	6.04
101 – 150	94	5.12
151 – 200	53	2.88
201 – 300	35	1.90
301 – 400	19	1.03
401 – 500	13	0.71
Over 500	16	0.87
None	64	3.48
No answer	13	0.71

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = 2.160$
$v = .037$

18: Chandler 6-9 (1960) 1964 MIT Libraries MIT

12: Churchill 8-6 (1965) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

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Table 130

Expenditures on Recreation in Month Previous to Interview

Expenditures	Number	Percent
Total	1886	100.00
0 — 5	241	12.79
6 — 10	146	7.74
11 — 15	50	2.65
16 — 20	43	2.28
21 — 25	40	2.12
26 — 50	66	3.50
51 — 75	17	0.90
76 — 100	18	0.95
101 — 150	2	0.10
151 — 200	3	0.16
Over 200	7	0.37
None	1253	66.44

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .703$
$v = .114$

Table 131

Incidence of Illness in Household in Month Previous to Interview

No. of persons ill	Number	Percent
Total	1852	100.00
One	403	21.76
Two	93	5.02
Three	21	1.13
Four	9	0.49
Five	6	0.32
More than five	3	0.16
None	1317	71.12

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .018$
$v = .045$

P 63 (A)

12: Churchill S-5 (1962) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

p. 63(a)

Table 132

Cost of Medical Care in Month Previous to Interview

Cost of medical care	Number	Percent
Total	1865	100.00
Less than 10 LL.	104	5.57
11 — 20	95	5.09
21 — 30	77	4.13
31 — 40	39	2.09
41 — 50	52	2.79
51 — 100	99	5.31
Over 100	117	6.32
None	1282	68.70

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = 3.977$
$v = .037$

Table 133

Miscellaneous Expenditures in Week Previous to Interview

Expenditures	Number	Percent
Total	1880	100.00
0 — 25	270	14.36
26 — 50	26	1.38
51 — 75	15	0.80
76 — 100	10	0.53
101 — 150	11	0.59
151 — 200	12	0.64
201 — 300	8	0.43
301 — 400	4	0.21
401 — 500	3	0.16
Over 500	1	0.05
None	1520	80.85

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .848$
$v = .107$

586

Table 134

Cost of Food on Day Previous to Interview

Cost of food	Number	Percent
Total	1851	100.00
Under 1 LL.	97	5.24
1 — 2	252	13.62
Over 2 — 3	233	12.59
Over 3 — 4	236	12.75
Over 4 — 5	216	11.67
Over 5 — 6	137	7.40
Over 6 — 7	97	5.24
Over 7 — 8	98	5.30
Over 8 — 9	57	3.08
Over 9 — 10	85	4.59
Over 10 — 15	108	5.83
Over 15 — 20	37	2.00
Over 20 — 25	17	0.92
Over 25 — 50	26	1.40
Over 50 — 100	2	0.11
Over 100	1	0.05
No answer	152	8.21

$\sigma_{\overline{x}} = .165$
$v = .030$

p. 64 (A)

Table 135

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Total Annual Family Expenditure

Expenditures	Number	Percent
Total	1848	100.00
501 — 600	41	2.22
601 — 700	26	1.41
701 — 800	25	1.35
801 — 900	24	1.30
901 — 1000	33	1.79
1001 — 1100	17	0.92
1101 — 1200	32	1.73
1201 — 1300	30	1.62
1301 — 1400	32	1.73
1401 — 1500	22	1.19
1501 — 1600	28	1.52
1601 — 1700	32	1.73
1701 — 1800	31	1.68
1801 — 1900	42	2.27
1901 — 2000	35	1.89
2001 — 2500	158	8.55
2501 — 3000	142	7.68
3001 — 3500	134	7.25
3501 — 4000	105	5.68
4001 — 5000	185	10.01
5001 — 7500	203	10.98
7501 — 10000	161	8.71
10001 — 15000	153	8.28
15001 — 20000	75	4.06
20001 — 30000	52	2.82
30001 — 40000	16	0.87
40001 — 50000	7	0.38
50001 — 100000	7	0.38
Over 100000	—	—

$\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = .179
v = .028

p. 64 (a)

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Table 136

Incidence of Debt

	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1917	100.00	
Yes	858	44.76	.011
No	1059	55.24	.011

p. 64(c)

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Table 137

Amount of Debt

Amount in Lebanese pounds	Number	Percent
Total	858	100.00
0 — 25	8	0.93
26 — 50	30	3.50
51 — 75	12	1.40
76 — 100	45	5.24
101 — 150	38	4.43
151 — 200	42	4.90
201 — 300	55	6.41
301 — 400	45	5.24
401 — 500	58	6.76
501 — 750	48	5.60
751 — 1000	68	7.92
1001 — 2000	96	11.19
2001 — 3000	46	5.36
Over 3000	146	17.02
No answer	121	14.10

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = 75.550$

$v = .064$

p. 65(A)

12; Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 MEL Lebanon MEL

p.65(0)

Table 138

Type of Debt

Type of debt	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	858	100.00	
Private	792	92.31	.009
Institutional	43	5.01	.007
Both	10	1.17	
Other	2	0.23	
No answer	11	1.28	

Table 139

Reason for Indebtedness

Reason for debt	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	871	100.00	
Underemployment	82	9.41	.010
Low income	422	48.45	.017
For investment	171	19.63	.013
To cover business losses	19	2.18	
Health	91	10.45	.010
To help relatives	2	0.23	
Others	84	9.65	.010

POPULATION PYRAMID FOR BEIRUT

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12: Churchill S-5 (1962) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

118
133
230
245
302
281
260
402
478
347
336
649
641
7 6 5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5 6 7
0 - 5
6 - 10
11 - 15
16 - 20
21 - 25
26 - 30
31 - 35
36 - 40
41 - 45
46 - 50
51 - 55
56 - 60
61 - 65
132
119
247
220
333
314
270
403
336
706
649
870
554

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APPENDIX II

SOCIO-ECONOMIC SURVEY OF BEIRUT

House No. _____
Enumerator _____
Date _____
Time _____
Status of Respondent _____

Head of Household

1. Sex _____
2. Birthplace _____
3. Citizenship _____
4. Birthplace of father _____
5. Birthplace of mother _____
6. Family composition _____

	Relationship to Head	Birth date	Birthplace	Sex	Age at marriage
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					

7. Number of children permanently away from home _____
8. Number of deceased family members _____

	Sex	Age	No. of parents as in Q. 6 (If deceased mother 1 year)
a.			
b.			

9. No. of tenants _____
   a. Do they pay rent? _____
   b. Are they part of household consumption unit? _____

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15 Chenab 1-4 (1980) 1994 MH Lahore HB

III. Education :-

a. Head :

No. of years	Type of school	Place	Languages: Spoken	Written	Understood

b. Spouse :

No. of years	Type of school	Place	Languages: Spoken	Written	Understood

c. Children :

	No. in Q. 8	Sex	Type of school	Last year completed	in school?
1.					
2.					
3.					
4.					
5.					
6.					

11. **Mobility**:-

a) How long at present address?
b) Previous address?
c) How long at previous address
d) How many times did you move in last 10 years?
e) Why did you move to Beirut?
f) Did you go to village last summer?
   1. When did you go?
   2. When did you return?
g) Where did you consider your home to be?

12. **Housing**:-

a) Number of rooms (including kitchen) bathroom, bathroom and W.C. combined, W. C.
b) Age of building Temporary Permanent
c) Building material
d) Does it have a garden? Area
e) Internal condition of apartment
   1. Water source
   2. Toilet
   3. Kitchen
   4. Lighting
   5. Heating
   6. Furniture in living room
   7. Condition of furniture good fair bad
f) State of repair of building good fair bad

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13: Churchill 8-5 (1953) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

125-A

12: Churchill S-6 (1952) 1954 MEJ Lebanon MEJ

g) Number of stories _____
h) Number of dwelling rooms in building _____
i) Number of people living in building _____
j) Type of dwelling _____
k) Number of apartments in building _____
l) Number of families on floor _____
m) Do you own your home? _____ Yes _____ No _____
1. If no, what is the yearly rent? _____
2. If yes, what do you estimate its rental value? _____

13. Health: -
a. How many people ill in household in past month? _____
b. Cost of medical care in past month? _____

14. a. What food did you buy today? _____
b. What did it cost? _____

15. What clothing did you buy for your family during the past month?

	Item	Cost
a.	_____	_____
b.	_____	_____
c.	_____	_____
d.	_____	_____

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16. What furniture did you buy during the past year?

	Item	Cost
a.		
b.		
c.		
d.		

17. What other expenditures did you make last month?

	Item	Cost
a.		
b.		
c.		
d.		

18. a. What did you spend on recreation last week? _____
    b. For what? _____

19. Other expenditures last week _____

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12: Churchill S-5 (1955) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

20. Do you think you are better off now than you were
    a. One year ago? _____
    b. Five years ago? _____
    c. Ten years ago ? _____
21. What does it cost family for carfare per month? _____
22. What was water-bill last year? _____
23. What were total taxes last year ? _____
24. What are the improvements you would like to have in your quarter? _____
_____
25. How do you spend your free time? _____
26. Employment :-
    a. 1. _____
    2. _____

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11. Churchill 1-9 (1969) 1964 MD Lenoxe MD

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13: Churchill S-5 (1959) 1964 MEI Lebanon MFI

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b. Main occupation _____

3. How long at present job _____
4. How long at last job _____
5. Kind of pay _____
6. Days worked last month _____
7. Months worked last year _____
8. Working hours _____
   a. Number of days per week _____
   b. Number of hours per day _____
9. Occupation five years ago _____
10. Other employment in family:
    1. _____ Kind of work _____
    2. _____ _____
    3. _____ _____
    4. _____ _____
    5. _____ _____
11. Attitude toward employment:-
    a. Which do you like better, village or urban work? _____
    b. Do you like your present job? _____
       1. If so, why? _____
       2. If not, why not? _____
    c. 1. If you had your choice of occupation, what would you be? _____
       2. What would your eldest son be? _____

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12. Rate of pay
13. Total income last month
14. Total income per month one year ago
15. Do you work in village part of year?
    a. If yes, what occupation?
    b. If yes, how much pay per week?
    c. If yes, do you work on land for yourself?
16. a. How much did you save last year?
    b. What did you do with the money?
17. Are you in debt?
    a. How much?
    b. If yes, is it a private or institutional debt?
    c. If yes, why?
18. a. Did you receive any money from any other source last year?
    Amount
    b. If yes, source
19. Total family income from all sources last year

12; Churchill S-5 (1962) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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INSTRUCTIONS TO ENUMERATORS

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22: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

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The Economics Department of The American University is engaged in a survey of Beirut in order to find out the basic social and economic statistics pertinent to the city. In order to do this, one of our methods of research is to have enumerators interview a sample of the population in order to find out basic statistical data. It is part of the technique of sampling that we cannot know in advance how many interviews we will need. The total sample will depend on certain statistical analyses which will be made as the work progresses.

The sole purpose of this survey is to add to the sum of knowledge about Beirut so that we will understand better the problems confronting the city, and so that plans can be made more accurately to tackle these problems. Furthermore, future research will be able to use figures we collect, to continue to get more refined figures.

As an enumerator it is your duty to establish rapport with the people whom you are sent to interview. These people will be chosen at random by the use of a table of random numbers, which is a technique of selecting respondents by pure chance. In other words, we are not interested in the people we interview as individuals or as families but merely as representatives of the total population of Beirut. Their anonymity will be respected, their names will not be given to anyone acting in a private or a public capacity in Lebanon. Their answers to the questionnaire will be designated by numbers. We will not have their names nor identify them in any other way.

This kind of research has gone on all over the Western world and has proved very valu-

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able in helping various nations to understand the extent of the problems which they face. In talking to respondents, enumerators are expected to be polite and courteous at all times even if the respondents are not polite and courteous. If you cannot allay the suspicions of the respondent after explaining thoroughly what we are doing, thank him for his trouble, drop the interview, and go on to your next interviewing address. We would far rather have you drop an interview than get an unsuccessful one. No enumerator will suffer because of having been rejected by a respondent. The only thing we will not tolerate is antagonizing respondents or doing dishonest interviewing. We are sure that you are sufficiently versed in the purposes of scientific research to understand the problems of the job yourselves. If you do not, your questions will be answered at any time by your supervisors.

The following comments are meant to guide you on each of the questions in the questionnaire:

Report to headquarters any trouble you have with any question.

Under the heading, enumerator, put your name; under date put the date of the interview; under house-number, put the number of the house which you are visiting and the floor; under time, put the time you have spent in the interview, i.e. 6-8 p.m.; under status of respondent, put the head of the household, wife, eldest son, etc., depending on whom you interview.

The number of the following instructions correspond to the numbers of the questions appearing in the questionnaire.

p. 11(c)

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1. Questions Nos. 1 to 5 refer to the head of household and not to the respondent.

2. Specify the birthplace according to present political divisions. Thus, state whether it is in Syria or Lebanon regardless of its past history or the future aspirations of the respondent. The exception is Palestine.

3. Put down the present nationality (citizenship). If head of household has no citizenship, mark "stateless". In case of doubt, inquire about date of arrival in Lebanon and mention it to your supervisor.

4 & 5. Follow instructions (2) above.

6. Write in the following order:-

Head of Household.
Spouse.
Children, from eldest to youngest.
Sons- and daughters-in-law.
Parents, Grandparents, Siblings, Servants, Others — of head of household.

If there are in the family children other than the direct children of the head of household, put them (i.e. the former) down after the latter, followed by their parents.

Head of household is the person indicated by the respondent to be so. In case of doubt, he is normally the eldest supporter of the family. In any case mention it to your supervisor.

Date of birth:- Give year only. If the exact year is not known, inquire about the age at a certain important date such as the first world war, and calculate the present age accordingly.

Place of birth:- See instruction No. (2) above.

Sex:- Male or female, of course.

Age at marriage:- Last marriage, if more than one.

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7. Put down the number of children permanently away and other than those mentioned in Q.6. The aim is to find out fertility.

8. This question is with respect to 1961 and 1962. Put down the sex, and age at death. If the deceased is a child under one year of age, put down also the number of his parents as in Q.6. Be sure whether it is a still-birth or infant mortality even if the baby lived for a very short time. This is extremely important.

9. Give the number of residents other than members of the family, such as tenants or guests. Write down if they paid rent or shared the food of the family. If rent is paid, do not forget to include it under sections 18 & 19 of Q. 26.

10 a. b. Record the number of years which head of household spent in school. Put down the kind of school or schools in which he received his education (private, public or both). Put down the country or countries in which he received his schooling.

Do the same thing for the spouse.

Record the languages which head of household speaks.

Record the languages which he writes adequately.

Record the languages which he reads adequately.

Do the same for the spouse.

c. Start with the eldest, giving his number as in Q. 6.

1. Number of child as in Q. 6.

2. Male or female.

3. Kind of present school, or the one in which he spent most of his schooling.

4. Put down highest year reached.

5. Record if still at school.

p. 73(a)

If evening school, take details and mention them to your supervisor.

11. These questions relate to head of household and not to respondent.

a. Give number of years.

b. Give name of quarter, city and/or country if not Lebanese.

c. Give number of years.

d. Number of times he moved his permanent house. Thus, going to the mountains or to Europe for a long holiday is not considered as change of house.

e. This obviously does not refer to anyone born in Beirut. If head of household came to Beirut very young, give reasons for which his parents came to Beirut.

f. Either plains or mountain.

1. Give date. 2. Give date.

g. Either village or Beirut.

[illegible] the number of bathrooms and lavatories separately.

b. In years. A building is temporary if it obviously was intended to be temporary.

c. Give a general description of the material with which building is built, eg. cement walls with tile roof.

d. Give area in square meters. Estimate it yourself if respondent does not know.

e. Internal conditions of the house.

1. Give source, e.g. private tap, well, public tap or shared tap.

2. Specify whether lavatory is indoor or outdoor, whether private, shared or public.

3. Specify if kitchen is private, shared or non-existent.

4. Mention if lighting is by electricity, kerosene.., etc.

p. 74(A)

[illegible]

[illegible]

5. Record if heating is by charcoal, kerosene... etc.

6. The purpose of this question is to find out the standard of living as put down the furniture of the sitting room in such a way as to give a true picture of the family's condition.

7. Consider furniture good if new or not needing repair of any kind and not scarred. Consider it bad if old, scarred or in obvious need of repair. Consider it fair if it combines both.

f. Good, moderate or bad.

g. If your map is wrong, make a note and report it to your supervisor.

h. See No. (32-e) above. Inquire from the respondent an estimate on the basis of the floor you are in.

i. Ask the respondent to estimate the number of those living in the building.

j. Specify whether for one family's residence, apartments, for residence and offices, or for residence and shops... etc.

k. Number of living units (apartments) in the building. Give number of families in case more than one live in one apartment.

l. Number of families including that of the respondent.

m. Record monthly rent if paid monthly, or yearly rent if paid annually. If no rent is paid, as when head of household owns his house, then ask him to give you an estimate of the rental value.

33. Health.

a. Record number of persons who were ill during previous month.

b. Give cost of medical treatment during previous month.

34. a. Put down kind and quantity.

p. 74 (a)

b. Give total cost of food bought on that day.

15. Record for the past calendar month.

16. Record for the past calendar year.

17. Record for the last calendar month. Under this question include such items as electricity, kerosene, school fees, telephone charge, servants and other re-occurring monthly expenditures.

18. a. Record total.

b. Record how much for each kind of recreation.

19. Record total for such items as books, kerosene, soap, i.e. not monthly occurring.

20. Yes or No. This question refers to the material conditions.

21. Record average expenditure of family on transport per month.

22. If amount is not known, put down quantity of water supply, e.g. ½ or ¼ meter... etc.

23. Record yearly rent [illegible] owner pays other property taxes in addition. Include radio licence here.

24. The object is to know what kind of house desires and not what you think he ought to desire. You are not therefore to suggest anything to him.

25. This question refers to head of household and not to respondent.

26. (a 1 and 2). Record the occupation(s) which head of household has at present. Specify kind of occupation. Thus "employee" is not enough, say whether accountant, clerk or cleaner... etc. Give also kind of trade or trades. Use (a) for main occupation.

3. Record length of time at present main job in years and months.

4. Record length of time at previous job in years and months.

5. Daily, weekly,... etc. If self-employed, record "self-employed".

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[illegible] 1954 [illegible]

/25

6. Put down number of days worked in the last calendar month.

7. Yearly leave should be included in the number of months worked. The object is to find out whether he was unemployed during last calendar month and did not receive income because of that.

8 a. Record number of days he works during the week.

b. Record hours spent at work, but excluding time taken for lunch.

9. Major occupation.

10. Put down number of persons as in Q. 6 and kind of occupation.

11 a. This refers to those originally from village. Put down village, or urban, or "do not know" or "no preference", or if respondent is not head of household and does not know, write "no answer".

b. Yes, No, or "Does not know". If respondent is not head of household and does not know, write "no answer".

c. [illegible] received thorough education or training, or for prestige... etc. Do not suggest the answer.

2. E.g. for lack of adequate income, or for lack of training, or for lack of prestige... etc. Do not influence the answers in any way.

c. 1. Write down the free answer of the head of household. Do not suggest any occupation. We want to know the level of his ambition, not the level of yours.

2. Do not influence his answer.

12. Monthly or weekly pay according to the answer to Q. 26 (3).

13. Record total income during last calendar month. The total should include income from his work and from other sources during last calendar month.

p. 75 (a)

Lib. Churchill S-5 (1382) 1964 MIT Lebanon Mill

14. Observe whether his income increased or decreased and compare it with Q. 20 (1). Question respondent if there is a contradiction.

15. Yes or No.

a. Write down kind of work.

b. How much pay per week, or total income during period worked.

c. Yes or No.

16. The object of this question is to find out the disposition of saving, i.e., whether hoarded in the form of gold or as a bank account ... etc. Consider that part of income not spent on consumption and clothing as saved.

17. Put down amount of debt. Ask whether

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borrowed from friend, relative or bank... etc. Write reason(s) for running into debt, e.g. whether for consumption, for medical treatment or for business purposes.

18. Give amount and source, e.g. remittance from relative in America or inheritance.

19. List under this question total income accruing to the family from all sources during last calendar year. It includes income of head of household from his work, income from his property, income of other members of his family from their work, and other income listed under Q. 18. Do not multiply monthly income of head of household by 12 unless he agrees to the product.

p. 76(8)

12: Churchill S-S (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

SUPPLEMENTARY INSTRUCTIONS TO INTERVIEWERS

p. 77(A)

12 A

1. Do not take Jewish or Armenian interviews unless there is a Jewish or an Armenian interviewer on your team.

2. Specify what kind of building and the name of the owner and kind of occupancy for all buildings which are not residential.

3. If the family is living in one room of an apartment which was intended to be part of an apartment instead of a separate apartment, we will still consider the one room as an apartment for our purposes.

4. Make sure that you are getting information for the calendar year 1951, i.e. January 1st to December 31st, 1951, in the questions about furniture, income, etc. where we ask for yearly estimate.

5. If there are more than one pair of parents in the family, list one pair of parents and then list their children, and then list the children of the other parents, and then all other members of the family.

6. If there is something unusual about the interview or about the answer to a question,

p. 77 (8)

22: Churchill S-5 (1953) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

please be sure to explain on the back of the questionnaire.

7. If you cannot get the income, put down an estimate and tell on what you base your estimate.

8. All interviewers are expected to make two or three appearances at the office in a week.

9. Be sure and give the specific occupation. No answer such as "employee" is acceptable.

10. If your map is incorrect, be sure and report it.

11. In case any family has two households, attribute half the income to the household you are investigating.

12. Do not forget that the arrangement about two interviews a day was that it should be done only where conditions are favorable, and then no more than once a week.

13. If you suspect for any reason that the information which is being given to you is not accurate, write on the back of the questionnaire with the reasons for your belief.

p. 77(c)

APPENDIX III

STATISTICAL TECHNIQUES

In general, statistical techniques are from *Sample Survey Methods and Theory* by Hansen, Hurwitz and Madow*. The following formulas have been used.

$\frac{1}{f}$ where f equals sampling fraction. Used for estimating the universe from the sample.

$$\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{\Sigma fX^2}{N} - \left(\frac{\Sigma fX}{N}\right)^2}$$ where σ = standard deviation.
f = frequency in interval.
X = value of midpoint of interval.

12 Churchill 8-5 (1962) 1964 MIT Libraries MIT

$$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = \frac{\sigma}{\sqrt{n-1}}$$

where $\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = standard error of the mean.

$$s_p = \sqrt{(1-f)\,\frac{pq}{n-1}}$$

where s_p = standard error of the proportion.
p = the sample proportion.
q = 1-p

$$v = \frac{\sigma_x}{\bar{x}}$$

where v = coefficient of variation of the sample.
$\bar{x}$ = mean of the sample.

For coefficients of variation of proportions the two following rules have been used†:

Rule I. If p, the sample proportion, is between 30 per cent and 70 per cent, and if the denominator on which the percentage is based is 50 or more, then the coefficient of variation, Vs, of the estimated standard error will be less than 10 per cent.

Rule II. Whether or not p or q is less than 30 per cent, if both np and nq are greater than 25, then, again, the Vs will be less than 10 per cent.

If proportions do not fall under these rules, coefficients of variation have not been estimated.

* New York: John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1960. †
† Ibid. P. 181.

12. Churchill 5-5 (1988) 1994 MEI Lebanon MEI

12: Churchill ME1 Lebanon ME1

12

[For information on the methodology followed in the survey of the city of Beirut, see entire source, Category 116.]

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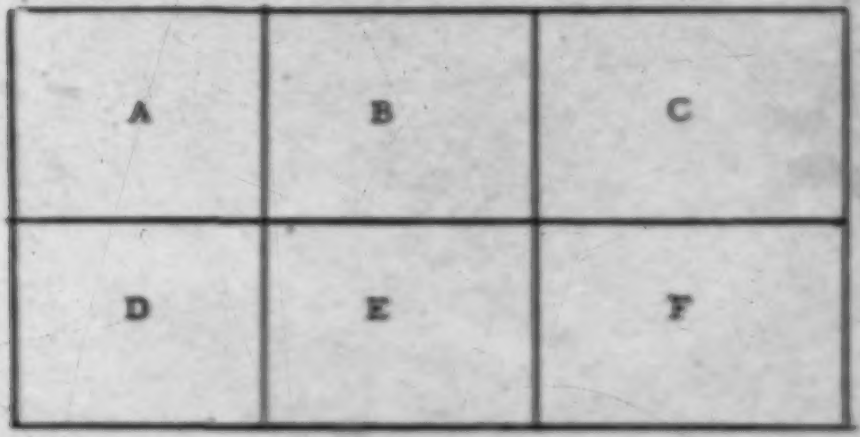
[For proper assembly of the map on p. ix, follow the diagram below:]



12: Churchill
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MEl Lebanon MEl

[For data on housing, occupations, income, expenditure, and similar data that may reflect on the standard of living in the city of Beirut, see entire source, category 116.]

Lib Binder 5-4 (no date) 1922 MEI Lebanon MEI

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MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE LEBANON

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WALTER H. RITSHER

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PREFACE

The following study of municipal government and administration in the Lebanese Republic is mainly a brief descriptive treatment of the structural and procedural organization of local government. It has grown out of the need for illustrative material concerning the problems of the Near East in teaching courses in Political Science. The study is brief and virtually confined to an exposition of the structure and forms of procedure rather than a critical analysis of its working. It has been handicapped by the fact that practically nothing has appeared on the subject, in any language, while the original sources have been difficult to secure, and by the further fact that official statistics are as yet inadequate and not always reliable. It is hoped that the present study may, in time, be extended to include an examination into the working of the system.

From its nature the study is largely based on an analysis of the laws and decrees relating to local government, but this has been supplemented by visits to a number of municipalities and villages of varying degrees of importance and by interviews with government officials and private citizens well versed in local affairs. No attempt has been made to go into the detailed history of local government under the pre-existing Turkish regime, but reference has been made to important changes as well as to differences between the system in the Lebanon and that of the Mandatory Power. All the main provisions of the fundamental law have been cited in the text though some receive only a brief treatment with no mention of the details of the procedure. To facilitate use as a reference, footnote references have been made to the individual articles of the basic laws and certain statistics and tables have been included as appendices.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the courteous treatment received at the hands of the Minister of the Interior, Monsieur Bey Hamoun, and of his assistants in that Department as well as the friendly reception usually accorded by municipal and local officials on the occasion of visits to various localities.

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CARTE DU LIBAN

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MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE LEBANON

1. THE GENERAL MUNICIPAL CODE

The history of municipal government in the Republic of Lebanon goes back only to the Ottoman Municipal Law of 1877[1] which was largely based upon the Code Napoleon. The transition to the new municipal code promulgated in 1922 after the establishment of the French mandatory regime was comparatively simple. The general framework remains much the same with minor differences in procedure, particularly in the degree of centralization.

With only 130 incorporated municipalities among the 1500 odd towns and villages of Lebanon and with only eight of these with a population of more than ten thousand, no very elaborate code is required. The only large city, the capital, Beirut, with a population of 150,000, like the capital of France, is organized under a separate law. All the other municipalities of Lebanon are chartered under Arrêté No. 1208 of March 10, 1922[2] while the hundreds of unincorporated villages are governed through the institutes under the *Loi des Moukhtars* of January 13, 1908.[3]

Municipal affairs are supervised and controlled by the national government through the Ministry of the Interior by means of its administrative officers in the various levels of local government. The Republic is divided into five principal administrative districts, each headed by an appointed administrator (*mutasrifs*). The districts are in turn sub-divided into eighteen *kadas* each under the administrative control of an appointed *kaimmakam*.[4] Through French counsellors attached to the more important administrative posts the entire system is brought under the directing authority of the French High Commissioner.[5] All these officials exercise a constant and vigilant surveillance over the municipalities within their jurisdiction with powers even more extensive than those of the prefects in France, thus bringing municipal government well within the highly centralized system of national government.

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1. George Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1905), Vol. 1, p. 48.

2. Recueil des Arrêtés et Décisions du Grand Liban, 1920–1933, (Imprimerie du Lettres, Beyrouth, 1933), p. 262.

3. Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise (Imprimerie des Lettres, Beyrouth), No. 5, 1926, p. 1.

4. [illegible] No. 5, 1926, p. 1 (Formerly the Lebanon was divided into 12 *cazas* (districts).

5. All decisions and orders of the Administrator must be visaed by the French counsellor. Arrêté No. 1208, Art. 46.

[illegible]

Incorporation and Delimitation.

433 Under the new code any town of at least 5000 inhabitants may, upon the demand of one third of its qualified electors, be incorporated as a municipality, provided its population includes persons eligible as councillors double the number actually to be elected, and further provided that within ninety days of its incorporation it can present a budget showing at least 250 Syrian pounds of effective municipal revenue.[1] By exception, existing municipalities of less than 5000 inhabitants may be maintained and others incorporated provided they fulfill the budgetary provisions cited above.[2] These financial limitations seem to have been rigorously enforced with three or four municipalities suppressed annually for failure to conform.[3]

Small neighboring villages with common interests and a combined population of more than 5000 persons may be incorporated as a single municipality if they are less than two and a half kilometers apart and if that union is demanded by one third of the qualified electors of each village acting separately.[4] The enacting decree determines which village shall serve as the seat of government thereby giving its name to the municipality as a whole.[5]

In cases of joint incorporation the distinct communities retain the ownership of the property pertaining to them and to the income from such property collected in kind. The buildings and other real estate serving a public usage prior to incorporation become the property of the new municipality of which it becomes a part, but in case of separation from the municipality the seceding section takes back full ownership of the property which came with it. The decree of union or of dissolution determines all other special conditions. These provisions apply to all cases of joint incorporation (or of dissolution) even though only a quarter or section of the municipality is concerned in the change.[6]

If a change of status affects the territorial limits of one or more

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1 Arrêté No. 1388, loc. cit., Art. 2.
2 Arrêté No. 1388, loc. cit., Art. 2.
3 Ibid., Art. 3.
4 See Appendix C.
5 Arrêté No. 1388, loc. cit., Art. 3.
6 Ibid., Art. 3.
7 Arrêté No. 1388, loc. cit., Art. 4.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]'s, the administrative commissions of each must be consulted.[1] In case of any proposed change of municipal status, the Administrator must order a special investigation into the facts in the municipalities concerned if demanded by any municipal council involved or by one third of the electors of the same. He may likewise act upon his own initiative. The decision is by executive decree of the President of the Republic after study of the dossier of inquiry and the recommendations of the administrative commission of the [illegible].[2] 652

In all cases of change of municipal status the pre-existing municipal councils are automatically dissolved and a new election is held.[3]

The territory of the municipality is limited to urban agglomerations in which the break in continuity between the community proper and scattered hamlets or houses is not more than 200 metres, except as otherwise provided in the case of joint incorporation.[4] The delimitation of municipal boundaries is executed by the Department of Public Works at the expense of the municipalities concerned. They are proclaimed by executive decree after advice from the municipal council and the Administrative Commission of the District. A change of name of a municipality is decreed in the same manner.[5]

Composition of Municipal Councils.

Every municipality is governed by an elective municipal council which varies in size in accordance with the following table :—

5	members	in towns up to			300	population.		
6	"	"	"	from	301	to	2000	population.
7	"	"	"	"	2001	to	8000	"
8	"	"	"	"	8001	to	20000	"
9	"	"	"	"	20001	to	40000	"
10	"	"	"	"	40001	to	60000	"
11	"	"	"	"	60001	to	100000	"
12	"	"	"	"	100001	or above[6]		"

---

1 Ibid., Art. 4. Each [illegible] has an administrative commission of six members two of whom are appointed by the Administrator, the rest elected by an electoral college consisting of the members and the members of the municipal councils of the [illegible]. The [illegible] and secretary of the [illegible] are ex officio members.

2 Ibid., Art. 5.

3 Ibid., Art. 10.

4 Ibid., Art. 11.

5 Arrêté No. 1019, Jan. 18., Arts. 12 and 13.

6 Ibid., Art. 14.

422. Where there is a religious group or of Armenians, they are
[64-1] entitled to representation on the council by the addition of members over and above the regular number in proportion to their relative numerical importance in the community.[1]

446. The councils are elected for a term of four years and are re-
452. newed as a unit. Municipal elections take place on the third Sunday of May in electoral years.[2]

Basis of Representation.

Proportional religious representation is secured by the apportionment of the council seats among the various religious sects in conformity with their relative numerical strength in the electoral list.[3] Thus it is a fixed ratio based on potential voting strength rather than population figures. The allocation of seats is made by decree of the administrator subject to the approval of the Minister of the Interior. All electors vote for all the positions to be filled in their ward or municipality so that the votes of a majority sect may determine the choice of representatives for minority seats. One seat is reserved for minority seats having at least half but less than a whole electoral quotient. The allocation of seats is effected by the "list system" of proportional representation, the method being applied to registration rather than voting figures.

438. Qualifications for membership in the municipal councils are the same as for a seat in the national assembly as determined by Arrêté No. 1307 of March 10, 1931.[4] Candidates must be Lebanese citizens, at least twenty five years of age, literate, and in the enjoyment of full civil and political rights.[5] Aside from the general restrictions of the electoral law, the municipal law of 1922 expressly disqualifies the following —

1. Those deprived of their franchise.
2. Persons under tutelage or supervision of judicial council.
3. Persons exempted from municipal taxes or aided by any charitable organization.

---

1 Loi du 12 Mars 1930, Jour. Off. No. 441, p. 1.

2 Arrêté No. 3000, 18 Dec. 1930, Jour. Off., No. 2, 1931.

3 Arrêté No. 1299, 10 Dec. 1930, Jour. Off., No. 2, 1931, Art. 10.

4 Arrêté No. 1299, loc. cit., Art. 24.

5 Recueil des Actes Administratifs du Haut Commissariat, Organisation [illegible], Reglements, Vol. III, p. 107, Art. 1.

[illegible]

4. Persons failing for two consecutive years to pay state [illegible] or municipal taxes.

5. Domestics attached exclusively to the person.[1]

Likewise, any functionary of either the state or the municipality may not hold office as municipal councilman within the area under his own jurisdiction or in the municipality in which he is employed.[2]

No one may sit in a municipal council and at the same time hold office as administrator, [illegible], or official of either the financial or police services. A successful candidate for municipal councilman who holds one of these positions is given the option of either position but must render his decision within ten days of the proclamation of the results of the election, failing which, he is automatically considered resigned from his administrative post.[3] Likewise, no one may sit in more than one municipal council at a time. In municipalities of more than 300 inhabitants, father and son, father-in-law and son-in-law, and brothers or brothers-in-law may not sit in the same council. If there is no voluntary withdrawal on the part of one of the candidates, the administrator shall declare the younger resigned, or in case of equal age the matter is settled by the drawing of lots at the first meeting of the council.[4] Any councilman who, after his election, is discovered to be ineligible is immediately declared resigned by the administrator. Any councilman charged with a crime or misdemeanor is suspended in the same manner pending decision as to his guilt,[5] but may appeal to the administrative courts.[6]

Dissolution and Suspension.

A municipal council may be dissolved by executive decree. In case of urgency, it may be suspended by the administrator for a period of one month. The suspension may be twice renewed by authorization of the Minister of the Interior. In such cases the [illegible] or some other administrative official is charged with the

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1 Ambl No. 1288, loc. cit., Art. 29.

2 Ibid., Art. 31. Under the Turkish regime qualifications included Turkish nationality, residence in municipality, age of 30 years, full possession of at least 100 Turkish pounds and full possession of civil rights. Excluded were persons condemned to a year's imprisonment or to indefinite prison sentence for an attempt of a foreign power, persons engaged in public undertakings of municipality, bankrupts, persons in military service and bankers. (Young, loc. cit., Vol. I, p. [illegible].

3 Ibid., Art. 32.

4 Ambl I No. 1288, loc. cit., Art. 32.

5 Ibid., Art. 34.

6 Ibid., Art. 35.

[illegible]

438 administration of the municipality.[1] In cases of dissolution or collective resignation a special delegation is named by the President of the Republic, who likewise appoints its president and vice-president, if any. The delegation contains from three to seven members depending upon the importance of the municipality. The duration of such a delegation may not exceed one year. It exercises all the powers of a municipal council but is automatically dissolved when a council is reconstituted.[2]

Electoral Procedure.

438, 444, 449 Municipal electoral procedure and qualifications are regulated by the national electoral law, Arrêté No. 1337 of March 10, 1932, except that residence requirements are interpreted entirely in terms of municipal residence. Suffrage qualifications are the same as for national elections. The electorate consists of all male citizens 21 years of age having their real and principal establishment within the municipality where they must have resided for at least six months. Likewise, they must have conformed with the national census law of March 9, 1932. Absence because of status as minister of a recognized cult, as public functionary, or as soldier of the Syrian Legion, Lebanese Gendarmerie, or French Army, does not disqualify.[3] The following categories are disqualified for the suffrage—

1. Individuals deprived of their civil rights.
2. Individuals permanently deprived from holding public office.

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1 Ibid., Art. 31.

2 Arrêté No. 1338, loc. cit., Art. 31. The provisions for dissolution and administration by an appointed Commission have been widely used as a threat by the Government over a period of nine years among a total of only 148 municipalities. Although the tenure of such commissions is limited to one year, there is nothing to prevent the renewal of members or the appointment of a new commission. This seems to have been done to a considerable extent and has led to the conviction, commonly held, that the power of dissolution has been used for political purposes rather than because of administrative inefficiency or irregularities. It is widely held that consecutive administration has been exercised to and continued in many cases, because of fear that elections would bring into power an administration hostile to the central government or at least not so completely under its control. While it might be claimed that circumstances were such that no election could be depended upon to put in power a council of requisite ability, the fact that not of 96 dissolutions or removals are addressed to 31 of the cadres of dissolution, although responsibility is required by law, lends color to the charge. (See Appendix).

3 Arrêté No. 1337, loc. cit., Art. 31. Under the Turkish regime without qualification, save included Turkish nationality, age of at least 21 years, possession of full civil and personal rights, freedom from sentence for crime, and payment of at least the Turkish property to vote. (Young, loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 72).

[illegible]

1. Individuals condemned for a crime or infamous offence involving a correctional penalty. Considered as infamous are theft, swindling, abuse of confidence, public outrage of decency, habitual excitation of minors to debauchery, vagabondage, and simple bankruptcy. §33, §44, §47

4. Individuals condemned to imprisonment for crime.

5. Individuals under judicial interdiction.

6. Insolvents not condemned for bankruptcy. Disqualification for this category lasts for three years from declaration of insolvency.

7. Individuals condemned to imprisonment or more severe sentence for any violation of the electoral laws.[1]

A list of qualified voters known as the "electoral list" is drawn §32, §44 up by an appointed Registration Commission[2] and is revised annually from supplementary lists furnished by the mobilities and presidents of municipalities. Upon the publication of this list ten days are allowed for the presentation of claims of error which are decided by the Registration Commission with right of appeal only on points of law. No one may be inscribed on the electoral list of more than one voting district. In case of duplicate registration through error the elector may choose which residence he desires to establish provided he fulfills the qualifications before the final closing of the electoral lists. All demands for such changes must be accompanied by a demand for the removal of the name from the former list.[3]

The electors are convoked by decree of the President of the Republic issued at least fifteen days before the election. In no case may the elections last more than seven days. Balloting always commences on a Sunday but may run for several consecutive days. The number of days, place, and time of voting are decreed by the administration.[4] The polls must remain open at least six consecutive hours in municipalities of more than 500 inhabitants or, in case of a single day and hours of voting, at least nine consecutive hours. If a second balloting is necessary, the electors are automatically convoked for the following Sunday and such succeeding days as were provided in the original decree of convocation. The administration is responsible for the publication of the necessary notices.[5]

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1 Ibid., Art. 15.
2 A permanent commission constituted under the national electoral law.
3 Ibid. the 1932 Law, cit., Art. 17.
4 Ibid. the 1932 Law, cit., Art. 18.
5 Ibid., Art. 20.

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LEA 444 When a municipal council is reduced by vacancies to three fourths of its normal membership a supplementary election is held within two months of the last vacancy, unless it occurs within six months of the next regular election. In this case a supplementary election is not held unless the membership is reduced to less than one half its normal number. If elected by wards, the supplementary election is held only in the wards concerned.[1]

The councillors are elected by direct universal manhood suffrage on the general ticket plan (*scrutin de liste*). However, a municipality if composed of several distinct and separated communities, as in the case of joint incorporation, or if possessing a population of more than 5000, may be divided into electoral districts or wards, each electing a number of councillors proportional to the number of inscribed electors in the ward. In no case shall such a ward have less than two members.[2] Division into wards is made by the administrative commission of the district, the municipal council concerned, or the electors themselves.[3] The administrator divides the municipality or wards into voting precincts (*bureaux de vote*), each of which votes on the general ticket of the entire municipality or ward of which it is a part.[4] In each precinct the administrator designates the polling place.[5] He likewise appoints a president for each voting bureau or precinct. The bureau president alone has police powers within the polls and no armed force may enter except at his request.[6] The bureau president must be named at least five days before the election. He is assisted by from two to four "assesseurs" who must be chosen from different religious sects represented in the precinct. Half of the assessors are appointed by the bureau president, the remainder are chosen by the electors present at the opening of the polls from among those of their own number who can read and write. One or two secretaries may be appointed having only a consultative voice in the voting bureau.[7] The bureau pre-

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1 Ibid., Art. 36.

2 Arrêté No. 1386, Ier. ch., Art. 15.

3 Ibid., Art. 16.

4 Ibid., Art. 17.

5 Arrêté No. 1387, Ier. ch., Art. 45.

6 Ibid., Art. 46.

7 Arrêté No. 1387, Ier. ch., Art. 46. The provision for the selection of half of the assessors by the electors at the opening of the polls has not prevented change of government control of the electoral machinery. These assessors are chosen by custom or party agreement, with party leaders, the armed decision being made by the bureau president. Obviously it would be comparatively easy under this system for the government to control the counting procedure.

ident and at least half of the assessors must be present throughout all the electoral operations. This electoral board or voting bureau has provisional jurisdiction over all questions arising out of the conduct of the elections. All claims and decisions must be recorded together with the reasons motivating the judgement.[1]

The bureau secretary is provided with an official copy of the electoral list. No one may vote whose name does not appear upon this list except such persons as may present a decision of the Registration Commission issued subsequently to the preparation of the list.[2] The voting of such elector is attested on the official list by the signature or initials of the secretary opposite the name of the elector.[3]

The ballot box has a single opening for the admission of the ballots. At the opening of the polls the box is closed and locked with two locks one key being retained by the bureau president, the other by the oldest of the assessors chosen by the electors.[4] Each voter presents his official certificate of identity (carte d'identité) to the secretary who checks the name against the electoral list. The reverse of the identity paper is then stamped with an indication of the precinct and the date. The secretary then announces the voter's name and the latter presents his folded ballot to the bureau president who deposits it in the ballot box. No official ballots are provided, the voter writing his own ballot on any piece of white paper. Ballots may be prepared by a candidate or groups of candidates and distributed outside the polls. The only restrictions are that they must not be on colored paper or bear any other external distinctive marks.[5]

Upon the closing of the polls the count is made by the bureau officials unless the number of ballots is more than three hundred. If this be the case a number of tellers may be appointed from among the literate electors present who shall be distributed at counting tables having at least four tellers each. If various candidates or

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1 Ibid., Art. 36.

2 Ibid., Art. 32.

3 Ibid., Art. 33.

4 Arrêté No. 1957, loc. cit., Art. 34.

5 Ibid., Art. 35. Even if the color restriction were rigorously enforced, or there is no uniformity of size and shape of the ballots prepared for candidates it is not difficult to determine the designation of a man's vote for a mere glance at the ballot which he customarily carries in his hand on entering the polls. Under the provisions of the Turkish law the voter placed his ballot in an envelope which was dropped, sealed, into the ballot box. (Young, loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 70).

lists of candidates have been presented they have the right to designate the additional tellers who shall then be distributed equally among the tables as far as possible. Upon the opening of the ballot box the total number of ballots is ascertained and checked against the official list. If the total is more or less than the vote recorded on the list, a minute is made to this effect. The bureau president then distributes the ballots to the different counting tables. One of the tellers reads each ballot in a loud voice, then passing it to another teller. The vote is recorded on specially prepared counting sheets. The electors are entitled to be present at the count and to circulate about the tables. If they challenge any of the proceedings, the bureau president and his assessors expect the operations.[1]

Blank ballots, those not bearing sufficient designation or in which the voter may be known, those of colored paper or bearing any external mark of identification, and those bearing any remarks injurious to the candidates or the people are not included in the count but are attached to the procès-verbal.[2] Also excluded are any votes for candidates who have failed to comply with the regulations governing declaration of candidatures.[3]

Immediately after the count the result is announced by the bureau president, and the ballots, other than those attached to the procès-verbal, are burned in the presence of the electors.[4] When more than one voting precinct exists within an electoral circumscription, the proclamation of the result is made by the president of the central bureau to whom the various other bureau presidents must bring the procès-verbal with attached ballots and the official check list.[5] A summary procès-verbal is prepared at the central bureau and forwarded to the Ministry of the Interior and to the Registration Commission. Definitive announcement of the results is made by the Registration Commission after checking the returns.[6] The

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1 Arrêté No. 1307, loc. cit., Art. 34. Likewise, the check provided in permitting the electors to watch the count may be evaded by filling the urnes with each's own following. With police power only in the hands of the appointed bureau president, if he so desires, it is quite possible for him to determine the completion of the ballots.

2 Ibid., Art. 36.

3 Ibid., Art. 46.

4 The provision for the burning of the ballots immediately after the count would seem to remove the incompatibility of election officials. It is perhaps a question whether it is a wise procedure for an among a people who have not yet had much experience with electoral procedure. Even in countries more tried in the machinery of democratic government, the possibility of a recount by different officials has been found valuable.

5 Arrêté No. 1307, loc. cit., Art. 38.

6 Ibid., Art. 46.

electoral operations may be challenged by any elector or any candidate. The appeal must be presented at the office of the administrator within five days of the balloting. A receipt must be given therefor. This appeal is transmitted with the opinion of the administrator to the Ministry of the Interior for submission to the Council of State. A decision, from which no appeal lies, must be rendered within one month. If the President of the Republic finds that the conditions and forms prescribed by the electoral law have not been complied with he must denounce the elections to the Council of State within one month of the elections.[1] 439 446

Organization and Procedure of Council.

A municipal council may adopt fixed dates for its meetings or may meet merely on call of its president or mayor.[2] In either case, the summons must state the order of the day and the subjects for discussion. The council may concern itself only with those topics cited in the docket. Calling of a meeting is mandatory upon the written request of the administrator or of one third of the members of the council.[3] 432

A written summons must be addressed to each councilman at least three days before the scheduled meeting. In cases of urgency, this period may be reduced to twenty-four hours in which case the council decides at the opening of the meeting whether the matter at hand is sufficiently urgent to warrant such a summons. Further, in such cases, the administrator may upon his own initiative or upon the request of a councilman require a second deliberation upon the same subject. Two copies of the summons, the schedule of meetings, and the order of the day must be transmitted to the [illegible] who forwards one to the administrator. They must likewise be recorded in the council minutes under penalty of nullification.[4]

The mayor and assistant mayors, if any, are appointed by the central authorities from among the council members. The other members rank in accordance with the date of their election, or, the date being the same, in accordance with the size of their electoral vote. Where these are still inconclusive, they rank in accordance with seniority of age.[5]

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1 Arrêté No. 1187, loc. cit., Art. 47, as amended by Arrêté No. 1010 of June 5, 1925, Jour. Off. No. 141, p. 5.

2 Arrêté No. 1108, loc. cit., Art. 34. The former practice is more common among the larger cities, now among the smaller ones.

3 Ibid., Arts. 35 & 36.

4 Arrêté No. 1108, loc. cit., Art. 36.

5 Ibid., Art. 38.

438 The meetings of the council are private. The administrator, kaimmakam, and French counsellor are *ex officio* members.[1] A quorum consists of one half the membership. If upon a second convocation, a quorum is still lacking, the deliberations are valid regardless of the number in attendance. If the lack of a quorum at the first meeting is due to the non-participation of members personally interested or interested as agents in the matter under consideration, the deliberations may proceed.[2] Councillors absent from three successive meetings without satisfactory reason may be dismissed by the administrator after he has called upon them for an explanation. They may appeal within ten days to the administrative courts.[3] Resignations are addressed to the administrator or the kaimmakam and are effective upon acknowledgement thereof. Failing acknowledgement, a new resignation may be despatched by registered mail and becomes automatically effective one month from the date of mailing.[4]

Decisions of the council are determined by majority rule. In case of a tie the mayor has the determining voice, except in secret balloting. A roll call is mandatory upon the request of at least two members, the names and votes to be recorded in the minutes. All votes on nominations or appointment must be by secret ballot. If no candidate secures a majority on the second ballot, the third ballot determines by plurality and in case of a tie the oldest candidate prevails.[5]

The mayor presides at council meetings and he alone has regulatory authority and may eject troublesome members.[6] In his absence the assistant mayor or oldest member presides. If the mayor has resigned or been suspended or dismissed, he is replaced by a temporary successor appointed by executive decree.[7] At the session devoted to the consideration of the budget, the oldest member presides, except in those cases where the Administrator presents the budget, when the mayor himself presides. Whoever presents the budget may participate in the discussion but must retire before the vote thereon. The minutes of this session are transmitted directly to the Ministry of the Interior.[8]

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1 Ibid., Art. 36.
2 Ibid., Art. 37.
3 Ibid., Art. 44.
4 Arrêté No. 1338, loc. cit., Art. 42.
5 Ibid., Art. 39.
6 Ibid., Art. 38.
7 Ibid., Art. 40.
8 Arrêté No. 1338, loc. cit., Art. 43.

One or more secretaries are elected by the council.[1] They are responsible for the minutes but do not participate in the deliberations. Provision has been made for the eventual merging of the offices of secretary and municipal treasurer. In small municipalities the functions of secretary are frequently entrusted to the local schoolmaster. The minutes must be kept in both Arabic and French,[2] wherever possible, and an abstract of the minutes must be posted at the municipal building within eight days of the council meetings.[3] Copies of the abstract must be transmitted to the administrator and the kaimakam. Inspection of the minutes is open to all inhabitants or taxpayers, together with the right to copy them in whole or in part, including the budgets and accounts.[4]

Powers of Council.

The council passes on all the affairs of the municipality and acts in an advisory capacity to the central authorities upon their request or when required by law. It may likewise record its opinion on any matter of local interest. It inspects the budget and accounts of the mayor and municipal treasurer. By authorization of the Minister of the Interior it may communicate with other municipalities on matters of common interest.[5]

Decisions of the council may be divided into three categories:— (a) those having executory character without specific approval of the central authorities; (b) those having executory character only after approval from the central authorities; and (c) those of a purely advisory nature. Decisions in the first category are executory thirty days after receipt by the administrator. However, during this time they may be vetoed by the administrator for violation of the law. Likewise, the administrator may suspend execution for a further period of fifteen days. In cases of urgency, the administrator may order immediate execution which gives the decision executory character upon the expiration of the fifteen day delay required for the presentation of protests and appeals. The following subjects[6] fall within this category:—

1. Methods of administration of communal properties.
2. Conditions of contracts for lease or rent for a period not exceeding nine years for other properties.

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1 Ibid., Art. 42.
2 Ibid., Art. 36. This provision is not generally enforced.
3 Ibid., Art. 43.
4 Ibid., Art. 42.
5 Arrêté No. 1208, *loc. cit.*, Art. 45.
6 Ibid., Art. 47.

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4.32 3. The acquisition of immovable property when the total cost, including all other acquisitions made in the same financial year, does not exceed one tenth of the ordinary revenues.

4. Projects for major repairs to or maintenance when the total expense of all such expenditures for the fiscal year does not exceed one fifth of the ordinary revenues, nor, in any case, exceed the sum of two thousand five hundred pounds Syrian.

5. The maintenance of public buildings.

6. The appropriation to municipal use of municipal property which has not been used for such purposes.

7. The acceptance of gifts and legacies received without charge, condition, or chargeable designation, provided the gift or legacy is not subject to reclamation by the families. The mayor, by right of conservation, may accept such gifts or legacies before the deliberation of the council whose decision shall have retroactive force as from the date of original acceptance.[1]

Within the second category, requiring the approval of the Ministry of the Interior before execution, fall the larger part of municipal council functions. Among the more important of these are the following :—[2]

1. The municipal budget.

2. Municipal taxes.

3. The tariffs and regulations for the collection of all municipal revenues.

4. Special taxes and loans; for the latter the further approval of the High Commissioner being required.

5. Conditions of lease or rental of municipal property for periods exceeding 18 years in the case of rural property and nine years in the case of all other property.

6. The alienation or exchange of municipal property.

7. The acquisition of immovable property, new construction or reconstruction in whole or in part, or plans for major

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1 Arrêté No. 1338, *loc. cit.*, Art. 82.
2 *Ibid.*, Art. 48.

expenditures and maintenances exceeding the fiscal limits 4.62 etc.

9. Change in use of public property already utilized in the public service.

9. Any change in the conditions or status of public roads, highways, gardens, market-places, shooting and race courses, etc.

10. Acceptance or refusal of gifts or legacies bearing any charge or conditions or with power of substitution.

11. Establishment, change, or suppression of markets other than simple provision markets.

12. Price-fixing for certain necessities as bread, flour, meat, butter, milk, oil, vegetables, fish, wood, charcoal, and ice.[1]

At any time the central authorities may call upon the council for an advisory opinion and the law specifically calls for such action with regard to the following subjects —

1. Projects of alignment and leveling of the grand highways falling within the boundaries of a municipality.

2. Creation of charitable bureaus and their regulation.

3. Budgets and accounts of municipal charitable establishments created by private donations; authorization for purchase, alienation, transfer, borrowing, exchange, or pleading demanded by such organizations and the acceptance of legacies or gifts to the same.

If the council fails to give its opinion after having been formally requested therefor, action may proceed without it.[2]

Besides voting the budget, the council passes on the accounts of the municipality. Detailed regulations for municipal accounting and its supervision are provided by the Ministries of Interior and Finance.[3]

A municipal council is forbidden to make any proclamation or to express its views on the political, religious, or administrative systems. Any act or deliberation in violation of this prohibition is

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1 Loi du 4 Juillet 1917, Jour. Off., No. F. 302, p. 4.

2 Arrêté No. 1288, loc. cit., Art. 48.

3 Ibid., Art. 50.

automatically null and void without necessity of announcement and without possibility to any sanctions which may be determined by the government.[1] Such cases have resulted in the dissolution of an entire council or the dismissal of individual members.[2]

Automatically null and void are any deliberations of the council upon any subject foreign to its powers or taken outside of a regularly convoked meeting of the council. Likewise, any deliberations in violation of the laws and regulations are null and void. Nullification for these reasons is susceptible of appeal to the administrative courts.[3]

Status of Mayors

Each municipality is headed by a president of the council or mayor, appointed by the President of the Republic for a period of one year from among the members of the municipal council. In municipalities having at least eight councillors the mayor is assisted by a vice-president or assistant mayor (two in municipalities of over 25,000 inhabitants) who is appointed in the same manner and for the same period as the president. Both officers are eligible for reappointment.[4] In municipalities of 25,000 and above, the Administrator or the Intendant is charged with the functions of the mayor.[5]

In the absence of the mayor he is replaced by the vice-president or, where there is none, by the oldest member of the council. If the mayor resigns or is suspended or dismissed, he is replaced by a temporary successor appointed by the national president.[6] After being given an opportunity for written reply to the charges against him, the mayor may be suspended or removed by decree of the President. The decree must be motivated but there is no recourse. Suspensive power is in the hands of the President alone except in cases where the municipal officer has been indicted for crime when the administrator may suspend, subject to immediate reference to the central authorities.[7] In case of refusal or failure of the mayor to carry out any of his prescribed functions, the administrator may act or appoint a special delegate to carry out the prescribed duties.[8]

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1 Arrêté No. 1208, loc. cit., Art. 51.
2 See Appendix B.
3 Arrêté No. 1208, loc. cit., Art. 52.
4 Ibid., Arts. 34 & 36.
5 Ibid., Art. 35.
6 Arrêté No. 1208, loc. cit., Art. 40.
7 Ibid., Art. 41.
8 Ibid., Arts. 42 & 43.

Resignation of the mayor or assistant mayors is made directly to the President and becomes effective upon acceptance thereby, or, in default thereof, one month after the despatch of a new resignation by registered mail. The incumbents must carry on their functions until their successors have been appointed.[1] 6.66

The mayor, assistant mayors, and municipal councillors serve without pay but are entitled to any actual expenses incurred in carrying out a special mandate. In municipalities of 5,000 inhabitants and above, the mayor may be voted a representation allowance from the ordinary resources of the municipality.[2]

Powers of Mayor.

If the mayor deems it necessary for the welfare of the service to delegate some of his functions to members of the council, he can only do so with the approval of the assistant mayors and of the Minister of the Interior. However, in no case may the administrator or lawmaker delegate any of his functions when serving as municipal executive.[3] No government functionary belonging to the services of finance, forests, post and telegraph, or control of public establishments may serve as either mayor or assistant mayor. Likewise, no one employed by the mayor may be appointed as assistant mayor.[4] If the personal interests of the mayor or acting-mayor should prove to be in conflict with the general welfare, the President designates some other member of the council to act for the municipality in justice or in contract.[5]

The mayor appoints, with power of suspension and removal, all municipal employees for whom the laws or regulations have not fixed a special mode of appointment.[6] All such appointments must, however, receive the approval of the administrator, with the exception of labor employed by the day.[7]

When awarding contracts on behalf of the municipality, the mayor is assisted by two councillors chosen by the council, or, in default, chosen from the official list in order of ranking. The municipal treasurer is included in all meetings for this purpose and is

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1 Arabic Dec. 1298, loc. cit., Art. 42.
2 Ibid., Art. 44. Under the Turkish regime the mayor received a salary to be provided for the municipal budget. (Young, loc. cit., Vol. 2, p. 72).
3 Ibid., Art. 36. A memoir to the unlimited powers of delegation of the mayors of French cities.
4 Ibid., Art. 37.
5 Ibid., Art. 38.
6 Ibid., Art. 45.
7 Ibid., Art. 46.

cases of contracts for public works, the Director of Public Works is likewise included. Decision is taken by majority vote of the mayor and two assistants, the other members acting only in an advisory capacity but with the right to demand the inclusion of their advice in the written minute of the contract.[1]

Subject to the control of the council and the central authorities already outlined, the mayor is charged with a large variety of functions. As in France, he acts in the dual capacity of head of the municipal government and agent of the central government. The more important of his duties under the first category are the following:[2]

1. The conservation and administration of municipal properties.
2. Administration of revenues and supervision of accounts.
3. Preparation of the budget.
4. Direction of public works.
5. Supervision of municipal highways.
6. Signing of contracts and leases for the municipality and adjudications concerning public works.
7. Signing of all acts of sale, exchange, apportionment, acceptance of gifts and legacies or other acquisitions, etc.
8. Regulation of burial procedure.
9. Execution of all decisions of municipal council.

As an agent of the central government and under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior, the mayor is charged with the publication and execution of the laws and regulations, with all measures for general security not entrusted by the laws to the police services, and with the execution of any special functions provided by law or regulations.[3]

The mayor may issue orders giving effect to local measures concerning the objects entrusted to his vigilance and authority and orders publishing new laws and police regulations and calling the citizens to their observance.[4] In his character as agent of the central

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1 Arrêté, No. 1308, Art. 46.
2 Ibid., Art. 47.
3 Ibid., Arts. 48, 49, 50.
4 Ibid., Art. 51.

police service, the mayor issues orders having the character of police regulations. The most important of these concern the following :—

1. Regulation of everything which may affect free and undisturbed passage in the public streets, as destruction of dangerous structures, danger from falling articles, obstruction of passage, etc.

2. Maintenance of public order through avoidance of quarrelling, rioting, troublesome assemblages, nocturnal disturbances.

3. Maintenance of order on all occasions of public assemblage.

4. Precautions for General rites as affecting public order.

5. Inspection of weights and measures, and honesty of such transactions.

6. Precautionary and relief measures at times of public catastrophe or fires, floods, epidemics, and accidents of all sorts.

7. Provisional disposal of insane persons who may threaten public safety or morals.

8. Precautions against and relief for depredations by straying or wild animals.

Arrêtés issued by a mayor must be despatched immediately to the administrator who forwards them to the Minister of the Interior with his comments thereon. If they contain permanent regulations, they are not definitive until approved by the Minister. All other arrêtés are executory one fortnight after their despatch to the administrator. The Minister may annul or may suspend execution; in cases of urgency he may authorize immediate execution.[2]

Such arrêtés are not binding until they have been brought to the attention of the parties concerned, either through ordinary publication as in the case of general ordinances or by individual notification in other cases.[3]

Every municipality not enjoying the services of the State Police may have one or more municipal guards. They are nominated by the mayor for approval and commission by the administrator whose

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1 Arrêté No. 1288, loc. cit., Art. 11.
2 Ibid., Art. 12.
3 Ibid., Art. 13.

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§ 55 decision must be rendered within one month. They may be suspended by the mayor for a period of one month, but may be dismissed only by the administrators. They are responsible for the enforcement of municipal regulations and police orders through reports to the mayor, but have no authority to make arrests. Failure to comply with municipal regulations may result in judicial process with final enforcement by the regular police.[1]

Aspects of Legal Personality

A municipality may be declared legally responsible by decree of the President on advice of the Administrative Courts for damages resulting from crimes or misconduct committed by violence upon its territory through riots, or armed bands, whether against persons or public or private property. The damages shall be distributed over all the domiciled inhabitants of the responsible municipality by a tax specially prepared by the Director of Finance.[2] If during a council by the inhabitants of more than one village or municipality the damages shall be distributed over all those responsible, therefor in proportions to be determined by the Minister of Finance.[3] These provisions are not applicable when the municipality can prove that all measures within its power had been taken to prevent the incident; when the mayor does not have the control of the local police; or when the damages are the result of acts of war.[4] The responsible municipality has full recourse against the authors and accomplices of the disorder.[5]

The sale of movable or immovable municipal property may be authorized or decreed of any creditor bearing executory title by order of the Minister of the Interior who also determines the form of sale.[6] The Council sits on all legal actions initiated or sustained by the municipality. The mayor may, prior to such action, take steps to conserve or prevent forfeiture.[7] No municipality may initiate action in justice without authorization of the Administration. It must first prove a good right and sufficient interest. The Administrator must render his decision within two months, failing which the municipality may proceed.[8]

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1 Arrêté No. 1286, Art. 45., Art. 76.
2 Ibid., Art. 77.
3 Ibid., Art. 78.
4 Ibid., Art. 79.
5 Ibid., Art. 80.
6 Ibid., Art. 81.
7 Ibid., Art. 84.
8 Ibid., Art. 85.

6.56 No judicial action other than possessory may be instituted against a municipality except when the claimant has previously presented a properly authenticated memorial to the Administration. Judicial action may not be initiated until one month after the date of receipt of such a memorial without prejudice to acts of conservation. The presentation of the petition interrupts any prescription or forfeiture if it is followed by a demand in justice within three months. The administration immediately transmits such petitions to the mayor with a request that the council be convoked for deliberation thereon.[1]

Obligatory Provisions.

Municipal expenditures are obligatory or optional. The former may be written into the budget by the administrative and control of the following —[2]

1. Maintenance of a municipal building or rooms used for that purpose.
2. Payment of demandable debts.
3. Expenses of municipal administration, salaries of secretary, treasurer, and other employees.
4. Expenses of maintaining, cleaning, and lighting the streets.
5. Expenses of establishing and maintenance of plans for aligning and leveling the streets.
6. Cost of subscription to and proper care of the Official Journals of the Republic.
7. Portion of expenses of State Police allocated to municipality in the State budget.
8. Rent, cost of furnishing, lighting, and heating of posts of gendarmerie.
9. Any expenses incurred through necessity for the administration to act owing to failure of local authorities to perform their functions and in general any expenses charged to municipalities by the dispositions of any law or regulation.

All other expenditures are optional. The detailed regulation of municipal accounts, budgets, and contracts is provided by special articles of the central government.[3]

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1 Arrêté No. 1205, loc. cit., Art. 36.
2 Ibid., Arts. 38, 39, 40.
3 Ibid., Art. 41.

B. THE GOVERNMENT OF BEIRUT

425 Upon the establishment of the mandatory regime, the government of Beirut was functioning under a municipal council, half of whom had been elected in 1913. Although their tenure of office had expired in 1918, they were still functioning, as no new elections had been held. Partly on this ground and also because of the objection that the council as constituted did not satisfactorily represent the various religious sects, the council was dissolved in 1920 and an administrative commission appointed.[1] Municipal government was still being carried on under the provisions of the Ottoman Vilayet Municipal Law of October 5, 1877. In 1922 this regime was replaced by the new municipal code promulgated by Arrêté No. 1328 of March 19 1922.[2]

In 1924 the government appointed a commission to study the special problems of administration arising out of the fact that Beirut was the capital of the Lebanon and the seat of the French High Commission, the largest city in the country, and composed of a highly heterogeneous population. This commission proposed the reorganization of the Beirut administrative machinery under a special charter differing in several respects from the general municipal code. This proposal was adopted and the Beirut Municipal Law was promulgated on July 30, 1924 as Arrêté No. 2671.[3] In its general outlines the new law follows the principles of the general code of 1922. The points of difference alone will be treated in the following pages.

Status of Mayor.

The municipality of Beirut had always been classified as one of the principal administrative divisions of the Lebanon, ranking as a sandjak under the earlier laws and as a district under the reorgani-

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1 Arrêté No. 1455, July 21, 1920; Recueil des Arrêtés et Décisions de la Zone Ouest, Gouvernement du Liban, Beyrouth, 1921, p. 36.

2 Supra, p. 5.

3 Journ. Off., No. 7, 1924, pp. 3-4.

union elected under Decree-Law No. 9 of February 8, 1982.[1] Under the new municipal charter the administrator became the mayor or president of the municipal council,[2] a position which had been elective under the preceding regime.[3] 0-02

The Mayor of Beirut has final authority in all matters of appointment and dismissal from the municipal services.[4] he receives the resignations of municipal councillors[5] or assistant-mayors.[6] he has power to dismiss any councillor who, after election, is found to be ineligible[7] or who fails to comply with the law concerning attendance at council meetings.[8] On other local matters functions which ordinarily fall to the administrator, in the case of Beirut are exercised directly by the central authorities. For example, the Minister of the Interior may require a second deliberation of matters brought before the council at a special meeting on grounds of urgency.[9] he receives directly the records of all council meetings.[10] no contracts of the mayor are executory until approved by the Minister.[11] any expenses not provided for in the budget must receive his approval.[12] and the services and accounts of the municipality are open to inspection and verification by his agents at any time.[13]

The mayor receives a salary from the central government the amount of which must be inscribed in the municipal budget and paid in to the national treasury.[14]

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1 Supra, pp. 1-2.

2 Arrêté No. 1971, loc. cit., Art. 2. The arrangement automatically gives Beirut a certain degree of increased autonomy inasmuch as certain matters which in the ordinary municipality must be submitted to the administrator of the District come within the competence of the Mayor of Beirut. In the same way it brings the city more directly in touch with the central administration as all matters in the higher authorities goes directly to the Ministry of the Interior.

3 Arrêté No. 1400, Rec. S. G., loc. cit., p. 27.

4 Arrêté No. 1971, loc. cit., Art. 11. Cf. Supra, p. 17.

5 Ibid., Art. 11. Cf. Supra, p. 12.

6 Ibid., Art. 46.

7 Ibid., Art. 12. Cf. Supra, p. 5.

8 Ibid., Art. 27. Cf. Supra, p. 12.

9 Ibid., Art. 23. Cf. Supra, p. 13.

10 Ibid., Art. 30. Cf. Supra, p. 12.

11 Ibid., Art. 50. Cf. Supra, pp. 13-14.

12 Ibid., Art. 44.

13 Ibid., Art. 48.

14 Ibid., Art. 33. He is the only mayor receiving a salary in his capacity as municipal president.

Composition of the Council

4.02 The constitution of the Beirut municipal council differs in several respects from those of other municipalities. In the first place, it has a larger membership in order to secure representation for the many sects represented in its constituency. Originally constituted with fourteen elected members, it was enlarged by Arrêté No. 8627 of April 21, 1938, to contain 30 elected members.[1] The seats are distributed among the different sects as follows —

5 Sunni Moslems	1 Druze or Druse
3 Maronites	1 Representative of minority sects
3 Greek Orthodox	4 Representatives of foreigners, (nationals of states members of the League of Nations, or of the United States).

The members of the council are elected by direct universal suffrage — all male inhabitants of majority having the qualifications required by the national electoral law,[2] except that no distinction is made on the basis of nationality or sect.[3] By amendment in 1939, this provision was changed so that the Lebanese members are elected by their own nationals, the foreign members being elected separately by the inhabitants of foreign nationality.[4] In actual practice

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1 Journ. Off., No. 9, 1938, p. 6.

2 Arrêté No. 3471, loc. cit., Arts. 4 & 5.

3 The provision for the representation of foreigners in the municipal council was strongly opposed in the representative chamber on the ground that there was no precedent for such action, that foreigners had no right to participate in the internal affairs of the country, and that it would serve no useful purpose. The arguments supporting it, although in debate said to be typical of the drafting committee, were: (1) that the foreign communities were deeply rooted in the country and that, being subjected to municipal taxation, and the contributions having been considerable, they were entitled to a voice in matters of purely municipal concern; (2) that their participation would encourage the interest and cooperation of foreign residents in the development of the city; (3) that their presence on the council would strengthen the financial credit of the municipality; and (4) that it might aid in overcoming the world of a mandate for a greater degree of self-government or withdrawal by a withdrawal without formal treaties. In the original draft it was proposed to have two French members, one American, and one from the other foreign groups. As adopted, the law provided for two French members and one from the other groups. By Arrêté No. 8627 of April 21, 1938, this was changed to provide for four foreign members, not more than two of whom should represent the same national group. As no elections have yet been held under the new law, the city having been governed by an appointed commission (infra, p. 25, n. 4), the foreign members have been appointed by the President of the Republic upon the recommendation of the Council of State. In actual practice the foreign members have been appointed from the following national groups: French, English, and Italian.

4 Arrêté No. 3943, March 6, 1939, Journ. Off., No. 308 and Arrêté No. 3471, loc. cit.

no elections have been held under the new law, the council having been dissolved in 1929 and a commission appointed, which has been renewed annually since that date. Members of the foreign diplomatic or consular corps and any persons in their employ are ineligible for election to the municipal council.[1]

Procedure of the Council.

If the council is reduced by vacancies to twelve members, including the mayor, a new election must be held within one month, unless the next regular election would occur within six months, when a subsidiary election is held only if the council has lost six of its members.[2]

In case the council is dissolved, it is replaced by a special delegation composed of five members, only one of whom may be of foreign nationality. This delegation exercises all the powers of the council except that of deliberating on the municipal budget, taxes, or loans. In such cases of dissolution the government must call an election within three months.[3]

The council must meet at least once every two weeks with special meetings on call of the mayor.[4] A quorum consists of eight members. If a quorum is lacking due to the ineligibility of at least five members owing to personal interest in the matter under deliberation, the council may proceed providing at least six members are present. All voting, except for nominations and appointments, is by roll call and must be recorded in the minutes.[5]

Powers of the Council.

The Beirut council is invested with all the powers appertaining to the ordinary municipal councils under the general code and in addition is empowered (1) to fix the tariff for public conveyances of all kinds, (2) to make provision for the poor and (3) to pass on

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1 Arrêté No. 3071, loc. cit., Art. 4.

2 Ibid., Art. 17. Cf. Supra, p. 15.

3 Ibid., Art. 18. This article has been practically nullified by having the elections placed by enactment of the Chamber of Deputies instead of by administrative decree under the authority of the municipal law. Thus the postponement of new election within three months has been credited with a practical suspension of popular participation in municipal government by the expedient of repeatedly postponing the elections. The most recent postponement was in May, 1931.

4 Ibid., Art. 22.

5 Ibid., Art. 28.

6.56 all projects of construction, expansion, [illegible] demolition which must be submitted to the council in the interest of public safety and hygiene. The decisions in these matters are subject to veto by the central government.[1] Likewise the council is submitted to supervision of all public services of the city, its deliberations on these matters not having executory character until approved by the central government.[2]

Publication or veto of any act of the council follows the same procedure as in the general code except that all references to the administrator, who in this case is the mayor, are transferred directly to the President of the Republic.[3]

In contrast to the provisions of the general code, the Beirut charter provides that the assistant mayors shall be elected by the council for a period of two years and are eligible for reelection. Their election takes place the first week of April. In case of either office falling vacant, a new officer is elected for the duration of his predecessor's term.[4] The assistant mayors serve without pay.[5]

Budgetary Procedure.

The annual budget must be voted by the council before the 30th of November. It is not executory until approved by the Ministry of the Interior. If not approved before the beginning of the new fiscal year, the budget of the preceding year continues to serve as the basis for fiscal operations until the new budget comes into force.[6] No expenses unprovided for in the budget may be incurred without the express approval of the Minister. Likewise no deductions may be made from the reserve for contingencies without similar approval.[7]

The final accounts for the year must be reported and explained to the council in February and after examination and approval are forwarded to the Ministry of Finance for audit. They must be published in the Official Journal, likewise the budget and the accounts for the first semester.[8]

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1 Arrêté No. 2672, loc. cit., Art. 39
2 Ibid., Art. 40.
3 Ibid., Art. 41, cf. Supra, p. 36.
4 Ibid., Art. 42. Cf. Supra, p. 36.
5 Ibid., Art. 43.
6 Ibid., Art. 44.
7 Ibid., Art. 45.
8 Ibid., Art. 47. An examination of the Official Journal shows that this provision has not been observed.

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The management of the budget and the accounting system must [illegible] follow the regulations of the central government. All municipal services and accounts are open at all times to inspection and verification by the agents.[1]

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1 Arrêté No. [illegible], loc. cit., Art. 48.

III. ADMINISTRATION OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES

448 Until 1938 the administration of autonomous towns and villages of the Lebanon was carried on under the provisions of the Ottoman Vilayet Law of November 8, 1864, and January 21, 1871.[1] On January 13, 1938, a new code was promulgated under the title *Loi des Moukhtars*,[2] which forms the present basis of village organization and administration.

Under this law every community of at least fifty inhabitants is administered by a moukhtar and a council of elders.[3] Under the law of 1938, as under the Turkish regime, these officials were elected but by Décret-Loi No. 3 of February 8, 1938, provision is made for their appointment by the Minister of the Interior upon the nomination of the administrator of the district.[4]

Composition of Council of Elders

449 [446] The councils are composed of from two to six members under the presidency of the moukhtar. There are two members in villages of less than 300 inhabitants, four in villages having from 300 to 1500, six in towns of more than 1500.[5] In towns of more than 2500, the quarters are organized separately with their own moukhtar and council. New quarters may be constituted only by decree of the Minister of the Interior.[6]

Tenure of Office

450 451 The moukhtar and councillors hold office for a period of four years and are eligible for reelection or reappointment.[7] The candidates must be registered voters in accordance with the provisions of the national electoral law[8] and domiciled in the village or quarter which they represent. They must be at least twenty-five years of age and able to read and write. If there are no literate eligible

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1 Young, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 79-80.
2 Journ. Off., No. F. 438, p. 4.
3 Loi des Moukhtars, *loc. cit.*, Art. 1.
4 Journ. Off. No. F. 439. The electoral procedure under the 1938 law was the same as for the election of municipal councils[9] experience that an indication of candidates was required.
5 Loi des Moukhtars, *loc. cit.*, Art. 4.
6 Loi des Moukhtars, *loc. cit.*, Art. 5.
7 Ibid., Art. 7.
8 Supra, p. 5.

persons in the village, the literacy qualification may be waived for the councillors, but the mukhtār must then be selected from a neighboring village.[1] 640 644

The mukhtār must be appointed from the dominant sect and the seats on the council are allocated among the different sects by the same procedure followed in the organization of municipal councils.[2]

No one may hold the office of mukhtār or councilman in more than one locality at the same time. Father and son, father and son-in-law, brothers, or brothers-in-law may not sit simultaneously in the same council nor in councils of different quarters of the same town.[3]

Powers of Council

The council deliberates with the mukhtār on all questions of general organization and administration. They must countersign with the mukhtār: (1) all certificates of sale or transfer of real estate; (2) certificates of identity of buyers and sellers attesting their compliance with the requisite legal conditions and their freedom from compulsion; (3) certificates concerning the holders of land held without title. They act as an assessment commission for the apportionment of the harvest tithe among the inhabitants.[4] 643

Powers of Mukhtār

The mukhtār presides over the council of elders. He has general powers with regard to public security, finances, land registrations, agriculture, health and hygiene, justice, and education.[5] 642

In matters of general administration and public security he is responsible for the publication of the laws and regulations. He issues official certificates of identity and good character and attests the fulfillment of tax requirements and freedom from judicial process. He must keep the central government informed of local incidents which might lead to a disturbance of the public peace and security.[6]

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1 Loi des Mukhtārs, loc. cit., Art. 5.
2 Ibid., Art. 10 and Supra, p. 4.
3 Ibid., Art. 11.
4 Ibid., Art. 17.
5 Ibid., Art. 18.
6 Ibid., Art. 19.

6.65 In matters of finance, the mukhtār must give the tax-collectors
6.67 any assistance needed in locating taxpayers or in seizing their property in case of default.[1] Under the reorganization of the tax system in 1949 the mukhtārs may be called upon to collect the taxes themselves. In fact this new function was one of the reasons advanced for having these officials appointed by the central government instead of elected. When entrusted with the collection of taxes, the mukhtār is entitled to a commission of two and one-half per cent of the amount collected, provided they secure over 90 per cent of the amount due according to their tax lists. If more than 75 per cent of the amount due is collected, they receive an additional commission of 1 per cent. Failure to collect 80 per cent of the amount due makes them liable to dismissal (see other sources) right of re-appointment for a period of five years.[2]

The mukhtār is responsible for posting the allocation of the harvest tithe established by the council.[3]

6.68 In matters of land registration the mukhtār is responsible for certifying to the Land Transfer Office any cases arising within their jurisdiction.[4]

The mukhtār must assist the judicial authorities in carrying out duly authorized raids or seizures. He is responsible for serving any court summons or warrants to persons within his jurisdiction. Authority is entrusted to the mukhtār to assess the damages to crops or communal forests when the amount does not exceed five gold pounds. Such assessments serve as the basis for judgments.[5]

The mukhtār is responsible for the execution of all instructions emanating from the Department of Agriculture. He must furnish any information or reports required by that Department.[6]

The mukhtār must notify the government of any cases of contagious disease, of the existence of places of debauchery, and of any cases of accidents from poisoned food. In times of epidemics he is empowered to take the necessary precautions for stemming the epidemic until the central authorities assume control.[7]

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1 Loi des Mukhtārs, loc. cit., Art. 35.
2 Loi No. 44, March 17, 1949, Jour. Off., No. P. 341.
3 Loi des Mukhtārs, loc. cit., Art. 36.
4 Ibid., Art. 37.
5 Ibid., Art. 38.
6 Ibid., Art. 39.
7 Ibid., Art. 34.

He is responsible for persuading the inhabitants to enroll their children in the schools. He supervises the protection of antiquities and must notify the proper authorities of any cases of vandalism or theft perpetrated thereon.[2] 422

Miscellaneous Provisions

The mukhtars and councilors serve without pay. However, the former is authorized to charge a fixed fee for his services in issuing the various certificates required for his office. This fee is set by the central government. Although he retains the money, he must keep strict account of all such receipts on forms prescribed by the Ministry of Finance. He is forbidden to accept any recompense other than the authorized fees.[3] 422 423

A mukhtar may not absent himself from his village for more than ten days without prior authorization from the administrator. During his absence, he is replaced by the senior member of the council of elders.[4]

In case of any fault committed by either a mukhtar or a council member in their official capacities an investigation is made by the administrator who reports thereon to the Minister of the Interior. The latter may institute judicial action against the accused, who may not be reinstated in office unless acquitted and absolved.[5]

No preliminary authorization is required by third parties for the institution of judicial suit against a mukhtar or councilman for an offense committed outside of his official capacity.[6]

With regard to all other matters of local administration and control the towns and villages are under the authority of the Minister of the Interior acting through the administrators and kaimmakams with the advice and assistance of the various administrative councils.[6] 423

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1 Loi des Moukhtars, loc. cit., Art. 27.
2 Ibid., Art. 30.
3 Ibid., Art. 34.
4 Ibid., Art. 35.
5 Ibid., Art. 39.
6 Décret-Loi No. 5, Jour. Of., No. F. 379

APPENDICES

Appendix A.

LIST OF INCORPORATED MUNICIPALITIES

DISTRICT OF BEIRUT

Municipality	Budget L.L.S.	Population
Beirut	925,000	150,000

DISTRICT OF MOUNT LEBANON

Municipality	Budget L.L.S.
Chiah	900
Fourn El Chebbak	900
Araya	306
Chouit	200
Abadieh	1,777
Chfhanieh	373
Hamana	1,533
Falougha	1,130
Kornayel	570
Ras El Matten	785
Salima	550
Jounieh	16,500
Ghazir	8,500
Kfour	358
Diebta	850
Ghosta	1,901
Daroun	2,000
Achkout	308
Reyfoun	556
Kleiyat	283
Zouk	748
Gébail	2,000
Amchit	649
Kartaba	655
Aboun	1,672
Ghafald	498
Antélias	887
Jal-Eddib	545
Borj-Hammoud	1,276
Jedeydé	500
Beit Mery	1,400
Brummana	1,358

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District of Mount Lebanon (Cont.)

Beit Chabab	1,518
Bhannès	326
Bikfaya	5,700
Choueir	2,061
Broghrine	475
Konchara	657
Baskinta	800

DISTRICT OF BEKAA

Municipality	Budget L.L. 8.
Zahlé	20,000
Machghara	1,007
Saagbine	503
Kab Elias	2,000
Rayak	900
Jdita	419
Mreijate	750
Rachaya	450
Baalbeck	11,500
Chemestar	673
Bednayel	300
Ras Baalbeck	800
Hermel	2,310
Bekaa Kefra	—

DISTRICT OF NORTHERN LEBANON

Municipality	Budget L.L.8.
Tripoli	131,301
El Mina	65,710
Halba	1,709
Miniara	812
Beino	795
Minieh	983
Ehden	10,000
Béchary	2,181
Hasroun	1,158
Hadette	657
Kousba	3,455
Kfar Akka	615
Amioune	2,515
Bechmezzine	391
Hamate	397
Couba	800
Batroun	5,800

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District of Northern Lebanon (Cont.)

Tannourine	588
Douma	647
Enfé	585
Chéfka	481
Kobayet	474
Syr	458
Alwa	—

DISTRICT OF SOUTHERN LEBANON

Municipality	Budget L.L.S.
Saida	20,000
Nabatieh'	4,000
Gezzine	4,000
Bkassine	3,500
Roum	839
Kaitouly	905
Kfarhouné	884
Marjeyoun	3,500
Hasbaya	3,000
Khiam	800
Sour	6,000
Joya	1,500
Tibnine	380
Bint-Gébeil	3,100
Yaroun	—

DISTRICT OF MOUNT LEBANON

Municipality	Budget L.L.S.
Aley	12,800
Sofar	5,500
Souk El Gharb	2,395
Abey	500
Bhamdoun	1,340
Bhamdoun Gare	1,565
Btater	513
Richmaya	390
Ainab	571
Majdel Mouche	322
Breddine	1,842
Deir El Kamar	3,249

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District of Mount Lebanon (Cont.)

Baakline	1,703
Amatour	457
Moukhtara	335
Niha	307
Jobne	901
Chehime	470
Barja	375
Damour	2,331
Choueifat	1,951
Maasser Chouf	523
Ain Zhalta	766
Nabè' El Safa	260
Barouk	793
Baabda	1,800
Wadi Chahrour S.	854
Wadi Chahrour O.	642
Kfarchima	2,890
Hadeth	3,000
Borj El Brajenih	2,500
Haret Jereik	750
Kefer Debiane	—

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Appendix B.

LIST OF MUNICIPAL COUNCILS DISSOLVED

No.	Date	Name	Cause cited
Arr. 1458	Jul. 25 1922	Sofar	None cited
" 1469	Aug. 31 "	Akoura	"
		Aindara	"
		Chehin	"
		Ghiset-Ghabalé	"
		Joune	"
		Kfarmatta	"
		Mineitra	"
		Roumieh	"
" 1530	Sept. 19 "	Wadi-el-Arayiche	"
" 1532	" " "	Souk-el-Gharb	"
" 1678	Dec. 21 "	Douma	"
" 1699	Jan. 10 1923	Salhié	"
" 1811	Mar. 17 "	Baakline	"
" 1981	Jul. 16 "	Ras-el-Matten	Resignation
" 2033	Aug. 20 "	Kab-Elias	None cited
Dec. 1852	Sept. 14 "	Kfarhim	"
Arr. 2084	" 25 "	Reyfoun	Resignation
" 2100	Oct. 5 "	Amioun	None cited
Dec. 1879	" 11 "	Baalbek	"
Arr. 2128	" 29 "	Falougha	"
Dec. 1902	Nov. 5 "	Djoun	"
		Baskinta	"
Arr. 2063	Mar. 29 1924	Choueir	"
" 2441	May 5 "	Kousba (North Leb.)	Abuse of confidence
" 2098	" 7 "	Maaser-el-Chouf	"
" 2479	" 23 "	Djounieh	"
" 2245	July 29 "	Hasroun	"
" 2686	" 30 "	Beyrouth	New regime set up
" 2352	Sept. 27 "	Hadeth el-Jebbe	None cited
" 2355	" " "	Becharre	"
" 2481	Nov. 22 "	Jezzine (South Leb.)	"
" 3465	Jan. 13 1926	Baalbek	Council protested re Lebanon boundaries.
" 3609	Apr. 21 "	Choueir	Judicial action vs two members.
Dec. 31	June 15 "	Tyre	Lack of quorum.
" 164	July 19 "	Jezzine	None cited
" 348	Sept. 21 "	Kfar Akka	Internal dissension & abuse of confidence.

No.	Date	Name	Cause cited
" 486	Sept.30 1926	Machgara (Zahleh)	None cited
" 504	Oct. 2 "	Kfarhoumîz (Saida)	"
" 611	" 18 "	Zahlé—Moallaka	"
" 722	Nov. 9 "	Baakinta	"
" 767	" 18 "	Baalbek	"
" 877	Dec. 9 "	Richmaya (Chouf)	"
" 1000	Jan. 8 1927	Ras-el-Matten	"
" 1031	Jan. 19 "	Djounieh (Kasrouan)	"
" 1070	" 27 "	Syr (Tripoli)	"
" 1076	" 29 "	Ehden-Zghorta	"
" 1256	Feb. 26 "	Hermel (Baalbek)	"
" 1520	Apr. 27 "	Tripoli el Mina	"
" 1695	June 1 "	Beyrouth	"
" 1700	" 2 "	Beit Mery (El-Matten)	"
" 1726	" 15 "	Aley	Resignation of mayor
" 1795	" 29 "	Brummana (Matten)	None cited
" 1806	" 30 "	Furn-el-Chebbak (Beyrouth)	"
" 1817	July 4 "	Ras Baalbek	"
" 1840	" 7 "	Becharre (Batroun)	"
" 1881	" 19 "	Amioun (Batroun)	"
" 2091	Aug.29 "	Der-el-Ahmar (Baalbek)	"
" 2172	Sept.25 "	Bainо (Tripoli)	"
" 2356	Nov. 8 "	Hadeth (Beyrouth)	"
" 2476	Dec. 5 "	Bhamdoun (Chouf)	Lack of quorum
" 2447	Nov. 29 "	Kartaba (Kasrouan)	Grave irregularities
" 2701	Jan. 27 1928	Bteiddine	None cited
" 3374	June 6 "	Ras Baalbek	"
" 3791	Sept.20 "	Salima (Matten)	"
" 3801	" 22 "	Daroun-Harissa (Kasrouan)	"
" 3906	Oct. 12 "	Jezzine (Saida)	"
" 4199	Dec. 7 "	Bickfaya (Matten)	"
" 4214	" 15 "	Daraoun-Harissa (Kasrouan)	"
" 4255	" 20 "	Choueir (Matten)	"
" 4289	" 29 "	Sakiet el Misk (Beherrafe)	"
" 4313	Jan. 8 1929	Ajeltoun (Kasrouan)	"
" 4662	Mar. 8 "	Maaser-el-Chouf	"
" 4962	Apr. 30 "	Antelias	Bad management
" 4972	May 5 "	Chehim	Resignation of majority
" 5407	Jul. 25 "	Hadace (Batroun)	None cited
" 5471	Aug. 7 "	Bhorsaf	"
" 5653	Sept.24 "	Bteghrine (Matten)	"
" 5673	" 30 "	Rayak-Haouche Hala	"
" 5768	Oct. 25 "	Ehden Zghorta	"

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No.	Date	Name	Cause cited
" 5990	Dec. 12 1929	Sakiet el Milk	None cited
" 5991	" " "	Khouachara	"
" 6015	" 19 "	Barouk	"
" 6035	" 21 "	Roum	"
" 6033	" " "	Abay (Chouf)	"
" 6174	Jan. 24 1930	Bichamé (Batroun)	Negligence & insubordination
" 6176	Jan. 27 "	Kleiate (Kesrouan)	None cited
" 6336	Mar. 4 "	Aley	"
" 6621	May 15 "	Douma	Resignation of majority
" 6635	" 17 "	Chouair	None cited
" 6637	" 23 "	Chébaniyah	Resignation of majority
" 6726	May 30 "	Younine	None cited
" 7117	Sept.10 "	Sofar	"
" 7346	Oct. 16 "	Amatour	"
" 7460	Nov.17 "	Btater	"
" 7500	Dec. 4 "	Hermel	Negligence in public hygiene and health.
" 7501	Nov.29 "	Saida	Resignation of majority
" 7544	Dec.10 "	Ras-el-Matten	Absence of majority

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Appendix C.

LIST OF MUNICIPALITIES SUPPRESSED

No.	Date	Name		Cause cited
Arr. 1368	Oct. 19 1922	Barbeline		Budget
" 1374	" 28 "	Palougha, Bekhaaty, Bedghan, Ain-Dara	Matten	"
" 1386	" 30 "	Mejdel Baan (Chouf)		"
" 1388	" " "	Hadchit & Sible (Zgharta)		"
" 1395	Nov. 3 "	Kfar Debian (Kesrouan)		"
" 1396	" " "	Khiani (Mariyoun)		"
" 1620	" 21 "	Aitanite (Beaa)		"
" 1646	Dec. 4 "	Aita el-Fakhr (Bekaa)		"
" 1649	" 6 "	Meziara (Zgharta)		"
" 1659	" 26 "	Ras el-Matin		None cited
" 1674	" " "	Kornayel		Budget
		Kfar-Selouan		"
		Djoun		"
" 1675	" 27 "	Salima		"
		Roumié		"
		Kafr-Matta		"
" 1677	" " "	Kafr-Matta		"
" 1684	" 30 "	Chebanié		"
" 1698	Jan. 10 1923	Bencouati		"
		Mallikh		"
		Roum		"
" 1706	" 16 "	Khoebé		"
" 1719	" 22 "	Kafr-Anir		"
" 1721	" " "	Adeyssé		"
" 1757	Feb. 12 "	Biré		"
" 1872	Apr. 28 "	Wadi-el-Arayéche		"
" 1987	Jul. 17 "	Mussehra		"
		Ghiné		"
" 2078	Sept. 18 "	Fakié		"
" 2515	June 19 1924	Deir Mimass (South Leb.)		"
" 2584	Aug. 2 "	Ible-Saki (South Leb.)		"
" 3345	Oct. 30 1925	Knat (Batroun)		"
" 3468	Jan. 12 1926	Serbine (Baalbek)		"
" 3533	Feb. 15 "	Jbah (Saida)		"
" 3538	" " "	Kfarbim (Chouf)		"
" 4286	Dec. 28 1928	Ehmige (Kesrouan)		"
" 4772	Mar. 30 1929	Chartoun (Chouf)		"
" 7354	Oct. 17 1930	Adloun		"
" 7356	" " "	Younine		"
" 7476	Nov. 19 "	Fernel		"

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Appendix D.

TABLE SHOWING RANGE OF MUNICIPAL BUDGETS

CITIES HAVING BUDGET OVER 10,000 SYRIAN POUNDS[1]

	L. Syrian
Beirut	925,000
Tripoli	181,801
El Mina	68,710
Saida	20,000
Zahlé	20,000
Jounieh	16,500
Aley	12,800
Baalbeck	11,500
Ehden	10,000

DISTRIBUTION OF MUNICIPALITIES BY BUDGET TOTALS

No. of Cities		Budget Total L. Syrian
9	over	10,000
1	between	6,000 — 7,500
4	"	5,000 — 6,000
2	"	4,000 — 5,000
8	"	3,000 — 4,000
10	"	2,000 — 3,000
20	"	1,000 — 2,000
40	"	500 — 1,000
29	"	250 — 500

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1 Data taken from Decree No. 3502, November 5, 1930, Journ. Off. No. 661.

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Appendix E.

BUDGET OF BEIRUT — 1929

REVENUES

Chapter I.

	L. Syrian
Tax on buildings	88,560
Temettu	14,760
Vehicle tax	44,280
Dog tax	200
	L. Syr. 147,800

Chapter II.
Indirect Taxes.

Liquor tax	12,500
Tax on use of sidewalks	7,000
Tax on coffee houses, casinos, cinemas, and theatres	9,600
Tax on land entries	40,000
Tax on port entries	187,000
Tax on slaughtering	12,532
Tax on tanning	16,315
Tax on weighing	16,005
Tax on auctions	19,900
Tax on animal sales	3,548
Tax on inflammables (storage)	3,800
Tax on building permits	11,300
Guardian tax	25,000
Tax on meat transport	80,000
Tax on taxi stands	7,200
Tax on inflammables (consumption)	35,000
Miscellaneous	8,400
L. Syr.	484,500

Chapter III.
Revenues from Municipal Domains.

Rents and miscellaneous	3,000
L. Syr.	3,000

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Chapter IV.
Miscellaneous Revenues.

	L. Syr.
Tax for medical visits	19,000
Tax on houses of prostitution	33,500
Fines	8,000
Interest on bank funds	200
Miscellaneous	6,000
	L. Syr. 66,700

Chapter V.

Tax on side walk construction	35,000
Tax on special paving permits	2,000
	37,000

Grand Total L. Syr. 739,000

EXPENDITURES

Chapter I.
Administration and Salaries.

Administrative service	9,700
Bookkeeping	20,800
Technical service	47,000
Fire service	12,100
Inspection service	14,300
Sanitary service	19,700
Guardian service	44,100
Reserves	2,000
	L. Syr. 169,700

Chapter II.
Material.

Rents and repairs of furniture	750
Furniture, newspapers, printed matter	2,000
Cleaning and spraying	90,000
Lighting	25,000
Fire service	1,500
Water	2,000
Expenses officer on works	2,000
Assessors	7,500
Guardians	4,000
	L. Syr. 134,750

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Chapter III.
Communal Domain.

	L. Syrian
Taxes	3,000
Repairs and insurance	3,000
	L. Syr. 6,000

Chapter IV.

Debt Reversement and Miscellaneous.

Debts regulation	1,000
Reversement to treasury	4,000
Miscellaneous reversements	1,000
Reversements on scales tax	2,500
Police expenses	16,000
Public instruction	1,850
Caracols and police stations	1,600
Salaries to inspectors of administrative service	4,000
Court expenses	4,000
Expenses for lodging	3,000
Expenses for elections and printed material	30
	L. Syr. 39,980

Chapter V.

Work, Repairs and Working Instruments.

Roads and avenues	125,000
Repairs of roads with tramways	5,000
Gardens, squares, plantations	12,000
Expropriations for roads	59,000
Building construction	5,000
Basta Road	12,500
Covering roads with tar	62,000
Garage construction	35,000
Tiles	4,000
Miscellaneous	40,000
	L. Syr. 359,500

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451

Chapter VI.

Miscellaneous Expenses.

Regulation of prostitution	6,500
Receptions	2,000
Care of paupers	4,000
Numbering houses, shops and naming roads	1,200
Museums	2,000
Miscellaneous	2,000
	L. Syr. 17,700

Chapter VII.

Reserve.

	L. Syrian
Emergency reserve	12,870
	L. Syr. 12,870

Grand Total L. Syr. 739,000

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Appendix F.

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THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF THE LEBANON

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Appendix G*

The foregoing article had already finally passed the printers when Arrêté 1208 of March 10, 1922, on which the municipal administration of the Lebanon is largely based, was amended on a number of points by Legislative Decree 82/L of September 15, 1952, —a decree promulgated by the President of the Republic on the proposal of the Director of the Interior in virtue of the Emergency powers conferred on them by the decree of the Haut Commissaire of May 9, 1932 which suspended *sine die* the existing Lebanese constitution. The amendments however only extend to details, of which the following are specifically dealt with in the article:

Incorporation.—The minimum budget to be presented by any town wishing for incorporation now amounts to 500 L.S. (instead of 250) All municipalities already incorporated whose budget is inferior to this sum may be dissolved by Governmental decree (Decree article 2 modifying Arrêté article 5).

Powers of Council.—In addition to the general powers of decision and advice mentioned in the first paragraph of this section, Municipal Councils may nominate directly or present lists of suitable candidates to certain functions, in accordance with existing laws and regulations. (Decree article 6 modifying Arrêté article 45).

Decisions of the Council which are executory without further approval become effective within 15 days, (instead of 30), and may only be suspended by the administration for 8 days (instead of 15). (Decree article 7 modifying Arrêté article 47).

The nullity of *ultra vires* decisions is pronounced by the Director of the Interior, either on his own initiative or on the motion of any party interested. From this decision there is no appeal, but the reasons for the decision must be given in full. (Decree article 11 modifying Arrêté article 53).

Powers of Mayors.—The arrêtés of mayors become executory within 15 days, (instead of 30) after despatch to the administration. The Director of the Interior may annul or suspend them, but his decision must be given within 5 days. (Decree article 13 modifying Arrêté article 72).

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*Owing to Professor Khater's absence on leave in America, he was not able to revise the proof of this study and incorporate at the last minute any changes in the law such as described in this appendix. Professor Roger H. Salter of the Department of History, kindly supplied this appendix to bring the study up to date.

ERRATA

Page			Line	Error	Correct
1			8	120	126
2			1	308	300
4			24	1222	1922
4	Note	5		Jean	Jeanne
5	"	2	4	equivalent	equivalent
5	"	2	5	woke	work
6	"	2	14	Imperatively	Imperatively
7	"	3		1808	1307
7	"	4		1207	1208

MISSIONARY EDUCATION IN LEBANON: A STUDY IN ACCULTURATION

[redacted]

P · 338(d)

14:Tannous S-5 (no date) 1943 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621 IN ITS population of 1,200 people and general
361 social organization, Rishmieeen is typical of the Lebanon village communities. It is situated in the foothills of the Lebanon mountains, fifty miles to the north of Beirut and twelve miles to the south of Tripoli, the two seaports of the
114 country. The writer was born and grew up in this village. He is the product of its native Arab culture, as influenced and modified by the invading American culture. The present article is based upon personal experience—his own, with an Arab-American background, and that of his people, who have lived in the same village for eight generations.

795 With respect to the religious situation in the
621 village previous to the appearance of mission activity, it is sufficient to emphasize a few salient facts. In the first place, there were in the village three religious sects—a large majority of Greek Orthodox (about 1000 people), a small minority of Moslems (about 150 people), and three Maronite households, which will be neglected in the discussion. Secondly, the relationship between the two religious sects had always been such as could be characterized as harmonious and stable. Each
795 sect took it for granted that there had always
621 been and there will always be two sects in the
771 village—Moslems and Greek Orthodox. Consequently, there had never been any attempt on the part of one sect to interfere with the religious practices of the other or to undertake any proselyting campaign. Thirdly, religion in the village had always been an integral part of the whole village life. It was not a matter of dogma, or

14.Tannous 8-5 (no date) 1943 MEI Lebanon MEI

795 621 771 method of worship, cut apart and separated from the practices of daily living. It was rather a way of life. The church grew up with the village, influencing it and at the same time being influenced by the other aspects of village life. Thus, to cast doubt upon the church meant casting doubt upon village life altogether.

II

797 621 Early in the second half of the 19th century, three religious missions appeared on the quiet horizon of the Lebanon area—the Protestant (mainly American), the Catholic (mainly French), and the Greek Orthodox (Russian). There were other missions too—Italian, German, English, and Scandinavian. However, the influence of these did not reach Bishmizzeen and they need not be discussed here.

797 The American Presbyterian mission has always been the most influential Protestant mission in the country. They began their work early in the second half of the 19th century. Beirut was their first base, whence they reached out to the surrounding Lebanese villages. Later, they established a second base in the town of Tripoli, from which they began to work in the neighboring villages of the Koura district, including Bishmizzeen. About 1860, they succeeded in establishing a simple elementary school at Bishmizzeen. A native Protestant teacher (man) was put in charge. A simple square room was found, whose owner was willing to rent it for the purpose. Tuition was free and parents were encouraged to send their children to the new school.

797 621 872

It seems that, at first, the people of the village

p-838(c)

797 621 872 defined the new situation in a positive and favorable manner. They did not have to pay anything extra for this new type of education. The mothers found it convenient that some one should take care of their children when they were not needed for farm work. At the same time, the rising silk trade created a demand for individuals able to write and use simple arithmetic. Some of the parents began to realize that it was necessary for their children to learn how to calculate, read, and write accurately. Further, during that period, the silk trade had begun to bring the village people in contact with the outside—Tripoli and Beirut—where there were learned people who held high positions in life. As a consequence of that contact, there was growing in the village a vague consciousness of the worthwhileness of learning and knowledge. The Arabic word "Ilm," the equivalent for knowledge, was beginning to assert itself in the village vocabulary. In a word, the stage was set for the establishment of a regular school, and the villagers seemed willing to cooperate.

797 798 But that initial definition of the situation did not last very long. A new element appeared, a very significant element, which made the villagers more wary of what was taking place. It was observed that a new type of religion was being taught at the sch ool—aside from "innocent" arithmetic, reading, and writing—and that every Sunday the "foreign" missionary would come to the school and preach the Gospel in a new fashion to the students and others who gathered around. The people were not ready to tolerate this new element. It meant a direct attack upon the authority of the church, and this meant nothing less than undermining the integrity of village life as a whole. At the same time, the Russian mission did not like the idea of the Protestant mission working in the Greek Orthodox villages of the Kura district. Through the native Bishop of the district, they encouraged the villagers to do something about it. The instructions were "Do everything but don't touch the person of the missionary."

One Sunday, when the missionary came to the village to do his weekly preaching, the village leaders had already prepared a group of youths for action. At the appointed hour, the youths moved to the mission school and began shouting and making deafening noise by beating on empty cans, while the missionary and the teacher conducted the meeting inside. In a short while the mob became

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797 more menacing, and the two men had to leave the
798 village. The following Sunday, the mob attacked the school and threw the benches into the street. The school was closed, within one year of its beginning. ("...One Sunday, our service (in Bishmizeen) was broken up by a mob of boys, throwing stones at doors and windows and beating tins and shouting. It appeared, however, that persons of most influence were on our side, and the government has issued an order to the people to respect our rights...." From the 1898 Mission Report, Beirut, Lebanon.)

797 However, the incident left its mark upon the
621 village. Among the people there were some who
872 looked into the future and felt the urgent need of education for their children. The mission school offered them the opportunity, and they were determined to grasp it. For the time being, they kept quiet.

Within the following two years, the desire for a school in the village grew very strong. A delegation of elders was sent to Tripoli to interview the Bishop about the matter. They requested him to establish a school in Bishmizeen. The Bishop was reluctant about that. He advised them to send their children to the Russian mission school in the neighboring village of Amyoon. Their feeling of community pride was aroused. They felt it was an insult that they should send their children to another village for education. Certainly, their community was important enough to deserve a school. The Bishop resorted to another argument, which proved to be very tactless. He reminded the elders of the fact that the more sophisticated Bishmizeen people were enough of a trouble for him without being educated in a regular school, and that school education would make them much more difficult to handle. The elders retorted by threatening to resort to the American mission and invite them to reopen the school. The Bishop reminded them of the danger such a move would involve for the religious beliefs of their children. One of the elders replied by saying, "Your Holiness, we don't mean that our children should change their faith; we want them to be educated as your Holiness was at a mission school. Your Holiness did not change your faith, and our children need not change theirs." (... Three schools have been begun in this district (Kura).... The poor old Greek Orthodox Bishop of Tripoli is at his wits end to know how to keep

P 339(8)

797 hold of his people in these villages...." From
621 an undated Mission report.)
872 With that, the elders parted, went to the mission center and requested them to reopen the school in Bishmizeen, promising to pay for the education of their children. The head of the mission reminded them of what they had done with the school two years previously. One of the elders retorted by reminding the missionary of what Christ said about forgiving one's brother seven times seventy! A new native teacher was appointed by the mission, and the school was reopened in Bishmizeen.

797 The above story was dwelt upon with a view to
798 bringing forth several significant points. The
621 first of these is to emphasize the fact that the hostile reaction of Bishmizeen to the mission did not take any serious violent character. In other places, the mission suffered serious persecution. This may be explained by two factors, a local one and a general one. Locally, the Bishmizeen people had always been accustomed to live side by side with another religious group, the Moslem minority. They had learned how to tolerate the existence of another sect. Consequently, the appearance of a third sect, although shocking, was not as much so as it was in the case of other religious groups in complete isolation. The second factor derives from the general character of the Greek Orthodox church. It must be remembered that the Greek Orthodox or Eastern church has always been considered heretic by the Catholic church, due to the split which occurred in the early days of the Christian church. Since then, the Greek Orthodox sect have considered themselves as more "progressive." Further, the Greek Orthodox in Lebanon have always mixed with the Moslems of the country, much more so than the Maronites who secluded themselves on the mountain heights. Consequently one would expect the Greek Orthodox group of Bishmizeen to be more open and tolerant toward the new message of the Presbyterian Mission.

621 The second point to be emphasized refers to the
794 manner in which the village elders argued with the Bishop and finally used a threat. That was unprecedented behavior, on the part of a lay village group toward high church authorities. As far as could be ascertained, that was the first incident of its kind in the village, possibly the first in the whole district. It is indeed hard to evaluate the significance of such a move. One may see in

it the beginning of a movement that may be termed "progressive." On the other hand, one can see the dangers it implied for village solidarity.

A third significant point to observe is that a new type of conflict arose in the village, as a result of the school incident. It was conflict between two new groups—those who wanted to have a Protestant school in the village and those who opposed the idea. It was a division that cut across the family and church groups. It was also conflict between a traditional value and a new one—between the need for the preservation of church integrity and the need for education. All of this tended to shake the village organization; all of it demanded new adjustments on the part of the people.

III

After the first Mission teacher left the village, his students, and the village people in general, were set afire by the desire for further education. Other mission teachers came to the village and gave additional impetus to that desire. At the same time the first emigrants began to return to the village and tell the people about the wonders of education in that "marvellous country of America." English was the language through which they could attain some status with the American people and reap some of the gold in that country. They wanted their children to learn English and get an American type of education. The Syrian Protestant College at Beirut was beginning to flourish, and the road was now open for a village boy to become a doctor or a college teacher. All of this meant more cash income, and cash was becoming more and more the significant symbol of comfort and new forms of prestige. Village boys and girls began to come back from Tripoli with American high school certificates in their hands. They were "fully" educated and they could share in the establishment and running of an independent village school.

All of these factors combined to bring about the fruition of the village school idea. In 1904, under the leadership of the Mission's early students and some influential emigrants who had returned to the village, a fully representative society, the first in the history of the village, was formed and given the name of "Raja-el-Watan"—the hope of the country—the country here meaning nothing more than the village. The sole aim of the society was to establish and run a school for the whole village community.

P·340(B)

871 From the beginning the village people agreed to the idea of having their girls get the same education as boys, and in the same school house. The move was a departure from the commonly held belief of the area that the girl should be kept at home. However, Bishmizzeen had been prepared for that. The American girls' school at Tripoli was the first strong influence. A few of the progressive leaders sent their girls to the Tripoli school. When these returned they were anxious to give the same chance
562 to all village girls. Aside from that, the two
871 sexes in Bishmizzeen had always mixed freely—as groups, not as individuals. To have both sexes at the same school was not altogether outside the scope of the village tradition. At the same time returned emigrants had their influence, too. Also it must be noted that the silk factory had already paved the way for the mixing of the two sexes in one institution. If the villagers had accepted that, it was not so difficult for them to see their girls and boys studying together under the supervision of men and women teachers. Consequently, the idea was accepted, and the coeducational school began to function smoothly and normally.

621 Within a few years the school became the focus
871 of village life. It seems that the mere physical
517 existence of the school building—a building that belonged to the community as a whole—made it possible for various new community activities to take place. The school society began to find it more logical and more convenient to hold its meetings in the school building. General village meetings, also began to take place there. From this, the next step was to hold receptions at the school and invite people from neighboring villages. At first only village talent was used at these receptions; then talent from the city, in the form of lecturers, poets and singers, was brought in. This added to the impetus of the educational movement in the village. The villagers became proud of their school and highly conscious of their community—Bishmizzeen, the village of education.

536 One more vital activity began to take place at
517 the school, involving the whole of the village com-
[177] munity and other villages, too. That was the acting of plays. Several factors contributed to the creation of this activity—returned emigrants, contact with the educational circles of Tripoli and Beirut, and the early mission school teachers. The desire had been there for some time, but it could not be satisfied, due to the lack of a suitable building. Shortly after the school building was

P·341(a)

536 erected, play acting materialized. At first only
517 young men acted. A year or two later, girls began to act, too. The village could not go beyond that and allow boys and girls to act together. That involved kissing and embracing between boys and girls on the stage, and the village held to the idea that such a kiss or an intimate embrace must be reserved to married couples!

834 It is essential that we should dwell briefly on
562 the attitude of the village people towards acting
536 by girls. The villagers had a strong taboo against
578 acting by girls. Acting involved the parading of the girl on the stage in front of the crowd including young men and strangers. Remarks might be made about the girl, causing trouble between her family and those who made the remarks. Such parading had the further implication that the parents were eager to present their girl for marriage. That went against the custom which demanded that the girl should wait at home until her suitor came for her. The strongest objection was due to the fact that the people had always associated regular actresses with "bad morals." Gradually, due to the influence of leading families who were willing to begin with their girls, all of the above objections were broken down, until acting by the girls became a matter of course.

536 Within a few years acting became one more
621 established village festival, involving the whole community. They had been accustomed to religious village festivals, and it was natural to fit the play in with the previous pattern and make of it one more such festival. Without any exception, everybody—actors, workers, church authorities and leaders—offered his or her services free, for the community welfare. Over a period of two months, preparation for the play would engage the attention of the village with everybody waiting for the occasion with thrilled anticipation. The preparation involved the various activities of casting, renting the equipment from Tripoli, constructing the stage, evening rehearsals, energetic arguments to persuade a certain girl to accept a certain role and her parents to permit her to act, and the distribution of invitations to the neighboring villages. Two or three days before the play, the village children would enlist as volunteers who would go from house to house in the village and gather all available chairs to seat the guests. The children's reward was the enjoyment of the activity itself and free admission during one evening. The play would be presented for three or four nights.

P·341(b)

536 621 On each occasion, a huge crowd, from Bishmizzeen and neighboring villages would attend. An admission was charged, but no regular fee was assigned. Each paid what his "generosity" allowed. That was one more example of how the village fitted a new item of behavior into its established folkways. The income of the play was used for the school.

From the above description, it can be readily observed how play acting, centering in the village school, helped to bring about active village cooperation, a heightened consciousness of community identity, and an active inter-village association.

536 621 186 However, one must not neglect to mention a highly significant point, one more indication of what was going to happen to the village in its newly chosen trend. Not a single one of the plays that have been acted in the village had any relationship to village and farm life. The language used was always the higher literary form of Arabic, which had little connection with the local forms of expression. The theme of the play was either copied from Western novels or referred to old Biblical or historical events. Keeping in mind the tremendous influence of the play, by playing upon the emotions of the village people and creating in them a dynamic for new modes of behavior, one can realize to what extent it was influential in carrying the people away from the village. It widened the horizon of village life, as did the school, emigration, and the silk industry; but the horizon was widened to an extent that was conducive to the destruction of the community integrity.

IV

871 179 When the modern educational movement began in the country some fifty years ago, several educational systems appeared in the field and competed with each other in their effort to influence the people. These systems had a variety of cultural backgrounds—English, Russian, German, Italian, French, American, Turkish, and native. None of these systems had a purely educational character. Their educational message was combined either with religous, or political aims, or both.

In the course of time, each of these systems came to concentrate its influence upon one area of the country or one section of the population. In the case of Bishmizzeen, as was indicated above, the American Protestant system has been the most

p. 342 (A)

87/177 influential. This has been due to several factors, as was shown in the previous discussion—the early start of the Protestant mission in the village, the leading personality of Anis Sallum, the failure of the Russian mission to establish a school in Bishmizeen, and emigration by the village people to the United States.

The following figures show to what extent the Bishmizeen people have been educated at American, French, and native schools, outside the village. No other system of education has been able to reach that community. The figures cover a period of fifty years, from 1890 to 1939, and show the number of men or women who have been educated at high schools or colleges. A total of 140 people have attended American high schools or colleges, for one or more years. Of these, 78 are men and 62 women. The share of the high schools is 99 (48 men and 51 women). The share of the college is 41 (30 men and 11 women).

It should be observed that men and women have been reached equally by the high school, as regards the number educated and the starting period in the history of the village. However, with reference to college students, there are almost three times as many men as women. Also, men started to go to college much earlier. A possible explanation for the discrepancy is that a high school education was as far as the village traditions would go in the [562] case of girls. After all, the status of woman has always been that of a housewife and mother. A more plausible explanation is that the American Protestant mission in those early days did not encourage college education for girls. Before 1920, the mission had no provision for girls' college education.

Coming to French high schools and colleges, we find that only 16 people have been touched by that system of education—11 men and 5 women. Of these 11 (6 men and 5 women) went to high school while only 5 (men) went to college.

The following figures on native education cover only high school, for no native college education has ever been established in Lebanon. A total of 56 people (16 men and 40 women) have been educated at native high schools. The great excess of women over men in this case is due to the presence of a good sectarian school (Greek Orthodox) for girls in addition to the state school for both sexes. Native education is a new movement in the country, and it has not yet had the time to assume a stable and distinctive character.

P.342 (A)

871 In all, there are some 21 people (105 men and
177 107 women) who have ha one or more years of
654 education at high schools nd colleges outside the village. Of these, 66 percnt have been educated by the American system, 2 percent by the native system, and 7 percent b the French system. These figures ought to indcate, in a concise and clear manner, the great extnt to which American culture, behind the Protestat system of education, has been influenctial in te life of Bishmizeen. The extent of this influece becomes still more impressive, when we remember that these educated men and women represet the "cream" of the village population and hve become, in the majority of cases, the recgnized leaders of the community, (rememberin that 24 of them completed college and 72 ompleted high school). Their leadership was inspred by a foreign culture that had no ties with villge life, and they led the village according to the influence of that culture.

871 Behind each educated man and woman is a story
177 of supreme effort and sacifice on the part of his
554 family group. It meant,in many cases, that the
178 family group had to sell their land in order to provide for the higher education of their boy or girl. Taking such a drastic step was symbolic of their decision to sever their ties with the old way of living and look towards the new course taken by their children. Through their educated children, the old folk identified themselves with the new patterns of the invading American culture.

621 A strong combination of factors—the rising silk
178 industry, money as a coveted value, play acting,
871 and emigration to Americ, got hold of the village

P·343(01)

621
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community and forced it to turn its face toward the outside and embark upon a new course. One more such alienating factor has been the school curriculum. In Bishmizeen, the children studied English, French, Literary Arabic, Geography, History—to the end of the list, even algebra! Not a single one of these subjects was related to the immediate needs of village life. The school curriculum prepared the child for a life that was vastly different from his village life. Later at high school and college, the curriculum finished up the process of alienation begun in the village school.

A glance at the following figures will give us an impressive picture of what has happened to the 212 educated members of the little community. Of them, 31 are still going through the process, following new paths of education. Only 30 live in the village and work on farms, and these are not satisfied with their lot. An additional 27 live in the village but do not work on the farm. There are 59 who belong to the village in a nominal way. Their work is established in Tripoli and Beirut, and they come back to the village for a few weeks during the summer. The remaining 65 (one-third) have left the village for good; they are migrants living mostly in foreign countries.

Perhaps that old village priest had a vision of what was going to happen to the village in the far future, when he prevented the writer's grandfather from sending his son to school in Beirut. "Don't send the boy there," he warned, "for he will never go back to the farm." Most of the educated village youths never did, and many a farm is now deserted.

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BLOOD GROUPS AND INBREEDING IN SYRIA

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[21] The anthropology of the Near East is an intricate subject, but in view of the significance of the region for the prehistoric and early historic development of man, it is of importance. Rather than attempting to labor a point probably already conceded by most readers, we may simply refer to the remarks on this subject of Kappers and Parr ('34), Field ('35), Keith ('35), and Shanklin ('38).

Knowledge of the physical anthropology of this region, as Shanklin ('36) points out, is meager. In particular, few studies of characteristics known to be inherited in a definite way, such as "taste-blindness", or blood groups, have been [22] made (compare Boyd, '39 b). We believe that our study (carried out in 1937 when one of us held a Guggenheim fellowship) on the incidence of the M,N types was the first to be made in the region covered by us.

[21] [43] We were particularly anxious to determine the blood groups of the Bedouin, previously tested for A and B by Shanklin ('35 b), and reported to be very high in group O, thus resembling some North American Indian tribes. Our results on the Bedouin tested by us did not support this picture (Boyd and Boyd, '38; Kayssi, Boyd and Boyd, '38), and we therefore desired to test also some villagers for comparison. Boarij seemed of special interest because it was known to represent a highly inbred population, and because a thorough sociological survey was being carried out there by Miss Anne Fuller. Meshghara was of interest as a typical mountain village, part Christian and part Moslem. We wished to test some Arme-

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nians because the M,N frequencies had never been reported for this ethnic group. Our attempt to test the Druze, a special religious group, unfortunately never resulted in a large enough sample to have any value, but the results are presented for the sake of completeness.

Our blood group results on two tribes of Syrian Bedouin have already been reported (Boyd and Boyd, '38). The other Syrian results are reported here. They include tests on about 131 individuals from Boarij, 306 from Meshghara (both towns in the Lebanon), 339 Armenians living in Beyrouth and nearby Ghazir, and an insignificant sample of Druze from 'Abadiya, not far from 'Aley, on the way up from Beyrouth to Damascus. In addition to determining the blood groups and types, we also recorded in a rough way degrees of hair, eye, and skin pigmentation, looked for hair on the second phalanx of the fingers, and tested for taste reaction to phenyl-thio-carbamide. These results are also presented.

Methods of preparation of the sera we used have been presented previously (Boyd, '39 a). Groupings were carried out by the test-tube method, as recommended by Landsteiner and by Schiff (compare Boyd and Boyd, '37; Boyd, '39 b). In each day's set-up bloods of known type were included, to check the activity of the sera. The anti-B, -M, and -N sera were preserved with acriflavine, and the anti-A with brilliant green, as recommended by Rosenthal (Boyd, '39 a). They were transported in stoppered bottles in a tin box, protected with rubber pads, which was kept on ice as much of the time as possible.

Taste reactions to phenyl-thio-carbamide were tested by means of filter paper impregnated with the substance, as described by Parr, one of the first to call attention to the anthropological significance of taste reactions to this compound.

We framed our questions to the subjects with considerable care, and frequently used blank paper to check the honesty of replies. We found our smattering of Arabic in general sufficient for this work, so that it was not necessary to depend upon interpreters for the patient's reaction to the test substance. The subjects were always asked to compare the taste, if they perceived one, to that of a substance known to them, and if

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they declared they tasted nothing, they were asked to consider 143
if they were tasting plain paper. They were tested one at a 125
time, to avoid suggestion so far as possible, and in places 151
where a high percentage were positive, enough blanks were interspersed among the tests to keep the rumour going about that some persons could taste this peculiar paper, while others could not. We also assured the patients in advance that no stigma, clinical or otherwise, attached to the ability or lack of ability to taste the substance. The work was of course less accurate, being carried out relatively hastily under "field" conditions, than a study made in the laboratory would have been. But we do not think that there are enough errors in our data to affect the percentages significantly.

Since our record of hair and eye color was incidental to the 142
blood grouping work, and usually had to be done hurriedly, 125
we adopted the simple plan of classifying by inspection all hair and eyes into four equal grades according to depth of pigmentation, ranging from the lightest "Nordics" to the darkest Africans. We planned to include in the first grade of hair blonds, ranging from albinos to Scandinavian blonds, in the second blonds and very light browns, in the third browns of different shades, in the fourth dark browns and blacks. In the case of eyes, grade 1 included the blues, 2 the dark blues and grays, 3 the "hazels" and browns, and 4 the dark browns and blacks. Of course such a classification is very crude, and we may unconsciously have varied our standards somewhat in different localities, but not enough, we feel, greatly to affect the results.

Degrees of skin pigmentation were similarly estimated: 1 signifies "white" skin and so on, up to 4 which includes the "blacks".

The presence or absence of hair on the second phalanx of 142
the fingers, inherited, according to Danforth, as a dominant, 143
was also observed rather hastily, to test if there were differ- 125
ences in frequency in different ethnic groups. The presence of even a single hair was taken as positive. Our results are probably only approximate (compare Boyd and Boyd, '37).

The results are presented in table 1.

TABLE 1

Blood groups

PLACE	RELIGION	SUBJECTS	PER CENT OF GROUP				GENE FREQUENCIES			
			O	A	B	AB	p	q	r	D/σ
Boarij	Muslim	131	23.7	37.4	29.8	9.1	.295	.244	.487	1.1
Meshghara	Christian	107	29.0	35.5	28.0	7.5	.265	.217	.538	0.9
,,	Muslim	199	44.7	40.2	11.6	3.5	.252	.081	.669	0.2
,,	All	306	39.2	36.6	17.3	4.9	.256	.126	.626	0.8
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	340	27.7	53.5	13.2	5.6	.375	.113	.526	1.3
'Abadiya	Druges	28	21.4	67.9	7.1	3.6	.482	.071	.463	0.4

Gene frequencies calculated by relations: $r = \sqrt{O/100}$,

$p = \sqrt{O/100 + A/100} - \sqrt{O/100}$, $q = \sqrt{O/100 + B/100} - \sqrt{O/100}$.

$D = 1 - (p + q + r)$, $\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{pq}{2 \vee (1-p)(1-q)}}$

Blood types

PLACE	RELIGION	SUBJECTS	PER CENT OF GROUP			GENE FREQUENCIES		
			M	MN	N	m	n	D/σ
Boarij	Muslim	131	24.4	52.7	22.9	.508	.492	0.6
Meshghara	Christian	107	34.6	51.4	14.0	.553	.347	0.7
,,	Muslim	199	28.6	52.3	19.1	.548	.452	0.8
,,	All	306	30.7	52.0	17.3	.567	.433	1.0
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	339	34.2	45.4	20.4	.569	.431	1.1
'Abadiya	Druse	28	53.6	39.3	7.1	.733	.267	0.6

Gene frequencies calculated by relations: $m = M/100 + MN/200$,

$n = N/100 + MN/200$, $D = 1 - (\sqrt{\frac{M}{100}} + \sqrt{\frac{N}{100}})$,

$\sigma = 0.5/\sqrt{V}$. (Compare Boyd, '38).

Taste reaction to phenyl-thio-carbamide

PLACE	RELIGION	SEX	SUBJECTS	PER CENT POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE	
				+	—
Boarij	Muslim	Male	61	60.6	39.4
,,	,,	Female	58	75.9	24.1
Meshghara	Christian	Male	82	69.5	30.5
,,	,,	Female	14	71.4	28.6
,,	Muslim	Male	115	79.1	20.9
,,	,,	Female	56	89.3	10.7
,,	All	Male	197	75.1	24.9
,,	,,	Female	70	85.7	14.3
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	Male	147	72.8	27.2
	,,	Female	164	77.4	22.6
'Abadiya	Druse	Male	9	66.7	33.3
,,	,,	Female	15	93.3	6.7

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TABLE 1—(*Continued*)

Hair on second phalanx

PLACE	RELIGION	SEX	SUBJECTS	PER CENT with	PER CENT without
Boarij	Muslim	Male	68	77.9	22.1
,,	,,	Female	61	55.7	44.3
Meshghara	Christian	Male	90	68.9	31.1
,,	,,	Female	16	50.0	50.0
,,	Muslim	Male	129	58.1	41.9
,,	,,	Female	66	54.5	45.5
,,	All	Male	219	62.6	37.4
,,	,,	Female	82	53.6	46.4
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	Male	165	62.4	37.6
	,,	Female	172	61.6	38.4
'Abadiya	Druse	Male	11	72.7	27.3
,,	,,	Female	17	58.8	41.2

Eye pigmentation

PLACE	RELIGION	SEX	SUBJECTS	PER CENT HAVING PIGMENTATION OF GRADE 1	2	3	4
Boarij	Muslim	Male	68	7.4	13.2	75.0	4.4
,,	,,	Female	60	10.0	20.0	68.3	1.7
Meshghara	Christian	Male	89	4.5	16.8	74.2	4.5
,,	,,	Female	17	5.9	11.8	64.7	17.6
,,	Muslim	Male	142	10.6	13.4	69.7	6.3
,,	,,	Female	67	4.5	9.0	76.1	10.4
,,	All	Male	231	8.2	14.7	71.5	5.6
,,	,,	Female	84	4.8	9.5	73.7	12.0
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	Male	142	2.1	12.7	77.5	7.7
	,,	Female	155	6.5	8.4	70.3	14.8
'Abadiya	Druse	Male	11	9.1	18.2	54.5	18.2
,,	,,	Female	17	0	0	70.6	29.4

Hair pigmentation

PLACE	RELIGION	SEX	SUBJECTS	PER CENT HAVING PIGMENTATION OF GRADE 1	2	3	4
Boarij	Muslim	Male	65	0	4.6	36.9	58.5
,,	,,	Female	58	0	0	79.3	20.7
Meshghara	Christian	Male	86	0	7.0	39.5	53.5
,,	,,	Female	17	0	17.7	35.3	47.0
,,	Muslim	Male	124	0	9.7	50.8	39.5
,,	,,	Female	64	0	12.5	87.5	0
,,	All	Male	210	0	8.6	46.2	45.2
,,	,,	Female	81	0	13.6	56.8	29.6
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	Male	165	0.6	15.8	43.0	40.8
	,,	Female	171	0	13.4	46.2	40.4
'Abadiya	Druse	Male	11	0	9.1	36.4	54.5
,,	,,	Female	15	0	0	33.3	66.7

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 M El Lebanon MEI

TABLE 1—(Continued)

Skin pigmentation

PLACE	RELIGION	SEX	SUBJECTS	PER CENT HAVING PIGMENTATION OF GRADE 1	2	3	4
Boarij	Muslim	Male	68	55.9	41.2	2.9	0
,,	,,	Female	59	72.9	27.1	0	0
Meshghara	Christian	Male	90	71.1	28.9	0	0
,,	,,	Female	17	76.5	23.5	0	0
,,	Muslim	Male	132	63.6	36.4	0	0
,,	,,	Female	67	70.1	29.9	0	0
,,	All	Male	222	66.7	33.3	0	0
,,	,,	Female	84	71.4	28.6	0	0
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	Male	166	36.7	62.7	0.6	0
	,,	Female	173	50.3	49.7	0	0
'Abadiya	Druse	Male	11	63.6	36.4	0	0
,,	,,	Female	17	70.6	29.4	0	0

Since there are often sharp local variations in physical characteristics in Syria, we give our results separately for each locality investigated. Where more than one religious group was represented, we have subdivided our subjects on this basis also, as the barriers to mixture of different religious groups are still kept up, and there is some reason to suppose that different ethnic stocks may be represented in each to different degrees. This also enables us to look for the possible effects of inbreeding on the various characters.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The results for the A,B blood groups are on the whole what was to be expected. The Armenian results show the high percentage of A found by previous workers (compare Boyd, '39 b). These individuals represent a recent influx into our area. We were informed that our subjects were mostly from Marash and vicinity, Turkey. In the case of the two Arab villages, it is rather surprising that the results for Boarij, where all are Moslems, should agree well with the results for the Christians from Meshghara, while the Christians and Moslems in Meshghara show a significant difference in blood group frequencies. It is our impression, however, that the

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It is our impression, however, that the Moslems in Meshghara represent the original population, while the Christians mostly represent a more recent immigration, probably from regions near the coast. The inhabitants of Boarij, and the inhabitants of Beyrouth tested by Parr ('31) show a per cent of group B somewhat in excess of that in the Moslems of Meshghara. It is somewhat difficult to test for the significance of this difference since Parr's results themselves do not seem to be altogether internally consistent. In any case, throughout the Near East, sharp local differences in racial characters can be observed, and are not surprising, in view of the intense conservatism of the local cultures.

Our A,B results for the Druze, doubtless because of the small size of the sample, do not agree well with those of Parr ('31); no significance can be attributed to this.

The results reported by Shanklin ('38) for the Bekaa and Alouites, whom he lists as mountain dwelling groups, are also different from each other, but perhaps not on the whole too different from our own.

The frequencies for the M,N types, the first to be reported for settled inhabitants of Syria, do not seem to present anything unusual. The M,N frequencies in Syrians and Armenians apparently do not differ notably from those in Europe, but do seem to differ from those in the only two tribes of Syrian Bedouin tested for M and N, where significantly low values of N were found (Boyd and Boyd, '38). We are inclined to consider this another example of the evolutionary effects of isolation (compare Boyd, '40). In M and N frequencies the Druze may resemble the Bedouin, for the χ^2 test indicates that the difference between the M,N frequencies of the Druze and the inhabitants of Boarij, for instance, is significant, in spite of the smallness of the samples. Of course, if the samples had been larger the difference might have been much less marked.

The taste reactions to phenyl-thio-carbamide show in every case the higher proportion of tasters among the females previously reported (Fisher and Brandt, '37; Boyd and Boyd, '37). The per cent of tasters is probably not significantly different in any of these villages from the results obtained for

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 M El Lebanon MEl
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other Near-Eastern peoples (Parr, '34; Boyd and Boyd, '37). The whole Near East, if we may generalize from the still relatively scanty data at our disposal, seems to be relatively homogenous with respect to the "tasting" gene. Our results support a suggestion previously made by us that most of Parr's subjects were males.

It is still open to doubt if the presence of hair on the second phalanx is a simple hereditary character. In our previous report (Boyd and Boyd, '37 a), we mentioned that, although there was considerable variation in sex incidence, the racial variations observed were slight. On the whole, the same statement would also apply to our new data, but there is a suggestion that there is a higher incidence of mid-digital hair in Boarij than in Meshghara, for instance. Sewall ('39) found very few Eskimos had mid-digital hair, suggesting that strong racial differences may exist.

The grades of eye color found in the populations reported here are fairly consistent, with rather more light eyes than we found in Egypt. The hair pigmentation is on the whole dark, and it will be noted that in several cases there is a suggestion that the males are darker. A similar tendency was observed in some of the populations we reported in 1937. The skin is on the whole lighter than in Egypt, and again the males seem to be the darker. Greater exposure to the sun may be a contributing factor. The Armenians seem somewhat darker than the Syrians (compare Seltzer, '36). Our observations on Syrian pigmentation seem to agree roughly with those of Shanklin ('38).

Bedouin results. In addition to testing the blood groups of the Syrian Bedouin, we made other observations on them. The blood groups have been previously reported (Boyd and Boyd, '38), but it may be worth while to present here the other results, even though the conditions under which we had to work were such that our pigmentation, etc., figures for the Bedouin are less to be trusted (see table 2). The subjects were all males.

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 M.N. Lebanon Mil
Syrian Bedouin M.S.

TABLE 5

Results of observations for taste reaction to phenyl-thio-carbamide, mid-digital hair, eye color, hair color, and skin color on two tribes of Syrian Bedouin. In per cents.

TRIBE	SUBJECTS	TASTE SENSITIVITY		TRIBE	SUBJECTS	MID-DIGITAL HAIR	
		+	—			+	—
Bwala	172	53.9	46.1	Bwala	180	44.0	56.4
Aqeilat	52	63.5	37.7	Aqeilat	70	41.5	58.5

TRIBE	SUBJECTS	EYE PIGMENTATION OF GRADE				SUBJECTS	HAIR PIGMENTATION OF GRADE			
		1	2	3	4		1	2	3	4
Bwala	201	0	1.5	98.1	22.4	179	0	1.1	61.2	33.7
Aqeilat	72	0	11.1	73.6	9.7	61	0	1.6	36.1	61.3

TRIBE	SUBJECTS	SKIN PIGMENTATION OF GRADE			
		1	2	3	4
Bwala	180	7.2	47.5	45.0	0.5
Aqeilat	71	2.8	47.9	39.7	4.1

The Bedouin taste results are not notably different from those of the city dwellers; there seems to be a somewhat lower incidence of mid-digital hair, the eye and skin pigmentation is definitely darker, the hair is perhaps somewhat darker. Allowing for the great differences in nomenclature, this difference seems to agree fairly well with that found by Shanklin ('35).

Perhaps our data, in spite of their crudeness, and the small numbers of subjects represented, will contribute to some small degree to a filling out of our knowledge of the distribution of pigmentation in this part of the world. The importance of systematic surveys of the frequency of individual genes, such as the "tasting" gene, is beginning to be appreciated (Boyd, '40).

Effect of inbreeding. It is not uncommon in anthropological papers to see differences between various local populations ascribed to inbreeding. It has even been suggested that "races" may be created by a process depending partly on inbreeding. It is likely that the word inbreeding, as used by some authors, has been corrupted from its correct genetical significance, and perhaps is really meant to be synonymous with endogamy, or something of the sort. As the geneticist uses the word, it means mating among close relatives. Others

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (397) 1941 M[c] Library MH

have remarked that actually the effect of inbreeding is transitory, in the sense that one generation of random mating would restore the population to the condition in which it started, so that the process can hardly have the importance apparently sometimes attributed to it (compare Boyd, '40). There has probably been a good deal of inbreeding in all of the villages studied by us. In the cases of Bourij, we are fortunate in having a sample of a population known to be relatively highly inbred. From a study carried out there by Miss Anne Fuller, we know that marriages between cousins are very common, as are consanguineous marriages where the relationship is less close. Almost the entire population of the village can be traced back to three or four family lines. The blood groups and the M,N types offer a means of checking the extent of the effect of inbreeding on the population.

It is known from genetics that the effect of inbreeding on a population is to increase the proportion of homozygotes and decrease the proportion of heterozygotes, and if the process is carried far enough, pure homozygous types will emerge in the same proportion (if selection or mutation play no role) as the frequencies of their genes in the original population (Robbins, '17).

With the M,N types, the heterozygote is type MN, and type M and type N are homozygous. If the inbreeding had modified these frequencies in the population of Bourij very much, we should find that type M and type N were relatively more numerous than would normally be found, so that we should have the relation:

$$\sqrt{M/100} + \sqrt{N/100} > 1$$

Actually, it may be seen from table 1 that in Bourij the heterozygote, MN, was slightly (but not significantly) in excess of the theoretical maximum of 50%, and we find

$$\sqrt{M/100} + \sqrt{N/100} - 0.971 < 1$$

Thus there is no evidence that inbreeding has increased the proportion of the homozygotes in the M,N types.

In the case of the A,B groups, the only group which is known a priori to be heterozygous is the AB group, which is

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 MFI Lebanon MFI

always heterozygous. If inbreeding had modified the A,B groups notably, we should expect the frequency of group AB to be less than 2pq (the gene frequencies p and q are calculated from the frequencies of O, A, and B only). In fact, 2pq does give an expected percentage of group AB of 14.4 which is greater, but not significantly greater than the value found.

Whether a person of group A or group B is heterozygous or homozygous cannot be told readily except by test of his parents or offspring, or both, and even then the test will of course often be inconclusive, since human families are so often too small to give a sample of all the types of children an individual could produce. In our tests on the families of Bsarij, we tested six families in which one of the parents belonged to group A or group B. In four of these families, the groups of the children proved the individual in question to have been heterozygous, a result which again does not suggest that the proportion of heterozygotes in the population of Bsarij has been notably decreased by inbreeding.

As a rule when the anthropologist has invoked the concept of inbreeding, the exact genetic mechanism by which the character in question is determined has been obscure, so no test analogous to the above could be made. We venture to suggest that if in such cases tests could be made, inbreeding would be found not to be one of the major forces in the modification of the average local human population.[1]

SUMMARY

Tables showing the results of studies of blood groups, blood types, taste reaction to phenyl-thio-carbamide, mid-digital hair, and eye, hair, and skin pigmentation are presented for

[1] We are indebted to the officers of the Near Commissariat in Beyrouth, and in particular to M. le Général Martin, for permission and encouragement to carry out this work; to Miss Anne Fuller, holder of the Margaret E. Maltby Fellowship of the American Association of University Women, 1937-38, for assistance and hospitality in Bsarij; to the Trabulsi family for hospitality and assistance in Moukhara; and to Drs. Berberian and Kassabe for help with the Armenian work. Miss Najla 'Ataa-Din put us in touch with the Druze village of 'Aladiya. Many others, too numerous to mention here, made our difficult task somewhat lighter. To all of them we extend our best thanks.

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the native inhabitants of three Syrian towns, and for Armenians now living in and near Beyrouth. Observations on the last five characteristics are presented for samples of two tribes of Syrian Bedouin. The effect of inbreeding on blood groups and types is discussed.

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CONSERVATISM AND CHANGE IN A LEBANESE VILLAGE

John Gulick

THE COASTAL HIGHWAY which connects Beirut and Tripoli winds between the crashing surf of the Mediterranean and the sharply rising slopes of Mount Lebanon. At one point in the journey northward along this road, the traveler may notice before him a ridge which, from the distance, seems to block his way. If, instead of continuing toward Tripoli, the traveler turns off the main highway at the foot of this ridge and winds his way up the gravel road which climbs its face to the crest, he will find himself at the southern, seaward tip of a roughly semicircular ring of six small villages. At the center of this ring is a seventh village considerably larger than the others. This village is al-Munsif.

Topographically, the area which is occupied by the seven villages consists of three main ridges which project toward the sea in a fanlike fashion, so that the shape of the area is roughly triangular. The ridges are separated by deep, dry wadis; in addition there are other minor crests and gullies, so that the over-all terrain is rough and broken. The land itself is notable for the prevalence of limestone outcrops. The natural flora conforms to the type known as "garrigue," which features low, bushy scrub oak and a variety of small, thorny, aromatic plants. It is a landscape which could not inspire very much confidence in the hearts of ordinary farmers; even to Lebanese farmers, whose fortitude and resourcefulness are justly famous, it has presented a serious challenge.

But the challenge does not end with land features as such. An even more serious problem is the lack of ground water. There are, indeed, two springs very close to the shore, but both are small and one is brackish. All the water used in the area is winter rain water drained off the roofs of the houses and stored in large underground cisterns, of which there are a very large number. This supply must provide for all the needs of the inhabitants for the entire year. The amount which can be devoted to watering plants is, therefore, extremely limited, and irrigation, in the sense generally applied to the term, is impossible under present circumstances.

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to the term, is impossible under present circumstances. The most important crops are olives, figs, and grapes, none of which requires irrigation in the growing season. The orchards and vineyards grow on terraced land which is situated generally on the lower parts of the ridge slopes and at the heads of the wadis. Some vegetables and a few small orchards of mulberries (remnants of the once predominant cash crop—silk) grow immediately adjacent to the houses.

Al-Munsif can be seen from a distance quite some time before the traveler enters it. The houses, varying in color from white to gray to tawny, are perched, one directly above another, it seems, on the southern slope of the ridge—a few are on the crest itself, at its highest point. They number about 90 and are typical of the Lebanese countryside. About one-quarter of them have the pitched roofs of red tile and other architectural features which are reminders of the decades before World War I. The majority, however, are of a much more ancient style, with few windows and a flat roof made of timbers and a thick layer of packed earth. In some cases, the old earth roofs have been recently replaced by cement ones. A few houses have been built completely anew in recent years, but with two exceptions they are not particularly different in general style from the older ones. Household furnishings and equipment show the unmistakable influence of industrialized Europe and America—mostly the former. Kerosene pressure lanterns and stoves have almost completely replaced older forms. Bedsteads, wardrobes, tables, and chairs—all of European manufacture and/or design—are used in every house. However, the village has no electricity and no system of running water.

From the observation of physical externals, one may easily deduce that al-Munsif partakes both of the traditional and of the recently imported (that is, since the late 19th century). It therefore reflects the tumultuous culture change which at present colors life in Lebanon and in the Middle East generally. But material aspects of culture are only fragmentary indications of behavior. In themselves, they reveal little of a specific nature concerning motivations, loyalties, hopes, fears, and expectations. How did al-Munsif, as a community of people, come into being? What are its traditional foundations of life? How, and to what extent, have its traditions been altered by the far-reaching cultural changes of the late 19th and 20th centuries? What problems face its people as a result of these changes?

II

According to tradition, al-Munsif was established by a man who came to the site from Jabal Hawran in Syria, after a sojourn in Baalbek. All the 523 members of the village are believed to be direct descendants of the founder, a belief which is indicated in a genealogy which is in the possession of the priest. There is some disagreement among the villagers on details

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in the genealogy, but there is no disagreement on their ultimate origin in the same man, often referred to as "our forefather." On the basis of the number of generations accounted for in the chart, it appears that the founder was probably born sometime late in the 16th century. Historical material is available which gives a clue to the reason for the founding of the village and at the same time supports the estimate of the date suggested by the genealogy. The reign of the Amir Fakhr al-Din II (1590–1635) is known to have been a period in which many Syrian Christians sought refuge in Lebanon to escape Turkish persecution. It is reasonable to suppose that the founder of al-Munsif, a Greek Orthodox Christian, was one of these. The probable date of the establishment of the village suggests, further, the reason for the selection of a site which is far from ideal for agricultural purposes: the better-favored areas in Lebanon had already been occupied by other groups.

Once established, what manner of village was al-Munsif? Everything that can be learned about "the old days" indicates that it must have been typical of the traditional pattern of village life in the Middle East, which in turn fits the criteria of the "folk community," as understood by sociologists in general.[1] Life in al-Munsif, then, prior to the last quarter of the 19th century when the great cultural changes began, was focused on four major themes:

1. *Devotion to the Land.* Agriculture was the economic base of the community, the occupation of all its members except for a few specialists who also were often part-time farmers.

2. *Religious orientation.* Religious attitudes permeated all aspects of life; religious behavior was integrated with economic and family behavior. The religious affiliation of the village was sharply defined.

3. *Predominance of kinship statuses* in the patterning and regulation of interpersonal affairs, for example in mutual aid arrangements. The kinship group was a focus of intense loyalty for its members, so much so that members of the same lineage were often preferred in marriage.

4. *Extreme localism* of knowledge, interests, and loyalties. This was reflected in the prevalence of inter-village feuds and in the clear preference for the marriage of an individual to a member of his or her own village rather than to an outsider. (Village endogamy.)

In the case of al-Munsif, there were a few variations on this normal structure. On the economic side, first, a certain amount of fishing has always been done right from the village itself. Second, the necessity of importing wheat has always made some money income imperative. It was therefore common for village men to do wage labor in other communities in slack seasons. Sponge diving was one such seasonal occupation, profitable but hazardous.

[1] See Art. I. G. Baster, "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 48 (1942), pp. 231–39; "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution 1943* (1944), pp. 524–43.

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hazardous. The principal source of this cash income used to be the silkworm cocoon, supplemented by wage labor. Third, in regard to kinship groups, there appears always to have been a tendency to minimize (in comparison to other villages) the distinctiveness of the various lineages. Since, however, all village members recognized the same common ancestor, and were therefore all related, this tendency does not necessarily indicate that the principle of kinship grouping, in itself, was unimportant in the village.

Finally, extreme localism was to some degree modified in al-Munsif. Some of the seasonal wage laborers brought back brides from the communities in which they worked — a violation of the principle of village endogamy. However, these cases were rare, and in every one the outsider was at least a coreligionary of her husband. Al-Munsif also had, and still has, a sort of second line of defense, or buffer, between it and the outside world. This is the group of villages, seven of them including al-Munsif, which has been alluded to earlier. This cluster of villages has a name which is used by its inhabitants, symbolizing its unity. Visiting has always been common among the villages, and ties of friendship are many. Furthermore, there has always been a certain amount of intermarriage among the villages. Each case of this was, technically speaking, a violation of village endogamy, but it was a very different matter, in the villagers' eyes, from marrying "a stranger." The unity of the seven villages can be ascribed largely to the fact that the same sect affiliation — Greek Orthodox — is predominant in all of them while the surrounding region is predominantly Maronite. But all these modifications do not detract very much from the picture of the al-Munsif of former times as being a typical "folk" community: predominantly agricultural, inward-oriented, consistent and self-contained in its system of values.

III

The changes which have occurred in al-Munsif began about 1880. By 1914 all the trends were apparently set which have since gathered momentum and wrought considerable modifications in the traditional patterns of life in the village.

In the latter part of the 19th century, three new factors came to bear on the culture of Lebanon which had profound effects. These can be analyzed specifically in the case of al-Munsif, but were certainly felt in many other Lebanese villages.

1. Factory-made articles from Europe began to be imported, with two consequences: first, the lessening in importance (and eventual extinction) of village handicrafts; and second, a newly developed demand for European articles, such as furniture, obtainable only on payment of cash. Thus, an already tight economic balance in the village threatened to become an extremely serious squeeze. Doubtless the situation would have become really

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desperate had it not been for the other two new cultural factors which affected village life:

2. The introduction into Lebanon of Western-style educational institutions and curricula. The two main types were American Protestant and French Catholic. It was the former which exerted the stronger influence on al-Munsif. Mission schools were established in the village before the turn of the century, and many village children were sent to the American schools in Tripoli. By 1914, some villagers were themselves teaching school in al-Munsif. Protestantism itself was for the most part resisted, but the quest for secular education — in both Arabic and English — became a major concern in the village. The enthusiasm with which the villagers approached education can be accounted for in several ways. First, the literate individual has always been a person of high prestige in the Arab world. The villagers therefore recognized the fine opportunity for the improvement of personal status which was opened by the new schools. Second, they recognized that through education they would have a better chance of obtaining lucrative jobs and of thus averting the economic disaster which threatened them. Third, the American-sponsored curricula were, in part, a useful introduction to certain aspects of the culture of the West; and this brings us to the third major factor:

3. Emigration, primarily to the United States but also, to a lesser extent, to South America. It is very significant, from the cultural point of view, that the prime motive of the emigrants was not to leave their homeland forever in order to make a new life in a new country, but rather to stay temporarily in America in order to make a fortune and then return to the village to resume the old life under conditions of greater financial security. As it turned out, the majority of emigrants never did return. But the number who did, and the number of those who came and went several times before making up their minds, is often overlooked in general accounts of the emigration phenomenon. Remittances from America helped greatly to make the two decades before 1914 a prosperous time for al-Munsif. It was during this period that the very handsome houses with red tile roofs (imported from France) were built. During this period, also, some of those who did not emigrate took up nonagricultural jobs, such as school teaching, away from the village.

World War I brought a sudden halt to these developments. Owing to the Turkish blockade of Lebanon, emigration became impossible and the flood of remittances was reduced to a trickle. Toward the end of the war there was famine in al-Munsif, and it was reported that 100 persons died as a result of it. After the war, emigration and remittances were resumed. But the large-scale exodus to the United States was effectively ended by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, which allowed only a very small quota for the Levant. Emigration to other areas continued but also on a smaller

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scale. The drastic decline in the market price of silk led to greatly reduced production with a consequently increased interest in other occupations. Meanwhile, the road-building program of the French Mandatory regime, coupled with the introduction of motor vehicles, reduced the physical isolation of the village, and the interest of villagers in nonagricultural occupations away from the village was greatly augmented.

IV

Consideration can now be given to the effects of these processes of change on the traditional culture as they were observed in 1952. To anticipate for a moment, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the effects of change have not been uniform throughout the entire village culture, some aspects of which have been more altered than others. In other words, there now are striking cultural disparities in the village, whereas before there was a high degree of consistency. The result is conflict in the minds and souls of the villagers. In what follows, we shall expand, in turn, upon the four basic criteria which were used in describing the traditional culture. The problem of conflict will be considered at the end, under the heading of Localism.

Economics. The most far-reaching changes in al-Munsif, without any question, have been in the area of economic behavior. To comprehend this change, attention must be paid to age distribution and residence pattern. The population of the village in 1952 totalled 523: 258 males and 265 females. A relatively weak representation of persons in their 30's (born during and just after World War I) is to be noted. Formerly all members of the village regularly lived in it. In 1952 only 54.6 percent (286) of the people lived in it all year round, while 35.9 percent (188) regularly lived away (in Beirut or Tripoli for the most part), returning to al-Munsif only during the summer and for various special occasions. Of the remainder, 12 persons commuted on a daily or weekly basis between the village and the city, and 26, though still considered to be members of the village, visited it only on rather rare occasions. This group of 26 comprised 17 women who had married complete outsiders and 9 other persons who lived and worked in other parts of the Middle East, mostly in Iraq.

The residence factor can also be looked at in terms of households. There were 87 independent households in al-Munsif. In 22 of them all members were resident in the village all year round. In 16, no members were resident all year round; they returned as groups only in the summer. In 8 cases, the heads commuted on a daily or weekly basis while their wives and children lived in the village. In the remaining 41 cases, the personnel of each household was split; in general the head and his wife remained in the village while most of the children lived regularly in the city. In other words, a majority of the people, heavily weighted by the older age groups and those

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who hold formal authority, are still predominantly village-centered. However, the number of those living away most of the time is impressive, and it includes most of the younger heads of household. In the future, then, it appears probable that the number and proportion of those living away will increase. Yet, of the large number who live away most of the time, few if any have broken effective and affective ties with the village. This is a very important point, and more will be said about it later.

There are two reasons for the prevalence of residence away from the village: (1) education at a higher level than that provided by the two schools (one public, one private) in the village; and (2) urban occupations, qualification for most of which depends on at least a primary education. Education and nonagricultural jobs thus go hand in hand, and the basic motivation rests in the very understandable desire to make a better living than that which farming in the area is likely to provide.

The people of al-Munsif are very proud of their educational status, which they have attained by diligent efforts and considerable sacrifice over a period of several decades. Nearly 100 percent literacy prevails, and in many cases it is bilingual. Forty-eight persons between the ages of 15 and 29 (43 of them between 15 and 19) were still receiving their education in 1952 — in the village schools, in boarding schools, and at the college level. Most of them are boys, but 11 girls are included. The majority of the college students attend the American University of Beirut, and there are several graduates of that institution in the population.

The segment of the population between the ages of 15 and 69 can be looked upon as the potential working force of the village. Thus, 335 people are involved, of which 171 are males and 164 are females. To arrive at the number of people who are gainfully employed outside the home, we must subtract the 48 students, the 120 females who were either housewives or girls "at home," and the 19 men who were clearly unemployed at the time of the study. The actual working force, in terms of earning capacity, therefore amounted to 148 people (115 men and 33 women).

Of these wage earners, 49 were working in the village and 99 away from it. Economically, then, the urban trend appears to be even more pronounced than the population by residence figures, alone, suggests. It must be kept in mind, however, that the majority of heads of household, whatever their primary occupation, are also landowners and derive some income from the produce of their land even though most of them do not do the farm labor themselves.

The village occupations include 10 full-time farmers (mostly middle-aged men) who operate their own farms and also perform various tasks — such as plowing — for other landowners who are not farmers. Services of this kind are paid for in cash. There are 14 other men who work as hired hands for the farmers or for non-operator landowners. Then there are

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25 specialists as follows: mayor, 1; priest, 1; taxi driver, 1; barber, 2; storekeeper, 8; fisherman, 3; surveyor, 1; mason, 2; carpenter, 2; teacher 4. There are 6 small stores in the village. There are also two bakeries which are important social centers for the women. One of these is owned by the taxi driver, the other by one of the teachers.

The city occupations include a variety of white-collar jobs (such as clerk, librarian, and government official), semiskilled and skilled jobs, and the following specialties: Protestant preacher, 1; detective, 1; fireman, 1; soldier, 1; tailor, 2; seamstress, 5; waiter, 3; hospital attendant, 4; janitor, 2; surveyor, 1; merchant, 5; teacher, 17; medical nurse, 24. One man in the village had been a practicing physician but has now retired. The prevalence of school teaching is notable, and it will be remembered that the pattern for this specialty was established early in the process of culture change. Over two-thirds of the working women are nurses (including student nurses). It was explained that nursing is a respected occupation and that since the women work in the shelter of a large institution, it is a safer position for them than many other city jobs are.

The factors of change in the economics of the village can be summarized as: (1) a drastic reduction in the number and proportion of agricultural workers; (2) a rapid and extensive development of non-village and most urban occupations, of which there is a considerable variety; and (3) women working outside and away from home for the first time in the history of the village. The variety of the women's occupations is much more restricted than the men's. The majority of the women are under 30 years of age and appear to consider their jobs as preludes to marriage rather than as life-long careers.

Religion. Religion does not appear still to permeate the everyday life of the villagers. In those activities and problem areas which have been, generally speaking, strongly affected by modern rationalism and technology — in the prevention and cure of disease, for example, — rationalistic procedures seem to take precedence over rituals.

In addition to the village church, there are three saints' shrines in al-Munsif. Associated with each structure is a section of waqf land of which the priest is the custodian, and the produce of which contributes to his support. Each shrine is at some distance from the others and from the village proper, so that it is impossible to get to a shrine without deliberate intent and effort. Traditionally, the shrines are used primarily for the purpose of special prayers, offerings, and vows on behalf of those who are sick. It might be supposed that as the rationalistic treatment of disease increases, the intensity of the use of shrines would decrease. This is a subtle matter and really conclusive evidence on it could not be obtained. However, it was clear that the opinions of the villagers regarding the meaningfulness of the shrines are varied and conflicting. One remark was that the saints could not

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be of any help. Then there was the flat statement that the shrines were no longer used at all. The most interesting comment was that many people still believed in the efficacy of the shrines but that they would probably deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Actually, there was clear evidence that candles and olive oil are regularly burned as offerings at the shrines, but by how large a proportion of the people was not ascertained. In any case there is no doubt that there are now fundamental differences among the villagers on a matter which would not have been the subject of any disagreement 75 years ago.

In other aspects of life, religion plays a vigorous role. There are three types of occasion — weddings, and especially funerals and Easter — when all the villagers who are living away are strongly obligated to return to the village for the ceremonies. There is absolutely no question about this matter, in theory or in practice. The ritual occasions all have, of course, the same latent function, which is the intensification of group loyalty and solidarity sentiments. It can be argued that the prime motives behind these events which account for their vigor are not, strictly speaking, religious. Be that as it may, religious behavior is an integral part of the observances.

Kinship Organization. It appears that the kinship organization of al-Munsif has been the least affected by change of all the major aspects of the culture. It is often very difficult for modern Americans, in whose own culture kinship groups are of minimum importance, to comprehend the fact that in most other parts of the world kinship is one of the strongest elements in social organization. When we speak of the kinship organization of an Arab village, such as al-Munsif, we are not referring to a genealogical abstraction; we are referring, in fact, to the social organization itself. For the social organization — a pattern of interrelated statuses and roles — is defined in terms of kinship.

The unity of al-Munsif is enhanced by the fact that the villagers believe themselves all to be descended from a common ancestor who was the founder of the village. Whatever other differences there may develop among them, they continue to maintain this conception of themselves as a group. The founder had three sons among whom he divided equally the land of the community. For some time, the descendants of each of the three sons held land only in the areas originally apportioned. Each group, or lineage, also sponsored and developed one of the saint's shrines located in its territory. Eventually, the three original lineages were divided into what is now a total of 21 lineages. The name of each lineage is that of the man who is recognized as having been the common ancestor of all the members, but among the villagers themselves these lineage (or "family") names are rarely used. Their chief use is in filling out government and other official forms. A person is ordinarily designated by his own and his father's names only. Traditionally, the father's name is never given to any of his sons, and there is

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only one exception to this rule in al-Munsif. In this case, the son was born while the family was living in Australia.

Special formal titles are addressed to no one except the priest, the mayor, the school teachers, and the doctor. Otherwise, personal names and kinship terms are used. It is significant that when a villager addresses another who is definitely his senior, he never under any circumstances uses the Arabic equivalents of "Mr." or "Mrs." To do this would be a grave insult, for it would imply that the person addressed is considered to be a stranger and an outsider. "Paternal uncle" or "aunt" are the kinship terms most commonly used in such cases (which include the address of one's father- and mother-in-law), although the well-known teknonymous formula (for example, "Abu 'Abdallah"—"father of 'Abdallah") is often employed. (It can also be used in a joking sense, but there is never any confusion in this matter.)

Space does not allow any further elaboration on the intricacies of the system of kinship terms which is used in al-Munsif. It can be said here only that these terms—which are verbal symbols of status and role—encompass the entire pattern of reciprocal obligations, social distance, and social nearness which regulates interpersonal relations in the village. Over all, there is the abiding concept of everyone in the village being related. This is symbolized best, perhaps, by the extensive use of the term *sihr*. The basic meaning of this word is a man who has married a member of one's immediate family; in other words, a sister's or a daughter's husband. But the term is extended to any man (of same age or younger) who is married to a member of one's lineage, and it is applied to an outsider who has married any village girl. Conceptually, the outsider becomes an in-law of the entire community.

The lineages function as units of identification by name (if necessary), as units for the automatic support and aid of individual members on a reciprocal basis, and to some extent for the regulation of marriage. Marriage to a member of another lineage is preferred, provided the spouse is a member of the village. There are exceptions to this, but as a whole, the network of marriage ties—which become blood ties through women in the generations following the marriage—between the lineages is very complex. Thus the potential exclusiveness of each lineage is minimized for the benefit of village solidarity. There are, indeed, factions and cliques within the village, but its basic unity is never lost sight of.

The Arabs are often thought of as actually living their daily lives in large, extended family groups. This is not, and apparently never has been, true in al-Munsif. All the households, with one exception, consist of what sociologists call "nuclear" families. That is, they are composed, basically, of only the parents and the immature or unmarried children. But the resemblance to the typical American family ends at this point, for though

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the households are of minimum size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

Unified in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Munsif maintain a basically equalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is work of this sort which is done in the village. Those who do it live in al-Munsif, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These additional inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 58 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the stokers at each of the bakeries. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Maronites and they come to al-Munsif in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are snowbound at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Munsif and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Mitwali (Lebanese Shi'is). This group has been in al-Munsif only about 12 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.[2] The ethnic distinction in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Localism. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme localism of al-Munsif has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Munsif.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

[2] Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1951).

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seem to be fatalistically resigned to it. Others make contemptuous comparisons between their forefathers, whom they picture as stalwart, hard-working yeomen, and the young people of today, who, they say, have gone soft. Still others believe that if only agriculture could be revitalized in the village, so as to be reasonably profitable, many of the present city workers would gladly return. This would require bringing irrigation water into the village in long-distance conduits.

On the other hand, the power of the village as a focus of local, religious, and kinship identity and solidarity, and hence of psychological and social security, continues to be forceful. This is revealed among the city dwellers in their strongly felt obligation to return to the village for important ceremonies and in their tendency to cling together in their social activities while in the city, almost as if they were a colony in an alien land.

The only apparent break in the strong social structure of the village is the increasing number of marriages to outsiders. Before 1920 such marriages were rare, and the outsiders, being women, were incorporated into the village. However, between 1920 and 1952, 30 percent (31) of the 104 marriages contracted were to outsiders. Seventeen of these, as mentioned before, involved village girls. Their children are lost to the village so far as membership is concerned. Thirteen of the 31 marriages were to coreligionaries, but 15 were to members of other Christian sects and 3 were to Muslims. So far, however, these external marriages do not appear to have had a deleterious effect on the concept of village unity.

In general, group problems still appear to be conceived as family problems or village problems. And yet these people now work in and are dependent upon a larger society: the city and its institutions, and the nation. And these wider social groups have their problems which affect all.

The villager who lives and works in the city, in particular, is caught in a network of conflicting forces. His personal status and his strongest sense of belonging are still rooted in the village, but because of his education — and the more education he has, the more this is likely to be true — he has become unfitted, in terms of his interests and ambitions, to participate fully in village life. As it were, while his heart is in the village, his head and his hands are in the city. Out of economic necessity, he seeks his fortune in the city. But here, current conditions often prevent his finding work which is, in his eyes, suitable for a person of his educational status. Consequently, he is likely to be unable to participate in urban or extra-village social groups to an extent which is emotionally satisfying to him. Hence there is a tendency toward generalized dissatisfaction and cynicism.

In resolving this problem, it would be unwise to think in terms of the elimination or rejection of the bonds of village and kinship groups, for these are still fundamental factors in the morals, values, and emotional satisfactions of the people. Rather, the city dwellers need to identify them-

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selves with other groups *in addition* to the traditional ones, groups which are concerned with the application of sober study and rational action to problems of general concern. Perhaps the temptation of reacting in terms of emotionally charged scapegoats could thereby be lessened and a more satisfying urban life achieved.

Al-Munsif is just one Lebanese village out of many hundreds. It is probably unusual in the high educational level of its members, but in other respects it is not significantly different. It is well known that a very large number of urban dwellers in Lebanon (and elsewhere in the Middle East) were not born and bred in the city but in small villages. Superficially, the people who are encountered in offices, shops, and classrooms often appear to be thoroughly oriented in the heavily Westernized life of the city. It is usually apprehended, however, that there is a good deal more that lies beneath the surface and is related to the more traditional ways of life. It is not sufficient to dismiss this matter by making vague statements about East meeting West and Old meeting New. Rather, the situation must be studied and described in specific detail in a number of different cases. This paper presents some of the conclusions of one such case study. There are others, but there should be many more, by a variety of researchers, for only on that basis can a really effective understanding be reached.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

THE VILLAGE IN THE NATIONAL LIFE OF LEBANON

Afif I. Tannous

369 THE MIDDLE EAST reveals itself most fundamentally through a study of its rural society. There is indeed no other road to an authentic understanding of this part of the world. Agriculture is the mainstay of its economy; it also holds the greatest promise for widespread economic development. Of even greater importance, however, is the human factor: between 70 and 80 percent of the people of the Middle East are rural, depending upon agriculture for a living. By sheer numbers, if nothing else, these masses of the population would constitute the substance of national character. But more than that, they have a distinctive culture of their own which has determined the wide base upon which national life must develop. That this basic stratum of Middle East society is inarticulate and has been ignored for long centuries does not alter its fundamental significance.

369 The rural society of the Middle East consists of two major segments — the pastoral tribe and the agricultural village — which supplement and merge into each other, economically, biologically, and culturally. In some countries of the area, for example Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, and Iran, the nomadic or semi-settled tribe plays a significant role.[1] In others, such as

113 [1] Afif I. Tannous, "The Arab Tribal Community in a Nationalist State," *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), 5-17.

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114 v AFIF I. TANNOUS, Lecturer at The Middle East Institute on the cultural organization of the Arab peoples, is regional specialist in charge of the Middle East Section, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture. The discussion here presented is developed from a chapter by the author in the *Report* of the United States — Lebanon Agricultural Mission, of which he was a member.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Egypt, Turkey, and Lebanon, it is the agricultural village that is paramount. The Lebanese, it is true, are generally known abroad as a trading people, whose ships have sailed throughout the Mediterranean world since ancient times. But this urban, merchant community has always been backed by the rural community of the Mountain.

In few other countries do we find the village-community type of human settlement so firmly established and so influential in the development of national life as in Lebanon. The village has existed continuously there since ancient times. Despite great upheavals, the farmer of Lebanon has patiently and persistently cultivated the soil, produced his crops, and raised his livestock. He has found in the rugged mountains a refuge from persecution and oppression. He has adapted himself efficiently to the difficult terrain, blasting the rocks and terracing the steep slopes in order to make room for his trees, vines, and grains. Over many centuries of adjustment to his peculiar physical and societal environment, he has succeeded in developing a clearly defined and firmly established way of life. He stands at present as the main pillar of national life in the mountains of Lebanon, the embodiment of a long and rich cultural heritage.

In appraising the significance of the village community in the life of present-day Lebanon, one can readily point out three major contributions. The first of these is biological: the replenishment and revitalization of the population in general, and of the urban population in particular. A study of the development of Lebanon over the past half century reveals clearly that rural areas have been mainly responsible for the building up of the flourishing urban or partly urban centers of Sidon, Beirut, Tripoli, and Zahleh. They have maintained a high birth rate, true to the trend prevailing in all rural areas of the Middle East. Due to a healthful climate and relatively high standards of sanitation, infant mortality has been lower in Lebanon than in the other countries of the Middle East. The result has been a constant stream of vigorous emigrants leaving the villages for urban centers.

Some fifty years ago this population overflow produced such pressure on the limited land and technological resources of

17: Tannous S, G-S (ca. 1947-48)[1949] MSS Lebanon MSS

Lebanon that it could no longer be absorbed within the country. The village folk had the choice of submitting to a life of poverty or of emigrating abroad, seeking new opportunities and fortunes. The first alternative was incompatible with their cultural heritage. They were mostly independent farm owners, not share croppers, and were animated by a comparatively high degree of learning; they were exposed to influences of the West; and they had a long history of struggle against great odds, demanding initiative and enterprise on the part of the individual and the group.

Consequently, they resorted to emigration for relief. Some sought opportunities in the urban centers of neighboring Arab countries. They established themselves there as merchants, teachers, publishers, doctors, and as government officials in various capacities. Most of them, however, turned toward the promising New World, north and south. It is estimated that these emigrants, together with the families they have reared, now exceed in number the population resident in Lebanon itself.

Recent estimates put the population of Lebanon at 1.2 million, of whom about 75 percent are rural. There seems to be no slackening in the high rate of increase. The density of population, one of the highest in the world, amounts to about 300 per square mile of total area, and 1,800 per square mile of cultivated area. In the Middle East it is exceeded only by Egypt, which holds the world record with a density of about 2,000 per square mile of cultivated area.

This biological resource of the village community constitutes both a serious problem and a challenge to Lebanon. Emigration possibilities for the surplus population are no longer as readily available as they were prior to a decade or two ago. A realistic, long-range solution lies in the application of an enlightened population policy and developmental program that would result in controlled growth on the one hand, and in the efficient development of the country's natural resources on the other.

The second major contribution of the village community to the country is economic. This is readily apparent and needs little elaboration. Dwellers in the villages are the farming folk of Lebanon. Their agricultural activity is the mainstay of the

national economy. They produce most of the food consumed by the country, as well as raw materials for industries and some surplus products for export. In fact, agricultural items are Lebanon's principal exports. Agriculture is also destined to play an even greater role in the future. At present the area under

area under irrigation. The crop land can at least be doubled, mainly by means of expanded irrigation. The abundant water resources could be much more efficiently utilized than it now is for increasing crop production, for the generation of power, and for household uses. There are good possibilities for the development of such agricultural and cottage industries as canning, dairying, cold storage for fruit, tanning, and handicrafts. Furthermore, production can be materially increased by the application of improved methods of cultivation. In other words, the village folk of Lebanon are in a position to make an even greater contribution to the national economy than they now do, provided they are given the necessary technical training and expert guidance.

In the third place, the rural community has been a main contributor to the cultural development of Lebanon. By culture here is not meant the conventional fine arts or those items of refinement in behavior that are shared by the few. We mean rather the pattern of living that is characteristic of Lebanon as a whole. We find here certain distinctive features, many of which can be traced directly to their origin in the village community. It is true that cultural influences from abroad have been finding their way into urban centers and thence into rural areas. These influences, however, together with those that have originated in urban centers, have not superseded the main body of culture, which remains predominantly rural. Family solidarity, group loyalty, individual initiative and enterprise, co-operativeness, community consciousness, a democratic way of living involving basic equality, and folk poetry are outstanding examples.

Finally, mention should be made of the significant leadership, in the various walks of life, that has been produced by the Lebanese village. The majority of leaders in politics, education, medicine, law, business enterprise, literature, and the other pro-

Th Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

business, although they flourish in urban centers, have either had a direct rural upbringing or are but one generation removed from it.

II

Typically the peasants in Lebanon live in villages, not on isolated farmsteads. This is the prevailing pattern of the Middle East and of most the Old World. In some parts of Europe and in most of the United States farmers live in relative isolation, each on his own land. These two different patterns have contributed to marked differences in the way of life among farming folk.

The typical Lebanese farming settlement consists, in the first place, of the village proper. This is a conglomeration of dwellings concentrated in a relatively small area. The houses, ranging in number from about 100 to 500, stand close to one another. Sometimes there is room between them for small gardens or orchards. Usually the center of this nucleated structure is the church or the mosque. In the adjoining open space, the *sahe*, the people assemble to celebrate, exchange news, or hold a market. Dwellings stretch from this center in various directions. Usually, sections of the village are differentiated along kinship-group lines. Another important center is the well, or spring, in the village proper or just outside it. Agricultural land, consisting mainly of orchards, vineyards, and open fields, extends in all directions from the central group of dwellings. During the greater part of the year, the farmers and their animals take a daily trip, going to the fields early in the morning and returning to the village at sunset.

The outstanding feature of this type of close settlement is that it provides the individual with a situation that is highly socializing. People know one another intimately. In many important situations they act as a group, yet leave room for individual initiative. A genuine feeling of neighborliness, or *jiwar*, prevails. The Arabic term is significant, properly meaning "help" or "cooperation." A child growing up in such a milieu must learn from his early days how to rub elbows with people and get along with them. He must develop the art of adjustment not only to his age group but also to his elders and those younger than himself.

T7:Tannous 3, C-3 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

He soon develops a keen consciousness of belonging to the community. Through such consciousness his personality is expanded. The attainment of his life's objectives is tempered by a firmly established sense of responsibility as a member of the group.

It is in such surroundings that a spirit of true democracy is nurtured and developed. Viewed from this angle, the village community of Lebanon assumes a new national significance.

From the economic viewpoint, this type of physical structure has resulted in the development of a widespread problem of fragmented holdings. The Lebanese farmer frequently owns property that consists of some 10, 15, or 20 small plots, scattered in all directions from the village where he lives. Agriculturally, this type of landholding is inefficient. The farmer wastes much time and energy in walking from plot to plot. Furthermore, he cannot develop a satisfactory over-all plan of management for his land. A national plan for the consolidation of holdings, launched on a voluntary co-operative basis, thus is in order. Consolidation alone, however, would be only a temporary solution, for the prevailing system of dividing the land among the heirs and the practice of selling a small portion of a plot upon need would in time cause the fragmented holdings to reappear. Other complicating factors, some social and some religious, require that the problem be given more detailed study and analysis before a satisfactory solution can be devised.

The Lebanese farmer manifests a deep-rooted attachment to his land. It is his main source of living, and before him it supported a long line of his ancestors. It is an integral part of his being; he speaks of it with religious fervor. The various plots he owns carry personalized names, referring to certain qualities, incidents in village history, ancestors, or patron saints. By virtue of owning them and being a good farmer he is given status in the community and plays a role in its affairs. To sell out and migrate to another locality is abhorrent to him, a threat to his whole existence. When he is forced to emigrate abroad, he does so with the fervent hope that some day he will return to his village community, to the land that ties him in an organic manner to a long line of ancestors. If he is forced to mortgage or sell some of his land upon departure, his first concern is to remit money to pay

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

off the mortgage or to reacquire the land sold. At present there are many among the old emigrants who refuse to sell the land they own back home, although they have lost the hope of ever returning to live there.

This attachment to the land and to the community life that has developed on it is one of the fundamentals of national existence. It contributes essential stability and continuity to national character, especially in times of crisis and change. There are, however, factors such as a faulty land-tenure system, lack of adequate credit facilities, and absentee landownership that have been threatening this basis of security in village life. Although most of the land in Lebanon is privately owned, held in fee simple either by the individual farmer or by the joint family group, in certain sections of the country, mostly outside the central mountain region, share cropping prevails. There is no doubt that this condition, associated in many cases with absentee ownership, has retarded agricultural development and resulted in an appreciable lower standard of living, especially in many of the villages of the Akkar plain and the Bika' valley.

Religious experience is another outstanding feature in the life of the rural folk of Lebanon. They take their religious organization, Christian or Moslem, seriously. Like their land and their agricultural activity, it constitutes a major part of their existence. Religion is not confined to formal services at the church or the mosque. It is expressed in wholesome recreation that takes place in connection with various festivals honoring patron saints. The Arabic word for festival, *'id*, is the symbol of a rich cultural complex indicating joy, relaxation, sociability, and religious fervor. When the farmer refers to his land, crops, or animals, he invokes Allah's name and blessing. On certain occasions some of the season's produce is carried to the church to be blessed. The normal greeting between farmers at work is not "Good morning" or "Good evening," but rather "May Allah give you health and strength."

Furthermore, there is a striking identification of the religious organization with the local community. It is the people of the village who donate the land and erect the church or mosque building. The priest or imam is a member of the village, chosen

17:Tennous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

by the people, and ordained by higher religious authorities. Through unspecified donations, members of the community meet his needs. In some cases, he does not even cease to be an active farmer. A balance is established between the central religious organization of the country and the village church through respect for local autonomy.

Another pillar of life among the rural people of Lebanon is the family organization, which is characterized by three functional units or stages. The first of these is the primary biological unit, consisting of the married couple and their children. The second is a more comprehensive unit, known as the joint family, which consists of the grandparents at the head, their unmarried daughters, and the various families of their sons. At a certain point in its growth, this joint family breaks up into new units, resulting ultimately in the development of the largest family organization, the kinship group. Members of this group claim descent from the same ancestor and normally carry his name.

Evidences of the importance of the family organization are numerous and convincing. A village consists actually of a community of people held together to a large extent by blood ties, either through descent within the kinship group or through intermarriage between these units. Practically everybody is related directly or indirectly to everybody else. A strong sense of belonging and of solidarity develops as a result. Marriage, to a large extent, is a family affair, with emphasis upon the interests and welfare of the two family groups concerned. Children are usually named after ancestors or other relatives, thus emphasizing the blood tie. Land is normally held and operated jointly by various members of the unit. Loyalty to the family in times of crisis is binding; family honor and prestige must be upheld.

In their use of proverbs, expressing fundamental attitudes, the village folk frequently refer to this family relationship. "Blood can never turn into water." "A boy is two-thirds the image of his uncle." "Marry the daughter of a good family, though she be an old maid." "He who has no family backing has no backbone." These are but a few examples. Further evidence of the identification of the individual with the family group is supplied by the manner in which people are addressed or introduced.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Parents, after the birth of their first son, cease to be addressed by their given names. They are now addressed by the name of their son, as the father or the mother of so-and-so. On the other hand, the members of the younger generation, until they are married, are referred to and introduced as the children of so-and-so, of such-and-such a family.

An outstanding characteristic of this rural family organization is that, with minor exceptions in certain parts of Lebanon, the woman occupies a relatively high status. Moslem or Christian, she does not submit to the veil, nor does she suffer from undue segregation. In the majority of cases, boys and girls attend the same village school. Whenever both men and women do farm work, we find, as a general rule, that division of labor prevails, with the lighter tasks assigned to women. In many villages of the mountain region, an increasing proportion of women do not do any farm work at all, applying themselves completely to homemaking. Some fifty years ago the doors of higher education were opened to the village women of Lebanon. Since then they have played an increasingly important role in national leadership and development as teachers, writers, doctors, lawyers, and enlightened homemakers.

Recreational activity, to one degree or another, is characteristic of many rural societies. This seems to be an essential need, biologically and socially, of human group life. By this means the group gives spontaneous expression, in symbolic form, to the fundamental values of its life and to its aspirations. The rural society of Lebanon is outstanding in this respect, having developed a rich recreational heritage that is well known in the Arabic-speaking world. Some aspects of this heritage have been carried to, and kept alive in, foreign countries by Lebanese emigrants. The Lebanese farmer is characterized by a well-developed sense of humor and a lively tendency to indulge in pranks. He loves to compose folk poetry and sing folk songs, when alone working in his fields or when in the company of friends. From his early childhood he learns to be a good folk dancer. At the same time his community life is characterized by an abundance of recreational expression.

Occasions for community festivities and group-play activity

17: Taunous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48) 1949 MEJ Lebanon MEI

are numerous and varied. A large number of these are related to the religious life of the community. In addition to the regular weekly holiday and other general holidays of the Christians or Moslems, there are several community festivals held in honor of particular patron saints. Each of these festivals is an occasion for people of several villages to get together and celebrate, sometimes for two or three days at a time. They visit, trade, compete in games, compose folk poetry, participate in religious chanting or group singing, and dance the well-known folk dance, the *dabki*.

In a similar manner the people celebrate the harvesting of some of their crops. Also in the *sahra* they have a well-developed recreational institution: an evening get-together at one of the homes to visit, play games, or listen to a story being read or told. At the time of a wedding or a funeral, practically the whole community, old and young, halts its routine activities and participates in the affair. Here again the group manifests its solidarity and takes a new hold on life by expanding its happiness in the first case, and by lightening the burden of its sorrows in the second.

The village community of Lebanon is thus essentially a co-operative unit: in its family organization, in its traditions of neighborliness, in its religious institutions and social life, in its educational efforts. Co-operation, in one degree or another, is also involved in many agricultural activities such as the threshing of grain, the sharing of draft animals, and the assigning of water rights.

One can readily see in this a promising and secure foundation on which to establish a successful organization of agricultural co-operatives according to modern principles and techniques. In fact, a beginning has already been made along this line. In 1944 the Lebanese Government passed a decree providing for the establishment of a co-operative council, whose function is to guide and supervise the projected movement. The decree also covers various essential details of organization, obligations and rights of members, audit and inspection, and voting procedure.

The successful co-operative experiment of Abadiyeh village, in the mountains above Beirut, provides a striking demonstration of the manner in which such a developmental scheme can

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

be successfully grafted upon the traditional community spirit and yield fruit. This society was started by a rural leader of the country, a native of the village, under the auspices of the American University of Beirut and the Near East Foundation of New York. It has been functioning continuously and successfully for more than ten years, a modern co-operative enterprise flourishing on the foundations of the traditional mutual aid of the village community.

Emphasis has been made upon two great needs in Lebanese agriculture — extension of credit at reasonable rates for productive purposes, and efficient marketing of produce. In both respects the Abadiyeh people have been amply rewarded. Over 300 of them belong to the society, representing, as heads of families, the great majority of the total population. The bulk of the surplus of grapes, the major crop of the village, amounting to over 1,000 tons, is marketed through the co-operative. With efficient packing and guaranteed grading, it brings higher prices in Beirut markets than others less carefully prepared. Loans to members have steadily increased. The farmers have been educated to borrow only for productive purposes, at a low rate of interest, and to pay back on time. They have also learned how to apply some of the profits to public services. Three or four other villages have already followed the example of Abadiyeh.

If given the encouragement and guidance that is initially necessary, the co-operative will find an unusually fertile soil for rapid growth in the rural society of Lebanon. Not only the problems of credit and marketing, but also those of increased crop production, livestock improvement, and procurement of supplies could be solved to a large extent by this form of organization. More important still, the co-operative society could develop ultimately into the integrating and dynamic center of village life.

III

Some fifty years ago, significant changes began to take place in the life of the Lebanese rural community. The main factors involved have been large-scale emigration to foreign countries; rapid development of elementary and higher education, mostly under the influence of Western agencies; expanded trade and

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

other business activities with the West; modern technology and means of communication; and, finally, the rise of political consciousness, culminating recently in national emancipation.

Each of these factors for change has been potent, introducing far-reaching influences in the life of the people. The educational movement has brought a rate of literacy, estimated at 70 percent, which is unequalled in any other rural area of the Middle East. The rate is even higher for the more advanced mountain region considered separately from the coastal and urban areas of Lebanon. Here we find a school in practically every village, catering to the needs of both boys and girls. From the elementary schools, village youth has flowed in increasing numbers to high schools and colleges. As a result, the horizon of the village has been widened intellectually and economically, causing the farming folk to question their way of life and to seek greater opportunities in the outside world.

As mentioned before, Lebanese emigrants, mostly from the rural areas, left in relatively large numbers to the Americas and other parts of the world. Practically every farm-family unit has one or more of its members residing abroad. Through correspondence, the press, and literature, through clubs and societies, through visits back home, and by means of the substantial sums of money sent to their families, these emigrants have contributed heavily to the widening of the village horizon and to the changing of its pattern.

Perhaps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities.

The village community of Lebanon is now going through a stage of rapid transition and difficult adjustment. Its traditional organization, with its institutional pillars of family, land, and religion, is being severely challenged. New ways of doing things

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

and new forms of human relationships are competing, and in many cases conflicting with the old folkways and mores. In some villages one can witness indications of severe disorganization. This state of affairs might be considered as an index of health and growth. It might, on the other hand, result in much disruption and cultural loss. Only tentative and partial experiments have been made to date in working out a progressive pattern for village life, as in the co-operative movement described above. This is a serious matter for Lebanon to consider, for its future development depends to a large extent upon the success with which its village communities adjust to the changing times without abandoning the fundamental role they have played in shaping Lebanon's national character.

12: Churchill ME1 Lebanon ME1

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[For information on the methodology followed in the survey of the city of Beirut, see entire source, Category 116.]

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Lebanon was chosen for this study because of the writer's interest in the country itself and because he had undertaken preliminary research on it. It must be noted that Lebanon has a number of characteristics which tend to differentiate it somewhat from its neighbors: it has been a refuge area for various religious sects, half of its population is Christian, it is one of the most intensively acculturated of the Arabic-speaking countries, it is not the headquarters of any nomadic tribes as such, and it is primarily a country of agricultural villages and urban seaport centers. Urban studies in Lebanon, or in any other Middle East country, will be of tremendous value and importance, but they must be based on as thorough as possible an understanding of village life. This is because so many city dwellers were village born and bred. Furthermore, urban studies in the Middle East should probably be undertaken by teams of researchers which include other social scientists in addition to anthropologists. A village study is therefore the most suitable type of research for a single anthropologist in Lebanon.

This work attempts to do two things: (1) to present as detailed a description as possible of the culture-in-change of a Lebanese village; (2) to isolate the major themes in the traditional culture and in the change process, and to present a theoretical scheme which serves to give some form and meaning to the observed phenomena.

In line with this purpose, there are two parts to the work. Part I is a descriptive analysis of the village culture as of the time of investigation. This is the way the people lived it and the way it was observed. Probably there is nothing unusual in the categories into which this material is divided for presentation. However, a note on them is in order. There can be little disagreement with Bateson's suggestion (1935, p. 179) that such categories as "religion," "social life," and "economics," lead to serious difficulties in the study of other cultures, especially when the concepts behind their use are directly applicable only to the investigator's own culture. Involved in this problem is the fact, brought into clear focus by the functionalists, that the elements of culture and society are, by and large, interdependent. One cannot, therefore, get very far into the discussion of such an inclusive category as "religion," for example, without soon becoming involved in questions of "economics" and "social life," as well as "ritual."

Afif Tannous has analyzed the Middle East village quite handily in terms of three major categories: "Land," "Religion," and "Kinship Organization" (1944). These he considers to be the major themes in village life. The present writer does not follow this conceptualization in Part I, although he does draw upon it in Part II. Tannous's categories of Land and Kinship Organization are approximately covered in two separate chapters, but phenomena all of which could be subsumed under Religion are discussed separately, for reasons which should become clear. Categorical lines must be drawn somewhere if system is to be used, as it must be. The problem is to define categories in such a way that there is no undue repetition and yet so that the interdependent, or overlapping nature of cultural elements is given recognition. The arrangement of Part I is an attempt to achieve these ends.

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THE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS OF LEBANON IN 1951 AND 1952

Definitions and Method

000 A country's balance of payments represents a record of its international economic and financial transactions during a given period.

The concept of these transactions is of course very elastic and numerous definitions and classifications have been suggested. The most elaborate are those of the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and they are gaining wide acceptance among nations. In Lebanon, however, it would be impossible to follow closely the Fund's concepts and suggested classifications, mainly because of the inadequacy of Government statistics. Besides, even if all the needed data were available, it is doubtful whether as detailed a record as the one proposed by the Fund would be really meaningful to Lebanon today. The primary need is for a much less sophisticated schedule; in a country where no study of the balance of payments has ever been made, either by the Government or by private institutions, it appears that the main aim of any attempt in that direction at this time should be simply to present in as clear a form as possible the country's major international receipts and payments and to explain financing procedures.

121 However, and mainly in order to achieve a certain comparability of data and to profit to the utmost from available publications, it was felt that as few departures as possible should be allowed from the now internationally accepted classification. Therefore, the procedure followed in this study is basically that of the IMF's Abbreviated Balance of Payments schedule,[1] adapted to Lebanon's particular conditions and requirements. The general scope of the study is shown in the following schema:-

1 International Monetary Fund, *Balance of Payments Manual*, January 1950, Reprinted Oct. 1950, Washington D.C., U.S.A.

P.1

[21] I. Goods and Services.
- A. Merchandise
- B. Non-Monetary Gold
- C. Foreign Travel
- D. Transport and Insurance
- E. Investment Income
- F. Government Expenditures (not included elsewhere)
- G. Miscellaneous Services

II. Donations and Capital Movements.
- A. Emigrants' Remittances and Transfers
- B. Charitable and Cultural Institutions
- C. Government
- D. Capital Movements

III. Compensatory Financial Operations.

[127] Whenever possible, use has been made of available official information, after suitable corrections and adjustments. Very often, however, the lack of data in various sectors of the economy has necessitated private inquiries which sometimes took the form of supplementary independent surveys. Thus a five-month survey was made of the important summer resort industry, *estivage*, and of tourist expenditures.

[439] The years 1951 and 1952 have been chosen for purposes of this study, as they constitute the only twelve-month periods for which there are complete trade figures for Lebanon alone and for which final government budget accounts are available. Prior to March 1950, Lebanon formed a customs union with Syria, and trade returns of the two countries were combined. The lack of proper records makes it impossible to estimate even approximately the share of each country at that time in total exports and imports. When the customs union was terminated on March 13th, 1950, Lebanon established its own customs, started recording its commercial transactions and embarked on an independent trade and exchange policy. This development makes a preliminary computation of Lebanon's balance of payments not only possible but also necessary if the effects of the new policy are to be properly appraised.

128 The results obtained in this study have been summarized in the following tables in both abridged and standard forms. An

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 ME1 Lebanon ME1

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

121 This is the first of a projected series of reports on the agricultural economy of Lebanon by the Rural Statistical Surveys Office. The Project is a joint cooperative effort by the Ministry of National Economy and the Technical Cooperation Service to investigate and report on the economic aspects of rural Lebanon.

This special report was prepared specifically to aid technicians connected with the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project. Because of time and other limitations the following material must be considered to be in the nature of a reconnaissance report. Plans are now under way to make an agricultural census which will provide more accurate data.

Personnel of the Rural Statistical Surveys Office, under the direction of the Ministry of National Economy, participated in collecting the field data for this report. The authors analyzed these data and prepared this report as collaborators with the Surveys Office.

They wish to express their appreciation to Mr. Nsouli, Director General of the Ministry of National Economy; Mr. Hazarabedian, Director of the Central Statistical Office, Ministry of National Economy; Mr. Asad Nasr, Chief Statistician; and all of the technicians who aided in this study. Particular thanks are due to the mukhtars (mayors) of the villages included, since it was they who furnished the information upon which this report is based.

13: Ritther S-4 (no date) 1932 ME1 Lebanon ME1

PREFACE

121 The following study of municipal government and administration in the Lebanese Republic is merely a brief descriptive treatment of the structural and procedural organization of local government. It has grown out of the need for illustrative material concerning the problems of the Near East in teaching courses in Political Science. The study is brief and virtually confined to an exposition of the structure and forms of procedure rather than a critical analysis of its working. It has been handicapped by the fact that practically nothing has appeared on the subject, in any language, while the original sources have been difficult to secure, and by the further fact that official statistics are as yet inadequate and not always reliable. It is hoped that the present study may, in time, be extended to include an examination into the working of the system.

121 114 From its nature the study is largely based on an analysis of the laws and decrees relating to local government, but this has been supplemented by visits to a number of municipalities and villages of varying degrees of importance and by interviews with government officials and private citizens well versed in local affairs. No attempt has been made to go into the detailed history of local government under the pre-existing Turkish regime, but reference has been made to important changes as well as to differences between the system in the Lebanon and that of the Mandatory Power. All the main provisions of the fundamental law have been cited in the text though some receive only a brief treatment with no mention of the details of the procedure. To facilitate use as a reference, footnote references have been made to the individual articles of the basic laws and certain statistics and tables have been included as appendices.

It is a pleasure to acknowledge the courteous treatment received at the hands of the Minister of the Interior, Moussa Bey Namour, and of his assistants in that Department as well as the friendly reception usually accorded by municipal and local officials on the occasion of visits to various localities.

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 ME1 Lebanon ME1

BLOOD GROUPS AND INBREEDING IN SYRIA

WILLIAM C. BOYD AND LYLE G. BOYD
Evans Memorial, Massachusetts Memorial Hospitals, School of Medicine, Boston, Massachusetts

121 The anthropology of the Near East is an intricate subject, but in view of the significance of the region for the prehistoric and early historic development of man, it is of importance. Rather than attempting to labor a point probably already conceded by most readers, we may simply refer to the remarks on this subject of Kappers and Parr ('34), Field ('35), Keith ('35), and Shanklin ('38).

Knowledge of the physical anthropology of this region, as Shanklin ('36) points out, is meager. In particular, few studies of characteristics known to be inherited in a definite way, such as "taste-blindness", or blood groups, have been made (compare Boyd, '39 b). We believe that our study (carried out in 1937 when one of us held a Guggenheim fellowship) on the incidence of the M,N types was the first to be made in the region covered by us.

121 We were particularly anxious to determine the blood groups of the Bedouin, previously tested for A and B by Shanklin ('35 b), and reported to be very high in group O, thus resembling some North American Indian tribes. Our results on the Bedouin tested by us did not support this picture (Boyd and Boyd, '38; Kayssi, Boyd and Boyd, '38), and we therefore desired to test also some villagers for comparison. Boarij seemed of special interest because it was known to represent a highly inbred population, and because a thorough sociological survey was being carried out there by Miss Anne Fuller. Meshghara was of interest as a typical mountain village, part Christian and part Moslem. We wished to test some Arme-

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nians because the M,N frequencies had never been reported for this ethnic group. Our attempt to test the Druze, a special religious group, unfortunately never reached in a large enough sample to have any value, but the results are presented for the sake of completeness.

Our blood group results on two tribes of Syrian Bedouin have already been reported (Boyd and Boyd, '36). The other Syrian results are reported here. They include tests on about 131 individuals from Beeriji, 306 from Meshghara (both towns in the Lebanon), 329 Armenians living in Beyrouth and nearby Ghazir, and an insignificant sample of Druze from 'Aleidiya, not far from 'Aley, on the way up from Beyrouth to Dammeron. In addition to determining the blood groups and types, we also recorded in a rough way degrees of hair, eye, and skin pigmentation, looked for hair on the second phalanx of the fingers, and tested for taste reaction to phenyl-thio-carbamide. These results are also presented.

Methods of preparation of the sera we used have been presented previously (Boyd, '29 a). Groupings were carried out by the test-tube method, as recommended by Landsteiner and by Schiff (compare Boyd and Boyd, '27; Boyd, '29 b). In each day's set-up bloods of known type were included, to check the activity of the sera. The anti-B, -M, and -N sera were preserved with acriflavine, and the anti-A with brilliant green, as recommended by Rosenthal (Boyd, '29 a). They were transported in stoppered bottles in a tin box, protected with rubber pads, which was kept on ice as much of the time as possible.

Taste reactions to phenyl-thio-carbamide were tested by means of filter paper impregnated with the substance, as described by Parr, one of the first to call attention to the anthropological significance of taste reactions to this compound.

We framed our questions to the subjects with considerable care, and frequently used blank paper to check the honesty of replies. We found our smattering of Arabic in general sufficient for this work, so that it was not necessary to depend upon interpreters for the patient's reaction to the test substance. The subjects were always asked to compare the taste, if they perceived one, to that of a substance known to them, and if

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15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 ME 1 Lebanon ME1

they declared they tasted nothing, they were asked to consider if they were tasting plain paper. They were tested one at a time, to avoid suggestion so far as possible, and in places where a high percentage were positive, enough blanks were interspersed among the tests to keep the rumour going about that some persons could taste this peculiar paper, while others could not. We also assured the patients in advance that no stigma, clinical or otherwise, attached to the ability or lack of ability to taste the substance. The work was of course less accurate, being carried out relatively hastily under "field" conditions, than a study made in the laboratory would have been. But we do not think that there are enough errors in our data to affect the percentages significantly.

Since our record of hair and eye color was incidental to the blood grouping work, and usually had to be done hurriedly, we adopted the simple plan of classifying by inspection all hair and eyes into four equal grades according to depth of pigmentation, ranging from the lightest "Nordics" to the darkest Africans. We planned to include in the first grade of hair blonds, ranging from albinos to Scandinavian blonds, in the second blonds and very light browns, in the third browns of different shades, in the fourth dark browns and blacks. In the case of eyes, grade 1 included the blues, 2 the dark blues and grays, 3 the "hazels" and browns, and 4 the dark browns and blacks. Of course such a classification is very crude, and we may unconsciously have varied our standards somewhat in different localities, but not enough, we feel, greatly to affect the results.

Degrees of skin pigmentation were similarly estimated: 1 signifies "white" skin and so on, up to 4 which includes the "blacks".

The presence or absence of hair on the second phalanx of the fingers, inherited, according to Danforth, as a dominant, was also observed rather hastily, to test if there were differences in frequency in different ethnic groups. The presence of even a single hair was taken as positive. Our results are probably only approximate (compare Boyd and Boyd, '37).

The results are presented in table 1.

ME1 Lebanon ME1

8: Fei and Klat
125, 128

/For an account of the gathering of information on items affecting the balance of payments in Lebanon, copies of questionnaires used, etc. and an explanation of statistical methods used to derive balance of payment items, see category 116, entire source./

121 I. Goods and Services.
- A. Merchandise
- B. Non-Monetary Gold
- C. Foreign Travel
- D. Transport and Insurance
- E. Investment Income
- F. Government Expenditures (not included elsewhere)
- G. Miscellaneous Services

II. Donations and Capital Movements.
- A. Emigrants' Remittances and Transfers
- B. Charitable and Cultural Institutions
- C. Government
- D. Capital Movements

III. Compensatory Financial Operations.

•[127] Whenever possible, use has been made of available official information, after suitable corrections and adjustments. Very often, however, the lack of data in various sectors of the economy has necessitated private inquiries which sometimes took the form of supplementary independent surveys. Thus a five-month survey was made of the important summer resort industry, *estivage*, and of tourist expenditures.

[439] The years 1951 and 1952 have been chosen for purposes of this study, as they constitute the only twelve-month periods for which there are complete trade figures for Lebanon alone and for which final government budget accounts are available. Prior to March 1950, Lebanon formed a customs union with Syria, and trade returns of the two countries were combined. The lack of proper records makes it impossible to estimate even approximately the share of each country at that time in total exports and imports. When the customs union was terminated on March 13th, 1950, Lebanon established its own customs, started recording its commercial transactions and embarked on an independent trade and exchange policy. This development makes a preliminary computation of Lebanon's balance of payments not only possible but also necessary if the effects of the new policy are to be properly appraised.

128 The results obtained in this study have been summarized in the following tables in both abridged and standard forms. An

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Lebanon was chosen for this study because of the writer's interest
the country itself and because he had undertaken preliminary research on it. It 480
must be noted that Lebanon has a number of characteristics which tend to differ- 177
entiate it somewhat from its neighbors: it has been a refuge area for various re- 369
ligious sects, half of its population is Christian, it is one of the most intensively
acculturated of the Arabic-speaking countries, it is not the headquarters of any
nomadic tribes as such, and it is primarily a country of agricultural villages and
urban seaport centers. Urban studies in Lebanon, or in any other Middle East
country, will be of tremendous value and importance, but they must be based on
as thorough as possible an understanding of village life. This is because so many [116]
city dwellers were village born and bred. Furthermore, urban studies in the Middle
East should probably be undertaken by teams of researchers which include other
social scientists in addition to anthropologists. A village study is therefore the
most suitable type of research for a single anthropologist in Lebanon.

This work attempts to do two things: (1) to present as detailed a description 121
as possible of the culture-in-change of a Lebanese village; (2) to isolate the major
themes in the traditional culture and in the change process, and to present a
theoretical scheme which serves to give some form and meaning to the observed
phenomena.

In line with this purpose, there are two parts to the work. Part I is a descrip- 128
tive analysis of the village culture as of the time of investigation. This is the way
the people lived it and the way it was observed. Probably there is nothing unusual
in the categories into which this material is divided for presentation. However, a
note on them is in order. There can be little disagreement with Bateson's sugges-
tion (1935, p. 179) that such categories as "religion," "social life," and "eco-
nomics," lead to serious difficulties in the study of other cultures, especially when
the concepts behind their use are directly applicable only to the investigator's own
culture. Involved in this problem is the fact, brought into clear focus by the func-
tionalists, that the elements of culture and society are, by and large, interde-
pendent. One cannot, therefore, get very far into the discussion of such an inclu-
sive category as "religion," for example, without soon becoming involved in
questions of "economics" and "social life," as well as "ritual."

Afif Tannous has analyzed the Middle East village quite handily in terms of
three major categories: "Land," "Religion," and "Kinship Organization" (1944).
These he considers to be the major themes in village life. The present writer does
not follow this conceptualization in Part I, although he does draw upon it in
Part II. Tannous's categories of Land and Kinship Organization are approximately
covered in two separate chapters, but phenomena all of which could be subsumed
under Religion are discussed separately, for reasons which should become clear.
Categorical lines must be drawn somewhere if system is to be used, as it must be.
The problem is to define categories in such a way that there is no undue repetition
and yet so that the interdependent, or overlapping nature of cultural elements is
given recognition. The arrangement of Part I is an attempt to achieve these ends.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

It is not claimed that Part I is a complete ethnography of the village. It *is* as complete as the investigator could make it, and any glaring omissions are either the fault of his limited abilities and opportunities or the result of the avoidance of certain topics for reasons of rapport.

Part II begins with a retrogression in time, presenting a brief reconstruction of the traditional village culture and a history of the development of present conditions. The various lines of culture change are then sorted out, and their differential effects on various aspects of the culture are analyzed. The most important conclusion is that the social structure, i.e., kinship and marriage patterns, a matter of great importance in the traditional culture, has proved remarkably resistant to change. The theory is then advanced that village social structure in the Middle East generally represents but one phase, or "sphere," in an overall pattern which constitutes the skeleton of Middle East society. Hence, in part, its resistance to change.

The germ of this theory took root in the writer's mind some time ago (Gulick, 1949, pp. 190–91). However, it did not take on systematic form until he became acquainted with the hierarchical system of kinship-political units which Evans-Pritchard analyzes in *The Nuer*. The theory developed in Part II is an adaptation of Evans-Pritchard's basic concepts, supported by Murdock (1949), Coon (1951), and others. In brief, the theory postulates a hierarchical system of strong in-group types: extended family, lineage, local group, sect group, and nation, to mention the five most important. The totality of units of each type constitutes a "sphere." The cohesive strength of the village under study is largely due to the fact that it happens that three of the spheres are coterminous in it.

This is primarily a social structural interpretation of a cultural situation. As far as it goes, and as far as he can see, the writer believes it to be valid. Most emphatically, however, its status is that of an hypothesis only. The writer hopes that it may be tested by further research of the same type, and, especially, against the conclusions drawn from investigations which have a different theoretical and methodological orientation.

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[128] The results obtained in this study have been summarized in the following tables in both abridged and standard forms. An

explanatory text follows. It should be emphasized here that these 128
results are merely tentative and should not be utilized except with great caution. Indeed, some of the estimates given are perhaps no more than informed guesses. Yet, it is believed that the degree of error is not such as to distort the relationships portrayed in the balance here presented.

As the period of time covered in this study is relatively short, no economic commentary of these relationships has been undertaken. However, it is planned to include such a commentary in the study of the balance of payments in 1953, which is now underway. It is expected that some general trends would then become discernible, thus making possible a general and more meaningful appraisal of the situation.

ME1 Lebanon ME1

8: Fei and Klat
125, 128 ●

/For an account of the gathering of information on items affecting the balance of payments in Lebanon, copies of questionnaires used, etc. and an explanation of statistical methods used to derive balance of payment items, see category 116, entire source./

%Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

GRAPHIC SUMMARY

• 128 THESE PICTORIAL STATISTICS ARE INTENDED TO GIVE THE READER THE SALIENT FACTS REGARDING THE AREA TO BE AFFECTED BY THE KASMIE RURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT. THIS AREA COVERS THE FIVE PROJECT VILLAGES OF SARAFAND, SAKSA-KIYAH, LOUBYA, EN-NSARIYAH, AND 'ADLOUN. ALSO INCLUDED IN THIS GRAPHIC PRESENTATION ARE THE CONTROL VILLAGES OF EL-GHAZIYAH, EN-NAJJARIYAH, AND EL-'ADDOUSIYAH THAT NEIGHBOR ON THE PROJECT AREA.

592 AVERAGE SIZE of HOUSEHOLD

Eight Villages

six persons per family

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

VILLAGE SURVEY

KASMIE RURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT

LEBANON

BY

William W. Gaston,
Miles Pennoyer,
Gabriel Nagro[1]

The five villages to be affected by the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project are located along the northern branch of the Kasmie Irrigation Canal. The area comprising these villages[2] includes but largely lies above the Kasmie Irrigation Project which, when completed, will service the rich coastal plain extending from Saida in the north to Ras-El-Ain three miles south of Tyre. The Kasmie Irrigation Project was begun under the French Mandate, continued during the British occupation, and partially completed under the Lebanese Republic. Due to a lack of funds, work on the project was discontinued in 1950 when about half of the canal area to be irrigated was under operating canals. It covers an area of 30,000 dunums of land and extends a length of 35 kilometers (23 miles). It averages 1.5 kilometers (one mile) in width. The completed portion of the irrigation works supplies water to prosperous new citrus orchards, banana groves and vegetable gardens.

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[1] Mr. Gaston is land agricultural economist with the Litani River Investigation Group and Chief of the Rural Statistical Surveys Project. Mr. Pennoyer is an assistant professor of economics at the American University of Beirut who participated in this study as a consultant to the Lebanese Ministry of National Economy. Mr. Nagro is a junior economist on the staff of the Litani Group.

[2] In the Arab Middle East the English term village can mean either the built-up area alone or the built-up area and all the surrounding land farmed by the villagers, which is legally appurtenant to it. To avoid misinterpretation, two Arabic terms have been adopted. The term *dimmeye* is used to denote the larger concept which includes the built-up area and other lands appurtenant to it. The term *khirbe* is used to designate the built-up area or the town itself. Thus, either of populations or land area, is not involved in the use of these concepts.

TABLE 1—(Continued)

Skin pigmentation

PLACE	RELIGION	SEX	NUMBER	PER CENT HAVING INDICATED DEGREE OF COLOR			
				1	2	3	4
Bourij	Muslim	Male	60	53.9	41.2	2.9	0
"	"	Female	39	72.9	27.1	0	0
Meshghara	Christian	Male	30	73.1	26.9	0	0
"	"	Female	17	76.5	23.5	0	0
"	Muslim	Male	122	61.6	38.4	0	0
"	"	Female	67	70.1	29.9	0	0
"	All	Male	222	66.7	33.3	0	0
"	"	Female	84	77.4	22.6	0	0
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	Male	188	36.7	62.7	0.4	0
	"	Female	173	55.5	44.5	0	0
'Aleidyn	Druse	Male	11	63.6	36.4	0	0
"	"	Female	17	70.6	29.4	0	0

121 Since there are often sharp local variations in physical characteristics in Syria, we give our results separately for each locality investigated. Where more than one religious group was represented, we have subdivided our subjects on this basis also, as the barriers to mixture of different religious groups are still kept up, and there is some reason to suppose that different ethnic stocks may be represented in each to different degrees. This also enables us to look for the possible effects of inbreeding on the various characters.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

123 The results for the A,B blood groups are on the whole what was to be expected. The Armenian results show the high percentage of A found by previous workers (compare Boyd, '39 b). These individuals represent a recent influx into our area. We were informed that our subjects were mostly from Marash and vicinity, Turkey. In the case of the two Arab villages, it is rather surprising that the results for Bourij, where all are Moslems, should agree well with the results for the Christians from Meshghara, while the Christians and Moslems in Meshghara show a significant difference in blood group frequencies. It is our impression, however, that the

DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS OF THE LEBANON

By ELIAHU EPSTEIN

THE Lebanese Republic covers an area of about 10,000 sq. k.* The population was last assessed in the Order of the President dated June 17, 1945, as the number of citizens registered in the registration records on December 31, 1942. This Order also referred to a number of Lebanese who had emigrated but had retained their Lebanese citizenship.

The Order in question was published in connection with the elections to the Lebanese Parliament. Although the Moslem communities disagreed with the correctness of the number given, the Order remains the official document pending the holding of a general Census which will determine the figures more precisely.

The following is the table which served as the foundation for fixing the population of the Lebanon as on January 1, 1945:†

Communities.	Inhabitants.	Emigrants.	Total.
Maronites — — — —	518,000	91,000	609,000
Sunni — — — —	205,000	6,000	211,000
Shi'ah — — — —	200,000	5,000	205,000
Greek Orthodox — — —	226,000	55,000	281,000
Druses — — — —	71,000	4,000	75,000
Greek Catholics — — —	87,000	11,000	98,000
Armenian Orthodox (contiguously)	93,000	do.	93,000
Minorities — — — —	41,000	3,000	44,000
Total	1,441,000	175,000	1,616,000

The following are the estimated figures for the movement of population in the Lebanon, and the estimated natural increase:‡

Communities.	1932 Census.	End 1943.	Difference.	Percentage.
Sunni — —	179,000	205,000	25,000	13·1
Shi'ah — —	159,000	200,000	41,000	25·7
Druses — —	65,000	71,000	6,000	9·0
Maronites —	269,000	518,000	249,000	92·0
Greek Catholics	55,000	87,000	32,000	57·5
Greek Orthodox	92,000	226,000	134,000	97·0

The instructive conclusions which can be drawn from these tables are:

(a) Most of the emigrants from the Lebanon and those who continue

* Since the demarcation of the Syro-Lebanese Frontier has not been completed, estimates of the area of the two States vary. The area of the Autonomous District of the Lebanon (1861-1915) was 3,200 kilometres and its population was 400,000.

† "La Syrie et l'Orient," Beirut, 10-15, 6, 1945.

‡ *Ibid.* The figures in these tables and the statistical calculations should be accepted with extreme caution on account of the backward methods used for demographical statistics in the Lebanon.

Chapter Ten

SYRIA AND LEBANON

The Land and the People

The area of the present Syria and Lebanon lies to the north of Arabian Deserts and is the western fringe of the Fertile Crescent. The two republics do not enclose within their boundaries a natural geographic entity and their climate and topography are best studied in relation to the surrounding countries;[1] but within the political boundaries of the two states, the following geographical divisions may roughly be distinguished:

(a) *The Coastal Strip.* This is about twenty miles wide near Latakia and rather less just north of Tripoli, but in some places disappears and the mountains meet the sea. Olives, bananas, citrus, and vegetables are cultivated immediately near Beirut.

(b) *The Mountains.* Starting from the north, the first coastal mountains are the Jebel Ansariye (also known as the Alawi [illegible] the western slopes. To the south is the Homs–Tripoli gap and then starts the Lebanon range with peaks of over 10,000 feet. Even on the upper slopes of this range water is plentiful, there is close cultivation, and the villages and towns are prosperous. Near Beirut are situated the mountain resorts to which many of the city workers move each night when the summer brings its humid heat. The interior ranges of mountains lying parallel to that of the Lebanon are the Anti-Lebanon (between Homs and Zahle) reaching over 7,000 feet and the range of Hermon (between Zahle and the Israel border) which reaches 9,000 feet. Water and cultivation are far less plentiful on these than on the coastal mountains. Further inland still and to the south of Damascus lie the Leja, a bleak area of igneous rock, and the Jebel Druze, which reaches 5,000–6,000 feet and lies north of the Jordan border.

(c) *Plains and Plateaux.* Hardly any of the territory of Syria and Lebanon lies less than 700 feet above sea-level and south of Homs almost all the land is over 1,600 feet. The richest agricultural land is on fairly high ground and forms part of a

[1] See W. B. Fisher, *The Middle East: a Physical, [illegible] and Regional Geography* (London, Methuen, 1950).

LATAKIA
LEBANON
PALESTINE

T U R K
TRANSJORDA

EVD MAP (G)

Lebanon mEI

II. [illegible]

(Visited 1 - 15 December 1952)

1. The total area of Le ...non is about 4,300 square miles, the population being estimated in 1950 at one and-a-quarter million, of whom a high proportion live in the principal towns. For many years there has been considerable migration to foreign countries, and it is said that as many Lebanese live abroad as are to be found in their native land. 131 162 169

2. Lebanon is mainly a fruit-growing agricultural country, but pipelines from Middle East oil fields are being laid across the country to connect with newly constructed installations and harbours on the coast. In the course this development may influence the economy of the country. 241 345

3. Great hopes of agricultural expansion - to be accompanied, it is claimed, by schemes of rural community development - are based upon the Litani Dam and irrigation project. At the time of our visit this project was under discussion between the Government and the United States Technical Cooperation Administration (Point IV), but matters had not advanced sufficiently to justify our attempting to follow in detail the intentions with regard to community welfare centres. 241 433 185

4. The agency of the Lebanese Government responsible for social [illegible] welfare (SSS) has existed in the status of Ministry. Until ... recently, there had been a change of government and the new Minister of Social ... also held the rural portfolio. The Director-General of the Department also ... had not been continuously in office over the past years. No reply had been returned by the relevant Department to the Secretary-General's request (at the end of 1952) for information on community welfare centres. Background information was difficult to obtain. A decree which would have permitted the provision of multi-purpose community centres and enabled government support to be given in cash or by way of services, had been promulgated in 1951 (Appendix I). The decree had not, however, been put into operation. The initiative in instituting or developing such multi-purpose activities as we had the opportunity of seeing at Chouen, Anjar and Jdeidi had come mainly from voluntary agencies. 447 185

5. We visited the Chouen Reconstruction Centre and Anjar project on the 4th and 12th of December. The purpose of the original centre was to provide for Armenian refugees from World War I and in the earlier stages both the Near East Foundation and the Inward Development Cooperative Corporation shared responsibilities for financing and management of settlements in this area. More recently, the Near East Foundation decided to concentrate its activities in Syria and Greece and brought its work at Chouen to a close. Mr. Poladian of the Near East Foundation, who had had a long experience between the wars in community organization in Bulgaria before coming to Chouen, then transferred to the Development Corporation. With his wife, he now supervises the various activities in a group of villages located in the Beqaa Valley between Beirut and Damascus. These activities include control of malaria, recreational programmes, organization of marketing, provision of seedlings and plants, poultry breeding, milk co-operatives and educational projects. 361 125

6. At the time of our visit an illustrated lecture by an American veterinary expert (Point IV) was in progress. The co-operative milk marketing scheme appeared to be successful and to make a useful contribution to the milk supply of Beirut. The housing provided for the settlers and the general appearance of the village at Anjar were satisfactory. Most of the Arab village of Majdel-Anjar were Christians only two years on. In a former Armenian school house there was a primitive nursery and child 234 474 600

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Lebanon

GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

Lebanon, an independent republic since 1941, was formerly part of Greater Syria. It constituted one of the Levant states partitioned in 1920 and governed by France under a mandate awarded by the League of Nations. Frequently designated as the "Switzerland of the Near East," Lebanon comprises a narrow strip of land along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean which has a coastline of about 130 miles and a total area of approximately 3,900 square miles. It is less than 70 miles in depth at its widest point, and is bounded inland by Syria on the north and the east and by Israel on the south.

The topography of the region is dominated by two mountain ranges which parallel the coast and are separated by a series of depressions, part of the rift which continues through the Jordan Valley and north to the great lakes of East Africa. The Lebanon Mountains, from which the country derives its name, rise abruptly from the coastal plain. They form a continuous chain of peaks, the highest of which is Qornet es Sawda, with an elevation of 10,131 feet. The eastern range, collectively known as the Anti-Lebanon Mountains, extends along the Syrian frontier. Both the northern portion and the southern extension, usually called Mount Hermon, contain peaks from 5,000 to 9,200 feet in height.

Between the two mountain chains lies the fertile plain of the Bekaa: it is slightly over 10 miles in width in the north, but tapers toward the south. The northern Bekaa is drained by the Orontes River, which flows from its source in the Lebanon Mountains near Baalbek northward

p. 109 (A)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

THE GENERAL ENVIRONMENT

PHYSICAL SETTING

IN Permian times, the land which is now Lebanon was submerged under the great, warm "Tethys Ocean" whose waters washed the shores of two nearby forelands of "Gondwanaland." These forelands are now Arabia and Egypt. From early Cretaceous to late Pliocene times, tremendous deposits of the remains of marine fauna were laid down on the floor of the ocean. The period of deposition was followed by a period of uplift during which the ocean floor was raised thousands of feet above the level of the sea which is now called Mediterranean. Subsequent faulting and folding completed the creation of the present topography of the eastern shore of the Mediterranean (Fisher, 1950, pp. 11–12). This consists, essentially, of two roughly parallel ranges of mountains and hills, divided by a rift system, which extend from the plain of Homs in Syria to the Gulf of Aqaba in the Red Sea. This mountain system steadily decreases in altitude from Lebanon in the north to the Negeb in the south, where it is hardly perceptible. 33

Mount Lebanon rises abruptly from the sea and attains, at one point, an altitude of over 10,000 feet, maintaining an average of about 6000 feet. There are fairly extensive coastal plains inland from Sidon and Tyre, in the Kura district near Tripoli, and, especially, in the Akkar, most of which actually belongs to Syria. Elsewhere, however, it is often only a matter of technicality to say that there is any appreciable coastal plain at all, and one of the least favored districts in this respect is al-Qurnā, which is the locus of this study.

The climate of Lebanon is basically the classic, Mediterranean type which features chilly, rainy winters and hot, rainless summers. Mt. Lebanon itself effects a number of modifications in this yearly cycle. The high slopes catch the clouds which are swept in by the prevailing winter westerlies and force them to drop a large part of their moisture. As a result, the annual precipitation (rain below about 5000 feet, snow above it) ranges between about twenty and forty inches (Fisher, 1950, p. 345). Annual averages give a false picture of reality because the precipitation from year to year is highly variable (Fisher, 1950, p. 50). For example, in the winter of 1950–51, twenty-two inches fell at Beirut, while in 1951–52, forty-two inches fell. Precipitation is concentrated in the months from November to April, but within that period it is capricious. It is not unusual to have one day of cloudbursts immediately followed by one of clear skies. Even in the wettest month (January), there are only fourteen to seventeen rainy days 32

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

(Fisher, 1950, p. 50). From May through October, there is no precipitation at all, except at the beginning and the end of the period.

Along the coast, up to about 1500 feet at least, freezing temperatures in winter are of very rare occurrence, but snow covers the higher slopes continuously during the winter. Patches of it on the summits even defy the broiling sun of August.

At Beirut the average summer temperature is 82°F., and it is frequently oppressively humid (Fisher, 1950, p. 42). In al-Qurnā, as in Beirut, there is no snow in winter, but the district is somewhat cooler and less humid than the city in summer.

Lebanon, as a whole, is obviously a well-watered country, but its geological structure has led to an over-abundance of water in some districts and a dearth of it in others. Mt. Lebanon consists, essentially, of two thick layers of Jurassic and Cretaceous limestone, interspersed with a layer of sands and clays. Rain water and snow-melt either run off directly or sink through permeable upper strata to emerge as springs at lower levels, especially at between 3000 and 5000 feet, where their downward seepage is blocked by impermeable strata below (Fisher, 1950, p. 374). The abundance of spring water in high mountain fastnesses is the primary reason for Lebanon's having been so popular as a refuge area for sect groups escaping from persecution.

The drainage system of the country is clearly seen on the map of Lebanon (Fig. 1). The eastern slopes are drained by the large rivers, Litani and Orontes. The western slopes are drained by a series of small rivers whose courses drop from 5000 to 4000 feet to sea level in distances rarely exceeding fifteen miles. The erosion pattern is what one might expect. The small rivers have cut very steep, high banks, nothing less than deep gorges in many cases. Culturally, this is important for at least three reasons: The gorges have made north-south travel very difficult. It has been impossible to use river water for extensive irrigation except, in very recent years, near the mouths of the rivers. The spectacular scenery has added inspiration to the love of the Lebanese for their country, and it attracts many foreign tourists every summer. Water erosion has also created innumerable caves (used both by Stone Age man and latter-day troglodites), a large natural bridge, and at least one horrendous underground river (reputed to be the original River Styx) which has not yet been fully explored.

Although the lower slopes are not, as a whole, entirely devoid of springs, and although what bottomland there is is fully exploited, there are districts which have no springs, no local streams, and no alluvial soil. One such district is al-Qurnā. This district is located about halfway between the large urban centers of Beirut and Tripoli, and the main highway and only railroad between these cities pass through it. This route has been used ever since the advent of man in the area, but the present paved highway dates from about 1920, while the railroad was built by the British army in 1942. Also of very recent date are the automobile roads within the district. The road from Be'ādīn to Ghazzīr is paved, and has been

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

Physical Description of Area.

361 The coastal plain in the Kasmie area is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea on the west and
332 the Lebanon range on the east. The climate is Mediterranean with dry summers, nearly all of the
134 rain falling between October and May. The soil is chiefly a heavy clay. Much of this coastal area
941 is suitable for irrigation. While some of the land is rocky and in the United States would not be used for farm land, nearly all land capable of cultivation has been brought under the plow. The steeper slopes are preserved from serious erosion by rock wall terraces. The climate is favorable to the growth of temperate and sub-tropical crops. Citrus fruits, bananas, vegetables, and cereal crops are found in abundance.

361 The major markets for the products of the five villages are Beirut and Saida. All of the project
491 and control villages are linked to the Tyre-Saida-Beirut main coastal road by gravel surfaced roads except for Loubya and Salamiyeh, which are dependent upon trails. In no case is the dirt road more
487 than two miles from the main road. The traffic on this road is heavy and trucks and buses are
494 frequently available for taking products to Saida or Beirut. These towns are 12 and 42 miles respectively distant from 'Adloun, the most southerly village.

Village Government.

622 The five villages included in the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project have a similar form of
623 local government. Each village has a mukhtar (mayor) who is elected in a more-or-less democratic
471 manner. In each village there is also a board of aldermen or village elders. This board is also
654 elected by ballot and it consists of from two to six members. The mukhtar is generally the largest landowner or operator and one of the wealthiest men in the village. The aldermen as well are among the more well-to-do villagers. However, the concept of wealth is relative. Often the buildings owned by local villagers may be large in comparison with others in their own community, but small indeed when compared to the size of buildings in the village controlled by persons living outside the village. The common fellah does not enjoy representation by his peers in this area whether he has such aspirations is not known.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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twenty degrees of latitude. The desert in Syria is of rock and gravel more than of sand, and there are hills rising above 3,000 feet both north and south of Palmyra; more than a third of the total area of Syria is steppe or desert.

Rivers

The Orontes flows from the northern part of the Biqaa through the lake of Homs (which holds about 260 million cubic yards of water) to Hama and through the Ghab depression to Turkey. The Litani rises not far from the Orontes but flows at first southward and later west through a deep gorge in the Lebanon mountains into the sea between Tyre and Sidon. The Euphrates runs through Syria for about 430 miles and has, as tributaries from the north, the Balikh and the Khabur. It is on the Euphrates and its tributaries that there is the best prospect of developing hydro-electricity and irrigation.

Climate[1]

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Over this diverse scene the temperatures vary in the year from below freezing to above 100°F., and on the same day it is possible to ski near the cedars of Lebanon and swim in the sea at Beirut. The rain, which in most places comes between November and February, varies from almost nothing in the desert to about 40 inches a year in the mountains. In the coastal strip the winters are not severe but there is high humidity and small diurnal variation in the summer and this makes the season seem unpleasant and prolonged. In the mountains the snow lies on the topmost peaks for most of the year and the road from Beirut to Damascus is blocked by snow at times in most winters; in the summer the days are hot but the nights are cool enough to draw up to the mountains most of the inhabitants of Beirut. The plateaux and desert have an inland climate with low humidity and higher extremes of heat and cold. Aleppo has greater extremes than Damascus but in both cities there is a distinction between the four seasons: spring from mid-March to mid-May, summer from mid-May to the beginning of October, autumn in October and early November, and winter from November to March.

The People

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Official statistics showed that in 1951 the populations of Syria and of Lebanon were 3,309,137, and 1,393,041 respectively. Over half the inhabitants are engaged in agriculture, about half a million are nomads, and the rest live in towns. The

[1] See table, below, p. 500.

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183 through Latakia province in Syria. The southern half is watered by the Litany River, which, fed by streams from both ranges, runs south and then west, entering the Mediterranean near the ancient town of Tyre. The western slopes of the Lebanon Mountains are scarred by the valleys of numerous small rivers which empty into the Mediterranean. The majority are seasonal, but a few are perennial, the most important being the Nahr Abou Ali, near Tripoli; the Nahr Ibrahim; the Nahr el Kelb and the Nahr Beirut, near Beirut; and the Nahr el Awwali, north of Sidon.

184 The climate varies with the altitude and the proximity to the sea. The coastal belt has an annual rainfall of 25 to 35 inches, with a gradual diminution from north to south. The maximum precipitation occurs in the winter, usually from November to April, while the months from June to September are usually rainless. The duration of the transition period and the volume of rainfall fluctuate from year to year. The rains are often torrential and concentrated within a few days of each month. A slight increase is encountered on the seaward slopes of the Lebanon range, and the higher [illegible] are covered with snow throughout the winter. The mountains intercept the moisture-bearing winds from the Mediterranean, however, with the result that the rainfall decreases progressively toward the east. It rarely exceeds 20 to 25 inches a year in the Bekaa, and is appreciably less in the Anti-Lebanon Mountains.

The effect of the altitude is reflected most markedly in the temperatures: they are usually 15° to 20° F. lower in the western mountain villages than along the coast. The

p 109 (B)

mean temperature at Beirut ranges from 54° to 65° F. in January and February and from 78° to 83° F. in July and August. The corresponding mean maximum temperatures average 63° to 68° F., and 88° to 92° F., respectively; the mean minimums, 48° to 52° F., and 70° to 74° F., respectively. The daily range approaches 10° to 15° F. in the summer and somewhat less in the winter. The relative humidity reaches 70 to 75 per cent during the summer and the winter months, but drops to 41 to 46 per cent in the transition periods. In general, the temperatures in the Bekaa are comparable with those of the littoral region, but the seasonal and the daily fluctuations are greater, while the humidity is lower.

POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Population

The population of Lebanon was estimated at about 1,229,330 in 1948, an increase of over 400,000 since the last census in 1932. The people are of mixed ethnic origin, although ancient Semitic and Arabic strains predominate in all parts of the country. Lebanon occupies a unique position among the Arab states, in that Christian and Moslem elements are almost equally prominent, both numerically and politically, among the indigenous populations. The official statistics are compiled on the basis of religious affiliations, emphasizing the vital role of the different communities in the life of the State. The Maronites, Catholics who adhere to eastern forms of ritual but have acknowledged allegiance to the Vatican since the 12th century, numbered around 350,000, or almost 29 per cent of the population, in 1948. They represent the largest single group, and are concentrated to a considerable extent in the coastal mountain districts from Tripoli to Sidon. The remaining Christian minorities included about 151,330 Greek Orthodox, 33,400 Greek Catholics, 41,000 Armenian Orthodox, 13,630 Armenian Catholics, 13,000 Protes-

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This has been achieved by increasing production of fruit and vegetables, for both of which Lebanon has great natural advantages. The topography of the country and the varied distribution of rainfall provide a diversity of climate which makes it possible to grow tropical fruits, sub-tropical fruits and fruits of the temperate zone. Soils are also sufficiently varied to suit a wide range of crops. Water is usually available in sufficient quantity, either as rainfall or from small-scale irrigation schemes. Plant diseases and pests are less prevalent than in most parts of the Middle East. The density of the rural population has made it profitable to concentrate on labour-intensive crops, while the relatively high level of education in country areas has encouraged innovation. The broken nature of the land has prevented large-scale mechanization, except in the plains, and has favoured crops which require little land, as has the prevalence of small-scale ownership. 1/ Finally, Lebanon's location has given it access to several important markets, such as Egypt for deciduous fruits, Syria and the Persian Gulf area for wet fruits and vegetables, Palestine (until 1948) for vegetables, and Europe for early ripening varieties of citrus fruit and apples.

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The expansion of fruit and vegetable crops was made possible by heavy capital investment. New terraces were built on mountain slopes, and old ones were repaired and strengthened. Various small-scale works carried out since 1948 have substantially increased the irrigated area. The use of selected seeds has considerably increased, as has that of chemical fertilizers. Before the Second World War, some 1,000 tons of chemical fertilizers were imported into Lebanon and Syria yearly. In 1947, Lebanon alone used 5,500 tons 2/ and 1952-53 imports into Lebanon averaged 25,000 tons. Lastly, there has been a rapid expansion of refrigerated storage space facilities. 3/ The greater part of the necessary capital came from outside agriculture, especially from commercial profits and savings earned in emigrant; the irrigation works were financed through the budg

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The rise in output of fruit and vegetables may be illustrated by citrus fruit, which increased from 71,000 tons in 1944 to 107,000 tons in 1954 and

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1/ No general figures on land distribution are available but on the basis of information gathered in the course of a village survey jointly undertaken in 1953 by the Lebanese Office of Statistics and the United States Foreign Operations Administration, the following estimate may be made: some 10 per cent of the land is in holdings of 100 hectares and above and 15 to 20 per cent in holdings of 10 to 100 hectares; the total number of large and medium holdings is 1,000. The remaining 70 to 75 per cent belongs to 150,000 smallholders, each of whom has less than two hectares. There are few landless peasants, and most of these have land from the larger owners ("Proceedings of the Agricultural Credit Conference", Beirut, 10-14 October 1955).

2/ Eric Hannelius Dick and partners, The Economic Development of Lebanon, Beirut, 1948, page 45. A breakdown showed that 40 per cent consisted of nitrogenous fertilizers, 33 per cent of superphosphates and 12 per cent of potash. Some 80 per cent of the total was applied to potatoes, 10 per cent to other vegetables and 5 per cent to fruit.

3/ The present capacity of refrigerators is estimated at over one million cubic metres, or about 2,000 tons. In Commerce du Levant, 4 October 1954. [illegible] planned to refrigerate [illegible] tons in 1955, and has [illegible] tons in 1956, and has consistently increased since then.

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For information on the topography, climate, agriculture, mineral wealth, railways, settlement pattern, productive capacity of the economy, and trade of the Levant coastland, see M[illegible]Middle East, cat. 116, 2d: Fisher, pp. 371-436.]

THE GENERAL ENVIRONMENT

PHYSICAL SETTING

In Pliocene times, the land which is now Lebanon was submerged under the [1.1]
seas, were "Syrian Coast" whose waters washed the shores of two newly
formed lands of "Gondwanaland." These lands are now Arabia and Egypt.
From early Cretaceous to late Pliocene times, tremendous deposits of the remains
of marine fauna were laid down on the floor of the ocean. The period of deposition
was followed by a period of uplift during which the ocean floor was raised three
miles of feet above the level of the sea which is now called Mediterranean. Subsequent
faulting and folding completed the creation of the present topography of
the eastern shore of the Mediterranean (Fisher, 1950, pp. 11-12). This consists,
essentially, of two roughly parallel ranges of mountains and hills, divided by a
rift system, which extend from the plain of Homs in Syria to the Gulf of Aqaba
in the Red Sea. This mountain system steadily decreases in altitude from Lebanon
in the north to the Negeb in the south, where it is hardly perceptible.

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tude of over 10,000 feet, maintaining an average of about 6000 feet. There are
fairly extensive coastal plains inland from Sidon and Tyre, in the Koura district
near Tripoli, and, especially, in the Akkar, most of which actually belongs to Syria.
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any appreciable coastal plain at all, and one of the least favored districts in this
regard is al-Qusair, which is the locus of this study.

The climate of Lebanon is basically the classic, Mediterranean type which [1.2]
features chilly, rainy winters and hot, relatively arid summers. Mt. Lebanon itself affects
a number of modifications in this yearly cycle. The high slopes catch the clouds
which are swept in by the prevailing winter westerlies and force them to drop a
large part of their moisture. As a result, the annual precipitation (min below
about 2000 feet, snow above it) ranges between about twenty and forty inches
(Fisher, 1950, p. 307). Annual averages give a false picture of reality because
the precipitation from year to year is highly variable (Fisher, 1950, p. 30). For
example, in the winter of 1870-71, twenty-two inches fell at Beirut, while in
1931-32, forty-two inches fell. Precipitation is concentrated in the months from
November to April, but within that period it is capricious. It is not unusual to
have one day of cloudbursts immediately followed by one of clear skies. Even in
the wettest month (January), there are only fourteen to seventeen rainy days

(Fisher, 1950, p. 38). From May through October, there is no precipitation at all, except at the beginning and the end of the period.

Along the coast, up to about 1500 feet at least, freezing temperatures in winter are of very rare occurrence, but snow covers the higher slopes continuously during the winter. Patches of it on the summits even defy the burning sun of August.

At Beirut the average summer temperature is 82°F., and it is frequently oppressively humid (Fisher, 1950, p. 42). In el-Qurnet, as in Beirut, there is no snow in winter, but the district is somewhat cooler and less humid than the city in summer.

Lebanon, as a whole, is obviously a well-watered country, but its geological structure has led to an over-abundance of water in some districts and a dearth of it in others. Mt. Lebanon consists, essentially, of two thick layers of Jurassic and Cretaceous limestone, interspersed with a layer of sands and clays. Rain water and snow-melt either run off directly or sink through permeable upper strata to emerge as springs at lower levels, especially at between 3000 and 5000 feet, where their downward seepage is blocked by impermeable strata below (Fisher, 1950, p. 374). The abundance of spring water in high mountain fastnesses is the primary reason for Lebanon's having been so popular as a refuge area for sect groups escaping from persecution.

The drainage system of the country is clearly seen on the map of Lebanon (Fig. 1). The eastern slopes are drained by the large rivers, Litani and Orontes. The western slopes are drained by a series of small rivers whose courses drop from 5000 to 6000 feet to sea level in distances rarely exceeding fifteen miles. The erosion pattern is what one might expect. The small rivers have cut very steep, high banks, nothing less than deep gorges in many cases. Culturally, this is important for at least three reasons: The gorges have made north-south travel very difficult. It has been impossible to use river water for extensive irrigation except, in very recent years, near the mouths of the rivers. The spectacular scenery has added inspiration to the love of the Lebanese for their country, and it attracts many foreign tourists every summer. Water erosion has also created innumerable caves (used both by Stone Age men and later-day troglodytes), a large natural bridge, and at least one horizontal underground river (reported to be the original River Dog) which has not yet been fully explored.

Although the lower slopes are not, as a whole, entirely devoid of springs, and although what horizontal there is is fully exploited, there are districts which have no springs, no local streams, and no alluvial soil. One such district is el-Qurnet. This district is located about half-way between the large urban centers of Beirut and Tripoli, and the main highway and only railroad between these cities goes through it. This route has been used ever since the advent of man in the area, but the present paved highway dates from about 1935, while the railroad was built by the British army in 1942. Also of very recent date are the automobile roads within the district. The road from Beirut to Ghazzeze is paved, and has been

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in existence about fifteen years. The road from Shuḥāṭa through Munṣif to Ḥāwī has been built since 1945, and the segment between the shrine of Mar Jirjis and Ḥāwī is not yet paved. The road which connects Lower and Upper Bukhata is usable but definitely still under construction. The villagers are very conscious of the fact that their road system is a new phenomenon and that it is as yet incomplete. The automobile roads more or less follow the line of old paths many of which are still used. Although the paving of these is generally too rough for any sort of wheeled vehicle, it is essential for any kind of travel in the muddy rainy season.

It would be a great mistake to deduce from the map (Fig. 2) that the plan of these villages (or of any Lebanese villages) is derived from the roads which pass through them. Middle Eastern villages in general are house-clusters, sometimes approaching the southwestern pueblo in degree of compactness. One finds one's way from house to house by a maze of twisting paths, which become alleyways in the larger towns. The only suggestion of physical planning is the frequent occurrence of an open space, *sāḥa*, where the small shops and the church or mosque tend to be concentrated (Tannous, 1944, p. 328). In the minds of their respective inhabitants, the plan of the Lebanese village is very different from its counterpart in North America, in which the village green, the courthouse square, or Main Street are definitely centers. The new roads in al-Qurnī are recent impositions on the traditional culture. The one which longitudinally bisects Munṣif follows, in part, an old path, but a number of old buildings had to be torn down to make room for it.

We have already seen that al-Qurnī has no ground water resources. All the water which is used in the district is winter rain water which is collected, Bermuda style, from the roofs of the houses and stored in large, semi-subterranean cisterns of which there are a great number. The physical poverty of the district (cf. Thoumin, 1936, p. 129) is due to its geological structure which Fisher has described:

> Your village lies in a limestone area (middle Cretaceous) underlain by a thin bed of impermeable Cretaceous marls, clays and lignite, with Jurassic limestones lower still. A fault at Turāṭ [East of al-Qurnī] has exposed a small amount of the impermeable lignite, so that there is a chance that very deep wells sunk at el Munṣif might reach this horizon. On the whole, though, I am not very sanguine, as I have found around Jmaiṭā and Mazraʿāt-Yashūʿ [South of Jbaiʿ] the fact that intensive cultivation stops when these particular outcrops are reached. Also, there is a break (at Turāṭ) with the main anticline of the mountains, so large springs are ruled out. The sudden change from a great M. of Jmaiṭā from intensive garden cultivation to a sterile garrigue corresponds with the beginning of the limestone-marl outcrops. (W. B. Fisher, Personal Communication, Nov. 13, 1952.)

Before proceeding to a discussion of the flora and fauna of the district, it should be mentioned that at Ḥāwī there *are* two springs. Both, however, are small, and

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Evergreen oaks, which are tolerant of greater aridity, persist,—although at wider intervals than in true maquis—but tall shrubs are much less common, and a low scrub of dwarf bushes and thorns take their place. Because of the more open nature of this vegetation, which rarely exceeds 5 feet in height, perennial plants can develop, and for some weeks after the spring rains, a carpet of flowers and herbs makes a striking display. Garrigue is often discontinuous, with bare patches of soil and rock interspersed with plants. (Fisher, 1950, p. 71.)

Mammalian fauna are very sparse indeed; as a matter of fact, so far as the writer knows, there is virtually none. Snakes, however, are fairly numerous, are all regarded as being poisonous, and are killed on sight. Small lizards, spiders, six-inch centipedes, snails, scorpions, and large, wood-eating beetles are prominent among the other creatures which were observed. Birds are few, probably because those which venture into the district are generally shot, even if they are as small as sparrows. Flies are numerous, and there are some mosquitoes.

THE DISTRICT OF AL-QURNI

Now that its physical characteristics have been described, the question arises, On what basis can al-Qurni be considered to be a distinct district? The name, according to several informants, means "corner," and it is the impression of the writer that it is used primarily only by the inhabitants of the district itself. True, in terms of terrain, it has two features which set it apart from the land immediately surrounding it. It rises particularly sharply and suddenly from the east, and from the south, say from the hamlet of el-Bury, the ridge upon which Rihani and Jiddayil are built looms up definitely higher than the eastern land, from which it is separated by an arroyo, the Wadi Be'idin. These distinctions are, however, rather minor, and, as far as is known, the people themselves do not perceive them. Within al-Qurni there is little of a physical nature to account for its being set apart as a unit. The land is sharply rolling, and the terrain consists, essentially, of three ridges which run roughly at right angles to the shore line. Upon the largest and highest of these, the three northern villages are built. Shaykhan and Munsif are on the second, middle one; and the third has been commented upon above. Such features are typical of most of the coastal zone from Jbeil to Tripoli.

Al-Qurni is not a political entity. It is simply a locality in Kisrawan, one of several districts in the Province of Mount Lebanon which is one of the five provinces into which the Republic is divided. Al-Qurni does contain six political units, each with its elected mayor and council, as well as its own church. These are the villages of Bteboun, Ghazzeun, Shaykhan, Munsif, Jiddayil, and Rihani. Lower Bteboun is merely an adjunct of the village proper. For political purposes, Bukh'ai is part of Ghazzeun. Hibri and 'Ayqbi belong to Munsif. Be'idin is part of Rihani. For other than political purposes, the people consider themselves to be seven, rather than six, villages, separating Bukh'ai from Ghazzeun. Of the seven,

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CONSERVATISM AND CHANGE IN A LEBANESE VILLAGE

John Gulick

499/ THE COASTAL HIGHWAY which connects Beirut and Tripoli
361 winds between the crashing surf of the Mediterranean and the sharply rising slopes of Mount Lebanon. At one point in the journey northward along this road, the traveler may notice before him a ridge which, from the distance, seems to block his way. If, instead of continuing toward Tripoli, the traveler turns off the main highway at the foot of this ridge and, winds his way up the gravel road which climbs its face to the crest, he will find himself at the southern, seaward tip of a roughly semi-circular ring of six small villages. At the center of this ring is a seventh village considerably larger than the others. This village is al-Khaouli.

361 Topographically, the area which is occupied by the seven villages consists
• 155 of three main ridges which project toward the sea in a fanlike fashion, so
157 that the shape of the area is roughly triangular. The ridges are separated by deep, dry swales; in addition there are other minor crests and gullies, so that the over-all terrain is rough and broken. The land itself is notable for the prevalence of limestone outcrops. The natural flora conforms to the type known as "garrigue," which features low, bushy scrub oak and a variety of small, thorny, aromatic plants. It is a landscape which could not inspire very much confidence in the hearts of ordinary farmers, even to Lebanese farmers, whose fortitude and resourcefulness are justly famous, it has presented a serious challenge.

361 But the challenge does not end with hard features as such. An even more
362 serious problem is the lack of ground water. There are, indeed, two springs very close to the shore, but both are small and one is brackish. All the water used in the area in winter rain water drained off the roofs of the houses and stored in large underground cisterns, of which there are a very large number. This supply must provide for all the needs of the inhabitants for the entire year. The manure which can be devoted to watering plants is therefore extremely limited, and irrigation, in the sense generally applied in the Near East, is impossible. Another problem of [illegible]

49 * John Gulick is an anthropologist on the staff of the Department of History at Beirut College. This article is a brief report of a community study which he made in Lebanon from January to July, 1951, under the direction of the Department of Anthropology of Harvard University. He is the author of "The Lebanese Village: An Introduction" (Current Anthropology, vol. 11 (August 1951), which deals with certain technical aspects of Lebanese village social structure.

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Lebanese mod

Chapter Ten

SYRIA AND LEBANON

The Land and the People

The area of the present Syria and Lebanon lies to the north of Arabian Deserts and in the western horn of the Fertile Crescent. The two republics do not enclose within their boundaries a natural geographic entity and their climate and topography are best studied in relation to the surrounding countries,[1] but within the political boundaries of the two states, the following geographical divisions may roughly be distinguished:

(1) *The Coastal Strip.* This is about twenty miles wide near Latakia and rather less just north of Tripoli, but in some places disappears and the mountains meet the sea. Olives, bananas, citrus, and vegetables are cultivated intensively near Beirut.

(2) *The Mountains.* Starting from the north, the first coastal mountains are the Jebel Ansairiya (also known as the Alawi Mountains) which average 5,000 feet and are well populated on the western slopes. To the south is the Homs-Tripoli gap and then starts the Lebanon range with peaks of over 10,000 feet. Even on the upper slopes of this range water is plentiful, there is close cultivation, and the villages and towns are prosperous. Near Beirut are situated the mountain resorts to which many of the city workers move each night when the summer brings its humid heat. The interior ranges of mountains lying parallel to that of the Lebanon are the Anti-Lebanon (between Homs and Zahle) reaching over 7,000 feet and the range of Hermon (between Zahle and the Israel border) which reaches 9,000 feet. Water and cultivation are far less plentiful on these than on the coastal mountains. Further inland still and to the south of Damascus lie the Leja, a black area of igneous rock, and the Jebel Druze, which reaches 5,000–6,000 feet and lies north of the Jordan border.

(3) *Plains and Plateaux.* Hardly any of the territory of Syria and Lebanon lies less than 500 feet above sea-level and south of Homs almost all the land is over 1,500 feet. The richest agricultural land is on fairly high ground and forms part of a

[1] See W. B. Fisher, *The Middle East*, a Physical, Social and Regional Geography (London, Methuen, 1950).

SYRIA AND LEBANON

crescent which (starting from the Iraqi border) comprises the Jezira, the countryside of Aleppo, Hama, and Homs, and the fertile and beautiful Bekaa valley. The cultivation of cotton and cereals is particularly successful in the north-eastern corner of Syria where there has been great general development in the last five or six years. From Homs one road leads south to the Bekaa valley which continues between the two mountain ranges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, past Zahle to the southern border of Lebanon. Further inland is the road to Damascus which passes to the east of the Anti-Lebanon over the Qalamun plateau. This is mostly barren land, reaching over 4,000 feet; the areas of cultivation usually need more water, but suffer occasionally from bad floods. The oasis of Damascus is known as the Ghouta and there every drop of water in the two rivers is made use of, by an ancient system of canals which follow the contours and provide water lavishly as they gradually lose height. Between Damascus and Jordan lies the Hauran plateau much of which is about 2,000 feet above sea-level; here there is cultivation of cereals but few trees are now left and there is insufficient water to ensure good crops each year.

(c) *The Desert.* To the south and to the east of the Fertile Crescent there spreads a desert that extends southward for over

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Lebanon MEI

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twenty degrees of latitude. The desert in Syria is of rock and gravel more than of sand, and there are hills rising above 3,000 feet both north and south of Palmyra; more than a third of the total area of Syria is steppe or desert.

Rivers

The Orontes flows from the northern part of the Beqaa through the lake of Homs (which holds about 280 million cubic yards of water) to Homs and through the Ghab depression to Turkey. The Litani rises not far from the Orontes but flows at first southward and later west through a deep gorge in the Lebanon mountains into the sea between Tyre and Sidon. The Euphrates runs through Syria for about 450 miles and has, as tributaries from the north, the Balikh and the Khabur. It is on the Euphrates and its tributaries that there is the best prospect of developing hydro-electricity and irrigation.

Climate[1]

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Over this diverse scene the temperatures vary in the year from below freezing to above 100°F., and on the same day it is possible to ski near the cedars of Lebanon and swim in the sea at Beirut. The rain, which in most places comes between November and February, varies from almost nothing in the desert to about 40 inches a year in the mountains. In the coastal strip the winters are not severe but there is high humidity and small diurnal variation in the summer and this makes the season seem unpleasant and prolonged. In the mountains the snow lies on the topmost peaks for most of the year and the road from Beirut to Damascus is blocked by snow at times in most winters; in the summer the days are hot but the nights are cool enough to drive up to the mountains most of the inhabitants of Beirut. The plateaux and desert have an inland climate with low humidity and higher extremes of heat and cold. Aleppo has greater extremes than Damascus but in both cities there is a distinction between the four seasons: spring from mid-March to mid-May, summer from mid-May to the beginning of October, autumn in October and early November, and winter from November to March.

The People

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Official statistics showed that in 1951 the populations of Syria and of Lebanon were 3,500,000 and 1,500,000 respectively. Over half the inhabitants are engaged in agriculture, about half a million are nomads, and the rest live in towns. The

[1] See table, below, p. 50.

Lebanon MB1
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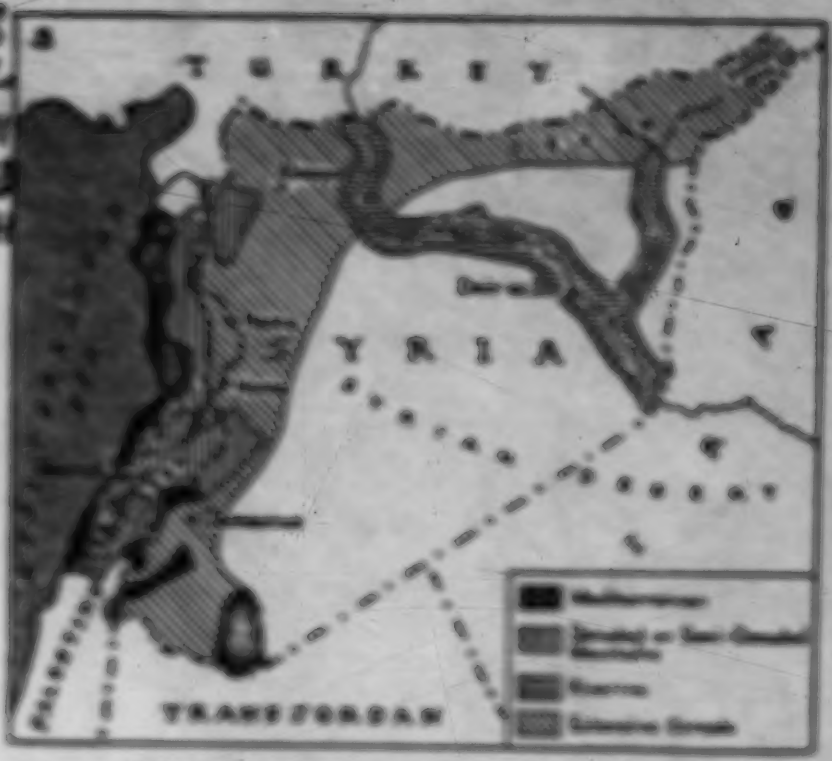

SYRIA AND LEBANON: AGRICULTURAL AREAS

GRAIN PRODUCTION IN SYRIA AND LEBANON, 1934-38

	Wheat		Barley		Oats		Corn		Rice		Total	
	Tons	Cwts per acre	Tons	Cwts per acre	Tons	Cwts per acre	Tons	Cwts per acre	Tons	Cwts per acre	Tons	Cwts per acre
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[illegible]	[illegible]											
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With a total rural population of about [illegible] million in 1937-8, the production of grain per head amounts to only [illegible] quintals or [illegible] hundredweights. Thus the problem for Syria is to be-

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CHAPTER V

COTTON IN LEBANON

Lebanon is the smallest, the most cosmopolitan, and one of the most progressive countries in the Middle East. Beirut, the capital, is a modern, pleasant summer resort, whose shops are known over the world. Probably this contact with the world through Beirut explains the strong Western influence in the country.

But Beirut is not Lebanon, and tourism and commerce still are minor aspects of the economy, which still is primarily agricultural. The country as a whole has not modernized as much as the cities. The farmers are much more provincial.

BACKGROUND

The country has limited resources. The total area is less than 4,000 square miles, a third the size of Maryland, and most of it is mountainous. The crop land is limited to the narrow coastal plain which averages only four miles in width, and to the expansive fairly small valleys in the mountains.

Lebanon always has had a great many more people than the agriculture can sustain. In the past this pressure was relieved by emigration, but restrictions of the past 30 years, at home and abroad, have doubled the number and intensified the problem. The population is now about 1.5 million.

Progress has been encouraged by the government which is admirably one of the most stable in the Middle East, despite its lack of experience. Lebanon became an independent Republic only in 1943, after the French mandate was ended. It has been remarkably independent and practical and has not allowed itself to become embroiled in controversies between so many of the other Arab states have.

INDUSTRY

With few exceptions, industries are small and devoted chiefly to the production of light consumers' goods such as textiles, rubber goods, soap, furniture, cigarettes, beer, sandwiches, biscuits, and olive oil. The two chief basic industries are the Iraq Petroleum Company's Tripoli topping plant and the Chekka cement factory. Other basic manufacturing plants include cotton textiles, glass, and wire fertilizer.

AGRICULTURE

Roughly a third of the tilled land is devoted to cereals and the balance to a wide variety of crops—fruit trees, vineyards, vegetables, and a number of industrial crops including cotton. Approximately 50 per cent of this area is left fallow each year.

The eastern plains receive 10 to 20 inches of rainfall a year, and that only during the winter months. Because of the dry summers, a few of the crops

LEBANON NO.1

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SYRIA & LEBANON

LATAKIA
LEBANON
PALESTINE

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Lebanon

GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

through Lamlūn province to Syria. The southern half is watered by the Litany River, which, fed by streams from both ranges, runs south and then west, entering the Mediterranean near the ancient town of Tyre. The western slopes of the Lebanon Mountains are covered by the valleys of numerous small rivers which empty into the Mediterranean. The majority are unnamed, but a few are perennial, the most important being the Nahr al-Kabīr, near Tripoli; the Nahr Ibrāhīm; the Nahr al-Kalb and the Nahr Beirut, near Beirut; and the Nahr al-Awwalī, north of Sidon.

The climate varies with the altitude and the proximity to the sea. The coastal belt has an annual rainfall of 25 to 30 inches, with a gradual diminution from north to south. The maximum precipitation occurs in the winter, usually from November to April, while the months from June to September are usually rainless. The duration of the rainless period and the volume of rainfall fluctuate from year to year. The rains are often torrential and concentrated within a few days of each month. A slight increase is encountered on the seaward slopes of the Lebanon range, and the higher [illegible] are covered with snow throughout the winter. The constant breezes from the evaporation-bearing winds from the Mediterranean, however, with the result that the rainfall decreases progressively toward the east. It rarely exceeds 20 to 25 [illegible] a year in the Bekaa, and is appreciably less in the Anti-Lebanon Mountains.

The effect of the altitude is reflected most markedly in the temperatures: they are usually 10° to 15° F. lower in the western mountain villages than along the coast. The

p. 119 (A)

Lebanon MEI

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For information on the topography, climate, agriculture, mineral wealth, railways, settlement pattern, productive capacity of the economy, and trade of the Levant coastland, see MI Middle East, cat. 116, Jr Fisher, pp. 371-434.]

Physical Description of Area

The coastal plain in the [illegible] area is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea on the west and the Lebanese range on the east. The climate is Mediterranean with dry summers, nearly all of the rain falling between October and May. The soil is chiefly a heavy clay. Much of this coastal area is suitable for irrigation. While most of the land is rocky and in the United States would not be used for farm land, nearly all land capable of cultivation has been brought under the plow. The steeper slopes are terraced, from these creates by rock wall erosion. The climate is favorable to the growth of subtropical and subtropical crops. Citrus fruits, bananas, vegetables, and cereal crops are found in abundance.

The major markets for the products of the five villages are Beirut and Sidon. All of the progress and several villages are linked to Arliyya-Sidon district roads maintained road by gravel-surfaced roads except for Loufaya and Sabbahiyeh, which are dependent upon trails. Is no less to the district from two miles from the main one. The traffic on this road is heavy and roads and buses are frequently available for taking persons to Sidon or Beirut. These towns are 40 and 45 miles respectively distant from Loufaya, 5 from southern village.

Village Government

The five villages included in a Kuwait Rural Improvement Project have a similar form of local government. Each village has [illegible] council who is elected to a [illegible] for [illegible] manner. In each village there is [illegible] of adherents or village elders. This board is also elected in place and is composed of [illegible] to six members. The headman is generally the largest landowner or [illegible] and one may [illegible] more in the village. The [illegible] among the major [illegible] villages. However, the concept of wealth is relative. Often the buildings owned by local villagers were [illegible] with others in their own communities, but small indeed when compared to a row of buildings in the village [illegible] by persons living outside the village. The [illegible] does not mean representation by the poor in the area election by the rich [illegible] town leaders.

[illegible]

[illegible] are farmers. Large holdings, owned by absentee landlords and worked according to the share-tenancy system, predominate, however, in the Bekaa valley, in the Akkar plain and in the province of South Lebanon.

A diversity of crops is grown in different parts of the country. The subtropical climate of the coastal plain permits the cultivation of citrus fruits and bananas, while olives, grapes, apricots and other fruits flourish on the terraced mountain slopes. Cereals and legumes are the chief crops of the Bekaa, but cotton, tobacco and numerous types of vegetables are also produced. Large numbers of goats, as well as sheep, cattle and other livestock, are raised, primarily as beef or draft animals. Sericulture is carried on in many mountain villages, but the competition of artificial silks has considerably cut its decline within recent years. The government encourages the expansion of agriculture through the promotion of co-operative credit and marketing facilities. There are no experimental farms or research stations, but instruction in modern methods of farming is provided by the agricultural divisions of the government's rural development offices in Beirut and by the American University.

The mineral resources of the region are negligible. Small deposits of lignite, located in the hills above Beirut and Tripoli, are worked intermittently, but it is also economical to import coal along the coast north of Beirut. The development of modern industry received some impetus during the war years 1941-45, but is handicapped by the scarcity of raw materials and the limited size of the internal market. Numerous small plants exist for the processing of consumer goods, including the manufacture of textiles, cement, soaps, distilled liquors, leather goods, cigarettes, olive oil and various foodstuffs. The Iraq Petroleum Company has recently established a refinery at Tripoli, the terminus of its pipeline from the oil fields in the Kirkuk region. The chief exports are citrus and olive oil, textiles, silk, fruits and petroleum products.

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For information on the topography, climate, agriculture, mineral wealth, railways, settlement pattern, productive capacity of the economy, and trade of the Levant coastland, see MI Middle East, cat. 116, Ch. Fisher, pp. 371-414.]

Evergreen oaks, which are valuable of greater utility, persist—although a wider interval than in true maquis—but tall shrubs are much less common, and a few seeds of annual bushes and flowers take their place. Because of the more open nature of this vegetation, which rarely exceeds 3 feet in height, perennial plants can develop, and for some weeks after the spring rains, a carpet of flowers and herbs makes a striking display. Geophytes is often inconspicuous, with here patches of red and rock interspersed with plants. (Fisher, 1954, p. 71.) (37)

Mammalian fauna are very sparse indeed, as a matter of fact, as far as the writer knows there is virtually none. Snakes, however, are fairly numerous, are all regarded as being poisonous, and are killed on sight. Small lizards, spiders, six-inch centipedes, snails, scorpions, and large, wood-eating beetles are prominent among the other creatures which were observed. Birds are few, probably because those which venture into the district are generally shot, even if they are as small as sparrows. Flies are numerous, and there are some mosquitoes. (38)

THE DISTRICT OF AL-QURNA

Now that its physical characteristics have been described, the question arises, On what basis can al-Qurnā be considered to be a distinct district? The name, according to several informants, means "corner," and it is the impression of the writer that it is used primarily only by the inhabitants of the district itself. Then, in terms of terrain, it has two features which set it apart from the land immediately surrounding it. It rises particularly sharply and suddenly from the sea, and from the south, say from the hamlet of al-Burj, the ridge upon which Rāshaiyā and Jibbāyā are built looms up distinctly higher than the coastal land, from which it is separated by an escarpment, the Wādī Ba'labīn. These distinctions are, however, rather minor, and, as far as is known, the people themselves do not perceive them. Within al-Qurnā there is little of a physical nature to account for its being set apart as a unit. The land is simply rolling, and the terrain consists, essentially, of three ridges which run roughly at right angles to the shore line. Upon the largest and highest of these, the three northern villages are built. Shaykhān and Mansūf are on the second, middle one; and the third has been commented upon above. Such features are typical of most of the coastal zone from Jūnī to Tripoli. (39)

Al-Qurnā is not a political entity. It is simply a locality in Kisrawān, one of seven districts in the Province of Mount Lebanon which is one of the five provinces into which the Republic is divided. Al-Qurnā does contain six political units, each with its elected mayor and council, as well as its own church. These are the villages of Bsharrā, Ghazzīr, Shaykhān, Mansūf, Jibbāyā, and Rāshaiyā. Lower Bsharrā is merely an adjunct of the village proper. For political purposes, Bakhʿūn is part of Ghazzīr. Hāwī and Ṣarafand belong to Mansūf. Ba'labīn is part of Rāshaiyā. For other than political purposes, the people consider themselves to be seven, rather than six, villages, separating Bakhʿūn from Ghazzīr. Of the seven, (41) (42)

Government regulations provide for the construction of sanitary facilities for every household in the rural areas, but they are not adequately enforced in many villages. The standards of sanitation are often low, particularly in South Lebanon, and pollution of the ground is a common practice. Night soil is frequently utilized as fertilizer, and the consumption of uncooked vegetables contaminated in this manner contributes to a high prevalence of intestinal infections.

Insects and Vectors

Anthropoda, Mosquitoes. To date, 9 species of anopheline mosquitoes have been reported from Lebanon, but only three—*Anopheles superpictus*, *A. sacharovi* (= *A. elutus*) and *A. claviger* (= *A. bifurcatus*)—are of primary concern as vectors of malaria. *A. pulcherrimus*, *A. turgaiti*, *A. algeriensis*, *A. hyrcanus*, *A. multicolor* and *A. maculipennis* have also been identified, but all are rare or localized in distribution.

A. superpictus is widespread and the most difficult to control, since it breeds prolifically in the numerous mountain streams, as well as in pools formed by the overflow from springs, in sand pits and in irrigation canals and seepages, where the water is clear and at least partially exposed to the sun. Larvae are found from April to November, with peaks of prevalence from July to September, in localities below 2,000 feet and over shorter periods at elevations up to 4,000 feet. *A. sacharovi* breeds in swampy areas and along the vegetated margins of pools, streams and neglected irrigation canals and seepages. It is most abundant around the coastal swamps formed by obstructions at the mouths of the rivers and in the marshlands bordering large underground springs in the Bekaa. Like *A. superpictus*, it breeds from April to November, while its prevalence varies with the degree of flooding during the rainy season. The preponderance of both species is influenced to a large extent by the timing and the volume of the winter and the spring rainfall.

A. stephensi breeds in wells, cisterns and other accumulations of water devoid of vegetation, and is often a prominent vector in an area where wells, cisterns and other accumulations of water devoid of vegetation, and is often a prominent vector in an area where towns and villages, particularly in the drier sections of South Lebanon and the Bekaa. It is sometimes associated with A. superpictus in shaded and stagnant stretches of the smaller streams. This species breeds throughout the year, but seldom appears in significant numbers before March or April.

Numerous other types of mosquitoes are present, but, with the exception of Aedes aegypti, they are of no known medical importance. A. aegypti is responsible for the transmission of dengue fever, which occurs in sporadic outbreaks. Several species of Culex have been recorded, including C. molestus (= C. pipiens molestus), the probable vector in occasional cases of filariasis and one of the most annoying pest mosquitoes.

Anopheline control measures are undertaken by several agencies, but up to the present there has been no central governmental program covering all parts of the country. The antimalaria service of the Ministry of Public Health started control operations in the Damour plain, south of Beirut, in 1941. The work, which originally combined swamp drainage and antilarval measures, has gradually been extended, with considerable success, to other portions of the littoral and to limited inland areas, especially in the populous districts to the north and the south of the capital. Larvicidal DDT sprays and residual spraying in the towns and the villages with DDT preparations or Gammexane have been used almost exclusively since 1944.

The New East Foundation, in co-operation with the Ministry and other agencies, carried on an extensive malaria control campaign in the central Bekaa valley from 1947 to 1951, when it closed its headquarters in Lebanon. Anopheline vectors of malaria have been almost eliminated from the Anjar villages and about 300 square miles in the Aamiik swamp region, south of Riyaq. The measures employed included drainage, the

residual spraying of the village houses with insecticides, the treatment of breeding places with larvicides, the stocking of permanent bodies of water with *Gambusia* fish, and the airplane spraying of otherwise inaccessible acreage with DDT preparations. The villages protected in this manner in 1951 had no significant populations of disease vectors.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees conducts DDT residual spraying programs in camps and villages occupied by refugees under its jurisdiction, especially in the highly endemic coastal areas in the south and in the Jordan plain near the Syrian border. In September, 1951, demonstration projects were initiated by the World Health Organization, in conjunction with the Ministry of Public Health. The program will include systematic surveys in partially controlled and uncontrolled endemic areas, as the Jordan plain, the northern and the southern sections of the Judea, the Ismail coastal area and the more remote villages in the coastal river valleys.

Flies. Flies of the family *Muscidae* are abundant in all parts of the country, and undoubtedly play a significant role in the spread of intestinal and eye diseases. Several species of *Musca* occur, among which *M. domestica vicina* and *M. sorbens* are most prominent. The stable fly, *Stomoxys calcitrans*, and the nuisance variety, *Musca vitabunda*, are also plentiful. Species of *Lucilia* are numerous. The sylvatic-breeding flies, which are serious pests for the livestock and occasionally attack man, include *Chrysomyia albiceps*, *Calliphora erythrocephala* and various species of *Sarcophaga* and *Wohlfahrtia*. The flies most frequently implicated in human myiasis are probably *Lucilia sericata* and *Wohlfahrtia magnifica*.

Several species of sandflies have been identified, including *Phlebotomus papatasii* and *P. sergenti*, vectors of cutaneous leishmaniasis in sections of Israel, and *P. chinensis* and *P. major*, suspected of being vectors in

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[illegible] government's licensing control for the improvement of water supplies was reflected in a diminution in the number of recorded cases from 1,170 in 1937 to a low of 161 in 1939.

The relative prevalence of gastrointestinal forms is uncertain, since the differential diagnosis is seldom confirmed by laboratory examination. Paratyphoid B infections apparently predominate. Cases of paratyphoid B fever are sometimes seen in the hospitals, and, in the opinion of local observers, are typically serious. Salmonella heidelberg (C) is also reported from this region.

Mass immunization with typhoid-paratyphoid A and B vaccine is undertaken by the health officials in all communities from which cases have been notified. Immunization is also carried out routinely each year in the government schools in urban districts and in the child health centers.

Dysentery. Dysentery ranks with typhoid fever as a major public health problem in Lebanon. The insanitary methods of sewage disposal in towns and villages, the abundance of flies and the widespread use of night soil as fertilizer promote the spread of bacillary and amebic infections through contaminated food and water supplies. In the official statistics for the 3 years 1937 and 1940, the deaths listed under the group heading, dysentery, averaged about 11 per cent of the total recorded deaths.*

In a survey reported in 1939,* *Endamoeba histolytica* was identified in from 10 to 30 per cent of the fecal specimens from the inhabitants of three widely separated rural villages in the Lebanon Mountains, the Bekaa and the northern Druzes. Competent authorities in Beirut believe that the carrier rate is normally higher, however, and that it may reach 50 to 75 per cent among the adults in some sections of the population. Acute amebiasis is common, and accounts for about 10 per cent of all the cases of dysentery treated in the local hospitals.

Bacillary infections, a large proportion of

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which are due to gastrointestinal strains are prevalent. Shigella paradysenteriae (Flexner), S. sonnei (Sonne), S. sonnei (Schmitz) and S. dysenteriae (Shiga) are generally isolated in the bacteriological laboratories of the American University hospital, usually in the order given. Enteritis and diarrhea are widespread, particularly among the children in the poorer quarters of the cities and in rural villages, where low standards of sanitation prevail. Bacillary dysentery and other forms of diarrhoeal disease are prevalent throughout the summer months.

Cholera. Cholera has not been reported from Lebanon since 1902. When cholera occurred in Syria in 1947, subsequent to the epidemic in Egypt, preventive regulations were enforced by the Lebanese health authorities, and immunization against cholera was made compulsory. Emergency immunization centers were established in all parts of the country.

Schistosomiasis. Schistosomiasis, the second last of leishmanic infection, caused by *Schistosoma haematobia*, exist in the agricultural districts of the littoral. The most heavily infected foci are found in the irrigated orange and banana growing areas north and south of Beirut, where the environmental conditions favor the development of the larvae. In a survey in 1951-52,[1] infection was present among 70 per cent of the villagers examined in the Kamelia region, near Sidon. The infection rates were consistently high in all age groups, and, although the degree of infection was relatively light, the accompanying anemia was often severe. Comparable conditions among 324 rural inhabitants in the Jedeide-Antilyas district, near Beirut, showed infection in 33 per cent, with rates ranging from 11 per cent in children up to 4 years of age to 44 per cent at 5 to 10 years of age. Small numbers of cases are found in other farming communities in the coastal plain and in the interior. In the villages studied around Tyre and Tripoli, the infection rates did not exceed 5 per cent, while in 3 villages

[illegible]

[illegible] in the Sidon Bay amongst less than 1 per cent.

[illegible] Schistosomiasis appears only to set endemic, but the infection has been disseminated among Palestinian refugees living in camps near Tyre. In the examination of urine specimens from 10 boys, from 4 to 10 years of age, in a school in Tyre in 1950,[1] the eggs of *Schistosoma haematobium* were found in 47 per cent. A second series of urine samples, taken in the same town from 20 refugee boys, from 7 to 14 years of age, revealed eggs in 10 per cent. All the boys were originally from the Safed and the Acre regions in Palestine. The infection was still localized in 1951, as shown by the fact that urine specimens from 1,000 boys enrolled in different schools in the Tyre area were completely negative for *S. haematobium*.[2] No evidence of infection has been found in the course of limited surveys among Lebanese children in the vicinity of Tyre, and the disease was formerly unknown in the local population.

The intermediate snail host, *Bulinus truncatus*, inhabits streams and irrigation canals near Tyre and Sidon, and has been collected from one farm in the middle reaches of the Litany River. It is feared that the disease may become established and spread to the irrigated districts of the coastal plain between Tyre and Sidon.

Pneumonia. Three outbreaks of [illegible] have been recorded—in 1934, 1939-40 and 1945. The second outbreak occurred in Beirut district, where most of the pig farms are concentrated. The number of recognized human cases was small, but in the examination of about 3,000 pigs on several farms in the neighborhood of the slaughterhouse, 15 to 20 per cent were found to be infected with *Trichinella spiralis*. A high rate of infection was also discovered among rats trapped in the area. The mass slaughter of the pigs on the affected farms and the incineration of infected carcasses were ordered by the health authorities. In the 1945 outbreak, 34 human cases, with 2 deaths, were reported, all traceable to infected meat from

p. 125(A)

[illegible]

[illegible] Tuberculin in Infants. Among [illegible] were given a positive reaction with Bc. [illegible] alvei and Bc. mallivorix, [illegible] of infection with Bc. suis, as well as with Bc. abortus and Bc. melitensis, are [illegible] owed to the course of routine serological examinations in the Institute de Bactériologie de la Faculté Française de Médecine.

Other Infections. Food poisoning caused by the consumption of cheese and other foods contaminated with toxic strains of Staphylococcus is common.

Diseases Under Control Measures and Surveillance

Tuberculosis. Tuberculosis is prevalent, but the extent of infection is not accurately known. In the 4 years 1950-53, the reported deaths from tuberculosis averaged 324 a year, or roughly 31 per 100,000 population. The validity of such mortality statistics is questionable, however, due to the deficiencies in reporting and the tendency to conceal the presence of infection.

Several tuberculin test surveys have been made on small selected groups of the population, but with considerable variation in results. In 1949, the first representative survey was undertaken in Beirut and the surrounding suburbs by the Ministry of Public Health, in co-operation with the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and specialized organizations. From October, 1949, to the middle of March, 1950, tuberculin tests were performed on a voluntary basis on about 40,000 individuals of all ages, 25,000 of whom were subsequently inoculated with BCG vaccine. The proportion of persons giving a positive reaction to tuberculin was estimated at 10 to 20 per cent. Among the schoolchildren, who comprised the largest group, the reaction rate averaged 5 per cent at 6 years of age and 17 per cent at 10 years of age. A comparable series, made up of the persons attending a testing center in one of the poorer districts of Beirut, showed 7 per cent positive reactions among children 6 years of age and 34 per cent at 15 years of age.

In some villages at least 50 per cent of the inhabitants are affected. The disease is encountered less frequently to the north, except in certain congested quarters of Beirut and Tripoli, which house large numbers of workers from the south. In most areas, a higher rate of infection prevails among the Muslim communities than among the Christians. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Public Health, the incidence has increased appreciably since 1951, a total of 1,245 cases was reported in 1949, in contrast with over 4,000 cases in 1951. The recorded cases, however, represent a small fraction of the actual prevalence. In a study of roughly 100,000 cases from all parts of the country, undertaken by doctors from the American University of Beirut in 1952,* the infection rates were estimated at 40 per cent in South Lebanon, 10 per cent in the Bekaa, 10 per cent in North Lebanon and 4 per cent in Mount Lebanon. They averaged 3 per cent in Beirut district, but reached 30 per cent in some of the poorer quarters of the city.

Acute conjunctivitis is widespread from June to December, and particularly between August and October, when the flies are abundant. About two thirds of the cases are usually attributed to infection with *Haemophilus conjunctivitidis* (Koch-Weeks bacillus). A large proportion of the remainder are of pneumococcal origin. Cases of gonococcal conjunctivitis are relatively infrequent.

A special hospital for the treatment of trachoma and other eye diseases has recently been established by the health authorities at Tripoli, an important focus of trachoma in South Lebanon. Measures for the improvement of sanitary conditions are also being carried forward in many villages.

Diseases of the Skin. Mycotic infections, especially favus and ringworm of the scalp or the skin, are common. The majority of cases of dermatophytosis are caused by *Achorion schoenleini*, *Trichophyton violaceum* or *T. gypseum*. Lupus is sometimes seen in the dermatology clinics.

p. 129(A)

[illegible]

[illegible] bed of rodents positioned in the hillier parts, in sections of the northern and the southern Bekaa and in scattered districts in the Lebanon mountains. A rodents survey, to supplement and correlate the previous studies, and a demonstrative control program were inaugurated in 1955 by the Ministry, in cooperation with the World Health Organization.

[illegible] Bubonic Infections. Lymphadenitis (or glandular) is not endemic, but occasional outbreaks have been recorded, usually during periods of social distress. Infections with this [illegible] common among the inhabitants in the poorer urban and rural districts, and minor epidemics have followed the introduction of the disease from surrounding areas in the Near East. Six cases were reported during the war years 1941-45, and the widespread employment of DDT spray in the camp and the villages has essentially reduced the danger of infection. Murine typhus is indigenous, however. Sporadic cases are observed from all parts of the country, the majority of which occur during the summer months, from July through September. The disease is typically mild, with a comparatively low fatality rate. The usual prevalence is unknown, due to the general confusion in diagnosis and the lack of facilities for laboratory confirmation outside Beirut. The causative agent, *Rickettsia mooseri*, has been isolated from rats captured in Beirut. The rat flea, *Xenopsylla cheopis*, is the vector.

Cases of Weil's [illegible] are sometimes reported, in which the dog tick, *Dermacentor marginatus*, is the probable vector. Since the diagnosis has been established primarily in hospitals in Beirut, the extent and the distribution of the infection are uncertain.

Plague. Serious outbreaks of plague have been recorded in the past, but only sporadic cases have been reported since the early 1930s. The last case, a bubonic infection, was seen in 1947 in a village on the outskirts of Beirut. Many local authorities believe that the infection exists among the wild

p. 150(B)

Fig. 1. Al-Qurnī

only one yields potable water—hence the name of the locality, which means "source."

The sparse natural flora of al-Qurnī is an excellent example of garrigue which is widely distributed around the Mediterranean in districts which feature thin soils and calcareous outcrops. Comparing garrigue to the relatively more lush vegetation typical of the French Provence, Fisher says

Sycamore trees, which are relieved of greater utility, grazing—although a number obviously does to some degree—but still shelter an occasional tree commune, and a few scrub oil shrub bushes and thorn trees also grow. Because of the more open nature of this vegetation, which rarely exceeds 3 feet in height, perennial plants are thriving, and the scene visible after the spring rains, a carpet of flowers and herbs makes a striking display. Georgian is often characteristic, with here grasses of red and red and blue-green with plants. (Fisher, 1956, p. 71.) (37)

Mammalian fauna are very sparse indeed, as a matter of fact, as far as the writer knows there is virtually none. Snakes, however, are fairly numerous, are all regarded as being poisonous, and are killed on sight. Small lizards, spiders, six-inch centipedes, moths, scorpions, and large, wood-eating beetles are prominent among the other creatures which were observed. Birds are few, probably because those which venture into the district are generally shot, even if they are as small as sparrows. Flies are numerous, and there are many grasshoppers. (38)

THE DISTRICT OF AL-QURNA

Now that its physical characteristics have been described, the question arises, (39)
Or, what basis can al-Qurna be considered to be a distinct district? The name, according to several informants, means "corner," and it is the impression of the writer that it is used primarily only by the inhabitants of the district itself. Then, (40)
in terms of terrain, it has two features which set it apart from the land immediately surrounding it. It rises particularly sharply and suddenly from the sea, and from the south, say from the barrier of el-Burj, the ridge upon which Rihaniyi and Jubbayli are built looms up definitely higher than the coastal land, from which it is separated by an escarpment, the Wadi Ba'labin. These distinctions are, however, rather minor, and, as far as is known, the people themselves do not perceive them. Within al-Qurna there is little of a physical nature to account for its being set apart as a unit. The land is sharply rolling, and the terrain consists, essentially, (41)
of three ridges which run roughly at right angles to the shore line. Upon the largest and highest of these, the three northern villages are built. Shaykhan and Mismiyi are on the second, middle one; and the third has been commented upon above. Such features are typical of most of the coastal zone from Jbeil to Tripoli.

Al-Qurna is not a political unity. It is simply a locality in Kisrawan, one of (42)
several districts in the Province of Mount Lebanon which is one of the five governorates into which the Republic is divided. Al-Qurna does contain six political units, (43)
each with its elected mayor and council, as well as its own church. These are the villages of Bsharra, Ghosteen, Shaykhan, Mismiyi, Jubbayli, and Rihaniyi. Lower Bsharra is merely an adjunct of the village proper. For political purposes, Bakhra is part of Ghosteen, Bilbni and Yanjiz belong to Mismiyi, Ba'labin is part of Rihaniyi. For other than political purposes, the people consider themselves to be seven, rather than six, villages, separating Bakhra from Ghosteen. Of the seven,

CONSERVATISM AND CHANGE IN A LEBANESE VILLAGE

John Gulick

THE COASTAL HIGHWAY which connects Beirut and Tripoli winds between the crashing surf of the Mediterranean and the sharply rising slopes of Mount Lebanon. At one point in the journey northward along this road, the traveler may notice before him a ridge which, from the distance, seems to block his way. If, instead of continuing toward Tripoli, the traveler turns off the main highway at the foot of this ridge and winds his way up the gravel road which climbs its face to the crest, he will find himself at the southern, seaward tip of a roughly semi-circular ring of six small villages. At the center of this ring is a seventh village considerably larger than the others. This village is el-Mansuri.

Topographically, the area which is occupied by the seven villages consists of three main ridges which project toward the sea in a fanlike fashion, so that the shape of the area is roughly triangular. The ridges are separated by deep, dry wadis; in addition there are other minor creases and gullies, so that the over-all terrain is rough and broken. The land itself is notable for the prevalence of limestone outcrops. The natural flora conforms to the type known as "garrigue," which features low, bushy scrub oak and a variety of small, thorny, aromatic plants. It is a landscape which could not inspire very much confidence in the hearts of ordinary farmers; even to Lebanese farmers, whose fortitude and resourcefulness are justly famous, it has presented a serious challenge.

But the challenge does not end with hard features as such. An even more serious problem is the lack of ground water. There are, indeed, two springs very close to the shore, but both are small and one is brackish. All the water used in the area in winter rain water drained off the roofs of the houses and stored in large underground cisterns, of which there are a very large number. This supply must provide for all the needs of the inhabitants for the entire year. The amount which can be devoted to watering plants is, therefore, extremely limited, and irrigation, in the sense generally applied in the Near East, is impossible. Another problem [illegible]

[illegible] This article is a brief report of a community study which he made in Lebanon from January to July, 1951, under the direction of the Department of Anthropology of Harvard University. He is the author of "The Lebanese Village: An Introduction," American Arabic periodical, vol. 11 (August 1952), which deals with certain technical aspects of Lebanese village social structure.

Vicia, *V. faba* and *V. galeata*, are encountered in some localities.

Rodents. The house rat, *Rattus norvegicus*, is prevalent throughout the coastal area. *R. rattus alexandrinus* is present in small numbers in Beirut and the coast towns, but predominates in the inland villages. *R. rattus rattus* is also present. Mice are abundant under both urban and rural conditions.

Multiceps.* The fresh-water snail, *Bulinus truncatus* (= *B. contortus*), is found in a few localized areas—in the vicinity of Qalaa, in the Nahr el Kasmr and the irrigation ditches connected with the springs of Ras el 'Ain, near Tyre, and in the Litany River, around the Qaraoun bridge in the Bekaa. It is the intermediate host of *Schistosoma haematobium*, and, although the infection apparently is not endemic in the indigenous population, it has recently been observed among Palestinian refugees in the Tyre region.

Plants. Little scientific information is available, but many of the trees, the grasses and the weeds which are known to produce allergic manifestations in susceptible individuals in other countries flourish in Lebanon.

The stocks of wheat sometimes contain seeds of *Cephalaria syriaca* or *Lolium temulentum*. Occasional cases of poisoning are traceable to the consumption of breads or *burghul* prepared from wheat flours thus contaminated.

The broad bean, *Vicia faba*, is widely used as a food, but it may cause toxic symptoms when eaten raw. Serious cases are relatively rare, but fatalities are reported almost annually among young children. In some cases, the chick-pea, *Lathyrus sativus*, a common fodder crop, is responsible for poisoning when it is used as a food.

Food Surveyance

The sanitary inspection of restaurants and premises where food is prepared or sold is the responsibility of the municipal health

* See footnote, page 10.

This may indicate that the present Armenians consist of two groups, two races perhaps closely related, but still differing.

From the same ancestors from which the Armenians descended, also the Khaldians (who call themselves also Syriani, Assyrians or Aisouri) in Mesopotamia originate. In former time also the Armenians called themselves Khaldi and their country Khaldia and both groups seem to descend from an earlier stock, the Hurrians according to Speiser.[1])

Now curiously with the Khaldians I found the same index as with the hyperbrachycephalic Armenian group, viz. 86.1 (Chantre found a higher index: 88).

This may indicate that the original Armeno-Khaldian or Hurrian stock is chiefly represented by the hyperbrachycephalic or real Armenoid group and that the 83.5 group amongst the Armenians is a subbrachycephalic Caucasian admixture.

As our London already pointed out, it is very likely that the spread of the Armenoid group is a much greater one than the spread of the Armenians

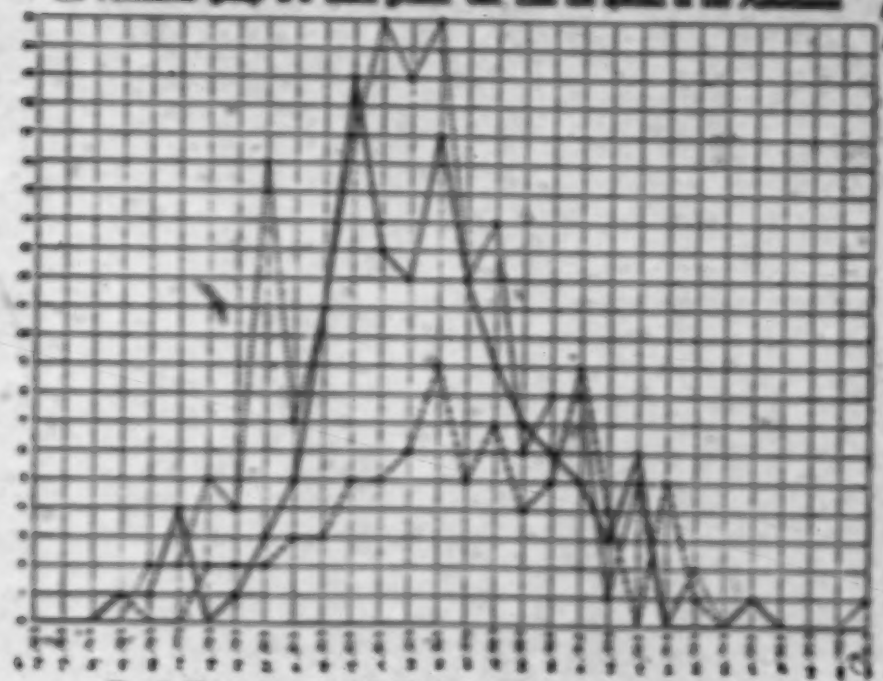

Fig. 3. Frequency curve of 206 Lebanese (dotted line) superposed on the Armenian curve (continuous) Ber. [illegible])

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1) Speiser. Mesopotamian Origins, 1931.

Am. Journ. Phys. Anth. (1919-20) 3rd Int. Congress
ARMENIANS R73
LEBANON M81

groups. Probably a large part of the Armenoids must contain ago have chan-
ged their names and languages to those that are now known as the populations of
the Syrian mountains, the Lebanese and Alawites.—Perhaps also the Kabus
Arabs (see below) belong to this group.—

That for the Lebanese this supposition is right appears from the fact that
the frequency curve of the Lebanese contains practically the same type as the
Armenian curve, as the superposition of these curves shows. (Fig. 3).

Fig. 4. At the left two Armenians from Beirut, at the right two Hittite' warriors.

Sir Kappas D-6 (1939-50) 1952 MI Middle East MI
ARMENIANS RTS
LEBANON ME I

This seems to prove that the race has spread far South from Armenia proper over the mountains and coasts of Syria, much less in Palestine, as agrees with the fact that the Armenoid peak(s) disappear(s) with the population of Palestine.

Although the Lebanese consider themselves Arabs, speaking Arabic, this spread of the Armenoid index makes it very probable that both the Armenians and Lebanese are closely related. Probably both are related to the Hittites or Proto-Hittites, the Hatti and Hurrians, as the area covered by this index corresponds with the extent of the Hittite empire, that covered Armenia plus the mountainous ranges and coastland of Syria for many centuries B.C. They may have lived only temporarily and less extensively in Palestine.

In favour of this is the resemblance of the pictures of Hittites on Egyptian monuments of the 13th century B.C. and modern Armenians (fig. 5).

It then appears that the Hittites, Khabbinu, Armenians and Lebanese originated from a large group of people once possessing the whole "fertile crescent".[1])

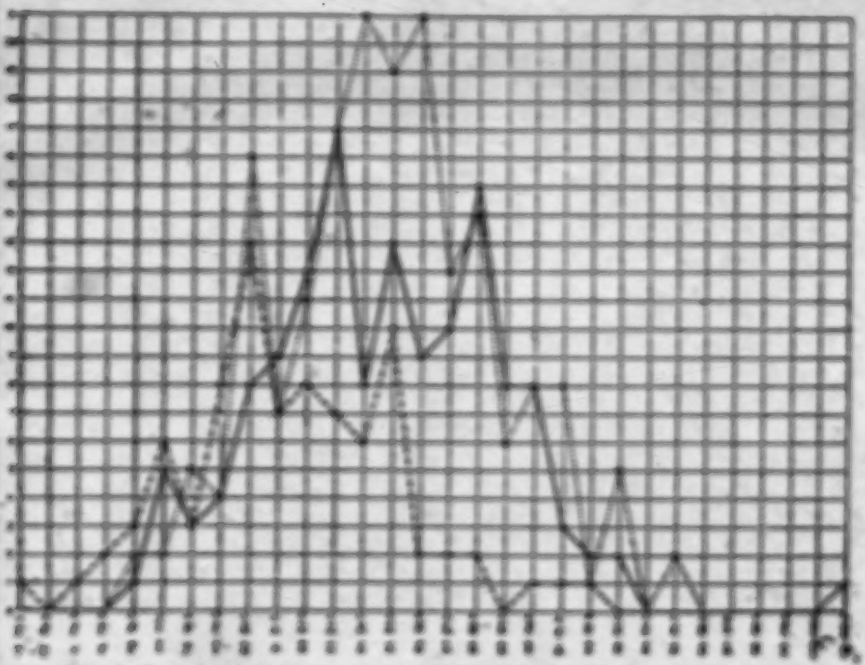

Fig. 5. Dotted line Lebanese curve, full line Armenian, broken line Indians.

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1) Fig. 5 shows that also with the Armenians hyperbrachycephaly is prevailing and that here the desert border index practically fails (the Armenian measured came from Sadiah).

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LEBANON MEI
ARMENIANS RT 3

I may add to this that a similar index (85—85.9) also occurs with a part of the population of Mesopotamia, the so-called Kubian Arabs of the present link (fig. 5), so that we may suppose that the Proto-Hittite races were extended at least as far as the Persian gulf.

A close inspection of the superposed Armenian and Lebanese curves (fig. 3) however shows that in the Lebanese curve there is another peak, at 80—80.9, that falls with the Armenians, so that apparently the Lebanese are not only Armenoid, but also contain another element.—

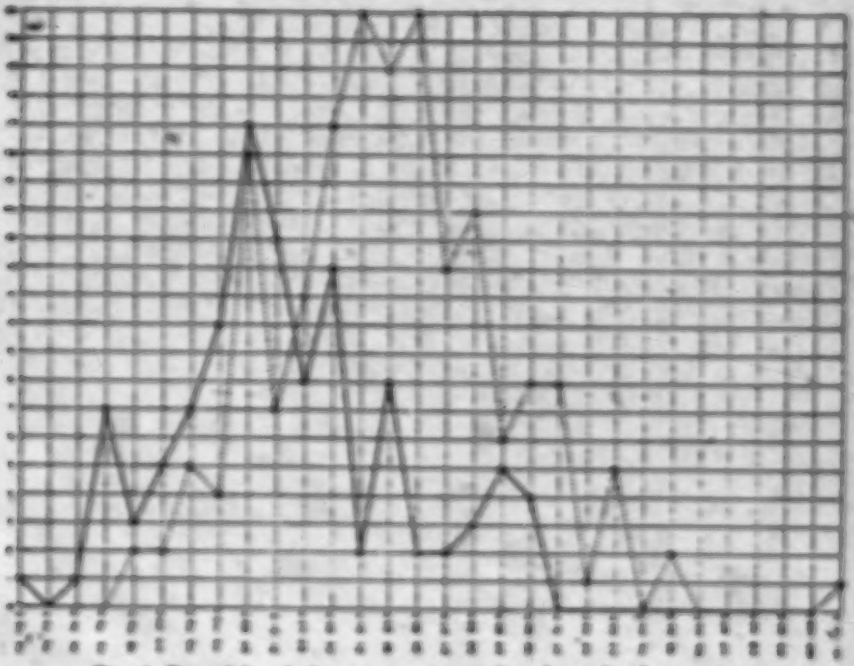

Fig. 6. Dotted line Lebanese, continuous line desert border population from Damascus to Aleppo.

This element is the same as the population of the desert border cities, Damascus, Ma'alloluh, Homs, Hama, Aleppo[1]), as appears from the superposition of the frequency curves made of the Lebanese and desert border population (fig. 6). To what race this population belongs I do not know, but I shall speak of it again when dealing with the Semites. Here it may suffice to say that this

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1) There seems to be no reason to see in the population of these cities a result of Urban influences; rather a result of Urban selection (*cf. Ripley* chapter XII) of special groups.

20: Kappers 1-5 (1938) 1003 MI Middle East MI
LEBANON MEI
ARMENIANS T3
ARABS M10

"dwarf border index" also occurs in Mongolenstein (see at 80—80.9 in fig. 5) and, also, in Palestinian "Arabs" (at 80—81.9 fig. 8).

Before dealing with the group of people that might be represented by this peak, I have to speak of the semitic races: the Arabs and the Jews. Arab tradition divides the Arab people in two groups, the mesocephalic Adnan Arabs—(al musta'riba) and the brachycephalic Kahtan Arabs (al 'ariba).—

The origin of the Kahtan Arabs—considered by the Arabs themselves as the most ancient stock (al ariba) is very obscure. Nowadays they mostly live in Irak and in Arabian proper, mainly in Yemen. Sidgwick who emphasized their brachycephalic character opposes them to be allied to the Armenoids, with whom they may have several traits in common, e.g. a more fleshy nose. As long as so little is known concerning the anthropological position of the ancient inhabitants of this Southern race, we should wait for more data.

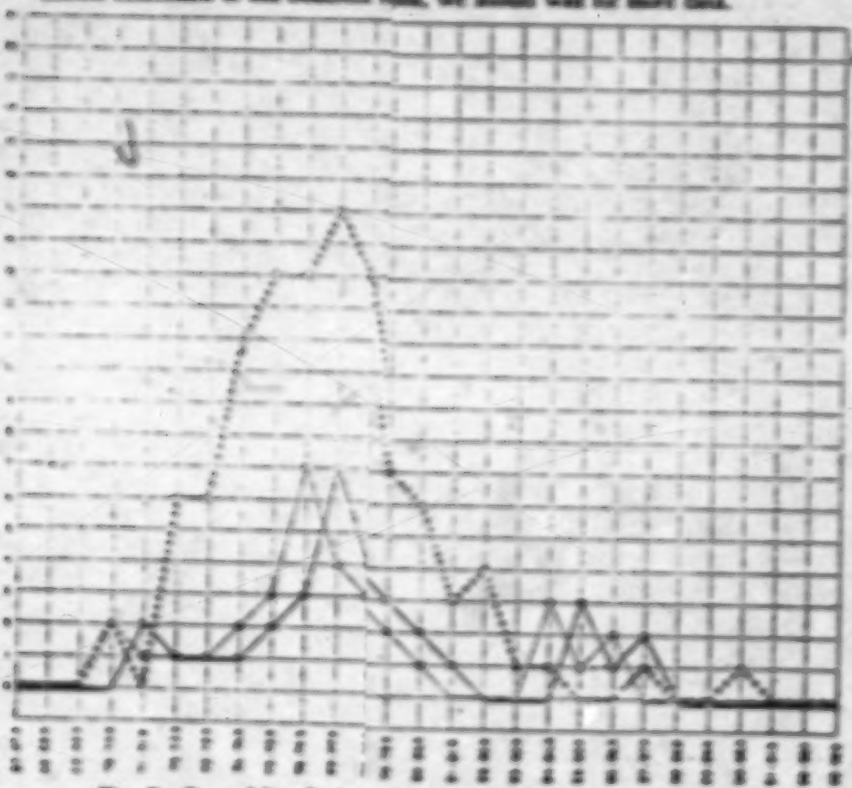

Fig. 7. Crossed line Syrio-Sudanic. Dotted line Phoenician and Polynesian Skulls.

Lebanon M61

M 172 In 1939, Vallois Neuville and Dubertret excavated the Paleolithic site of Ksar 'Akil near Beirut. Further excavations were made at this site in 1947 by Vallois Neuville and Bergey. In the preliminary report by Neuville he concludes that the site contains remains of Aurignacian (Upper Perigordian, Middle Aurignacian and Chatelperronian) and Levallois-Mousterian occupations. This sequence is revealed in some 10.0 meters (over 30 feet) of deposit, the base of which has not yet been reached. The fossil material is typical of the time and region; the differentiation of Aurignacian and Levallois-Mousterian on millimeter evidence is striking while the vertebrate remains permit of climatic studies. Two human skeletons, at least in part, were found close together at 11.0 meters at the base of the Chatelperronian. The layer at the 10.0 meter level above the skeletons consisted of stones strongly cemented together.

L 141 For my opening statement on the living inhabitants of Syria, I will quote from one of my recent papers entitled "Anthropometry of Syrian Males." The major differences in passing from the Lebanon Mountains to the desert border towns of Syria and on into the desert are:

1. A progressive lengthening of the head.
2. A progressive narrowing and lengthening of the face.
3. An increase in nasal length and a change from convex to straight noses.
4. A marked increase in the darkening of the skin.

L 142 However, before continuing this comparison between the mountain, the desert border and the desert Bedouins, we will first consider the Lebanese. Studies on the living Lebanese have been made by Professor Kappers from the Central Institute of Brain Research, Amsterdam, who confined his studies largely to head forms; by Professor Izenstein, formerly of the American Junior College, on Brummana; and by myself on the Mitwalli, the Bahai and the Alawites from the north. In skin color, the majority of these three groups are light or medium. Brunet or brown skins occurred in 20% of the Bahai, 10% Mitwalli and 30% for Alawites. As a rule the hair is straight or low wave, the hair color is invariably black or dark brown; Bahai 94%, Mitwalli 99% and Alawite 98%. Only four blondes were observed among the Alawites and none among the Bahai or Mitwalli males. However, an occasional red or sandy beard is observed. The Lebanese eye color is most frequently dark brown — least, Bahai 41%, highest Alawite 97%. Light brown eyes are commonest among the Bahai, 31%, least among the Alawites 3%. Frequently brown eyes are found mixed with other colors such as green, gray or blue. Pure blue eyes were observed five times in the Bahai, five times among the Mitwalli and twenty times among the Alawites. Among the mountain groups, the nasal profile is frequently convex and the wings are of medium width.

L 141 The Lebanese stature is of medium height as compared with the other groups of the world, ranging from 166 c.m. for the Bahai to 167 c.m. for the Mitwalli. The most striking characteristic of the Lebanese is in head form. The heads are short and round with in many cases a pronounced flattening of the occiput (the back part of the skull). This

[illegible] Near East

Lebanon-HE1

[141] Cleithrum sculpture is one of the characteristics of the Mixteic race discussed by Carleton Coon in his book The Races of Europe. To a certain extent this may be ascribed to the influence of climate. The shortest mean head length is 178 mm for Mitsmili, the longest 198 mm for Aleutian. The head breadths range from 148 mm for Aleutian to 160 for Mitsmili. The Mitsmili head height is relatively high, mean 130, but the Aleutians are low, mean 120 mm. By dividing the head length into the head breadth and multiplying by 100 we determine the cephalic index; cephalic indices of 80% and above are classified as brachycephalic, those between 75 and 79.9 as mesocephalic and those 75 and below as dolichocephalic. The Lebanese are brachycephalics or hyper-brachycephalics. Mitsmili mean cephalic index 83%, Druzes 84%, Beirut 86% and Aleutian 82%.

[174] Who are these extreme brachycephalics living in the Lebanon Mountains, surrounded on the east, south and southwest by extremely long-headed Mediterraneans? How long have they been here, from where did they come and to what places have they migrated?

Some people are of the opinion the Lebanese are descendants of the Phoenicians. I think we can definitely state that the Lebanese are not descendants of the Phoenicians. The two differ radically in head form. A number of Phoenician skulls have been studied in North Africa, principally from the old Phoenician city of Carthage. These skulls were long, narrow and had cephalic indices of 73%. Dr. Sergeant measured 18 skulls from Phoenician tombs in Sidon dating from about 600 B.C. The Sidon skulls were also long and narrow with a cephalic index of 74.

In general there is a more or less continuous mountain chain extending from the Lebanon on into Turkey and from there into the Caucasus. Most of the inhabitants of this extensive mountain area are hyper-brachycephalics. We cannot say where the Lebanese originated but they certainly are related to the peoples of the north. A general term for the common group is protoarmenoids or Armenoids. Similar peoples are prevalent in some of the Balkan states, particularly Albania.

We know that the Lebanese have been here a long time because, as pointed out by Professor Coon, brachycephalic seafarers migrated from Lebanon and Cyprus as early as 3000 B.C. and carried metal into southwestern Europe.

[144] Professor Coon of Harvard University has also suggested that these Lebanese should be classified as Dynarics and that they are the result of mixture between Alpine brachycephalics and long headed Mediterraneans. There is one set of dominant characteristics which pervades the Dinaric groups -- hyper-brachycephaly, nasal convexity and occipital flattening. In spite of the controversial cephalic index, many of the Lebanese are Alpine in having bulbous noses, wide faces, abundance of body hair and beard, thick set body form with short arms and legs and broad hands and feet.

Lb. Kappan D-5 pa. 1888; 1894 M3 Middle East M3
BLAWITES NOT
LEBANON MS!

The Lebanese and Alouite people. The Druses.

As appears from the preceding pages, many centuries ago several groups of the Hurrians of Urartu changed their name and language. The name is found in the West with the population of the ancient Subartu, whose descendants, the Lebanese and Alouites, now speak Semitic.

Their relation to the other groups appears from the fact that the frequency curve of my Lebanese contains practically the same shape as my Armenian curve, as the superposition of these curves shows.

However, a closer inspection of the superposed Armenian and Lebanese curves (fig. 11) shows that in the Lebanese curve there is an additional peak, at 80—80.9, that fails with the Armenians, so that apparently the Lebanese contain an additional element.

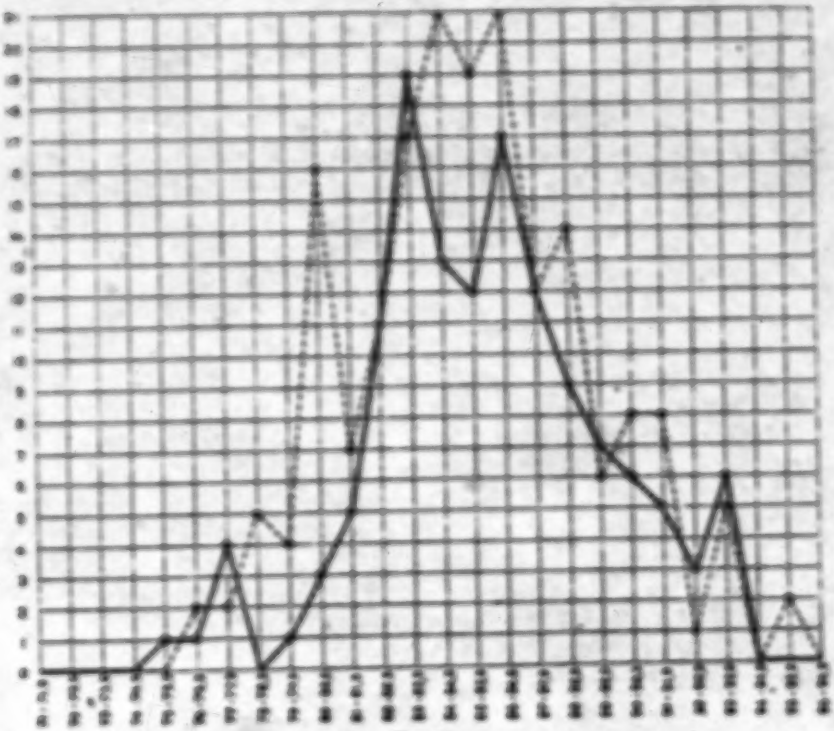

Fig. 11.

——— Cephalic length-breadth indices of 150 Armenians superposed upon the
——— Cephalic length-breadth indices of 175 Lebanese, showing that both peoples largely descend from the same stock (Index 83—86).
Contrary to the Armenian curve, the Lebanese curve shows an additional peak at 80—80.9. After the measurements of the author.

Kappers D-6 (ca. 1933) 1934 [illegible] East [illegible]

This element is the same as the population of the desert-border cities, Damascus, Ma'alūlah, Homs, Hama, Aleppo, as appears from the superposition of the frequency curves made of the Lebanese and desert-border populations (fig. 12). To what race this population belongs will be discussed in Chapter IV. That the additional peak in my Lebanese curve is caused by an admixture from the "*desert-border population*" appears also from the fact that in and near Safitah, a place in the Alouite mountains, which lies further away from the desert-border and connections of which with the larger desert-border cities consequently are not so easy as in the Lebanon and Antilebanon, this admixture fails, as is seen in fig. 13 in which the continuous curve of 145 Alouites from the surroundings of Tripolis (23), Safitah (94), and Bukayye (28) *is* superposed on the Lebanese curve.

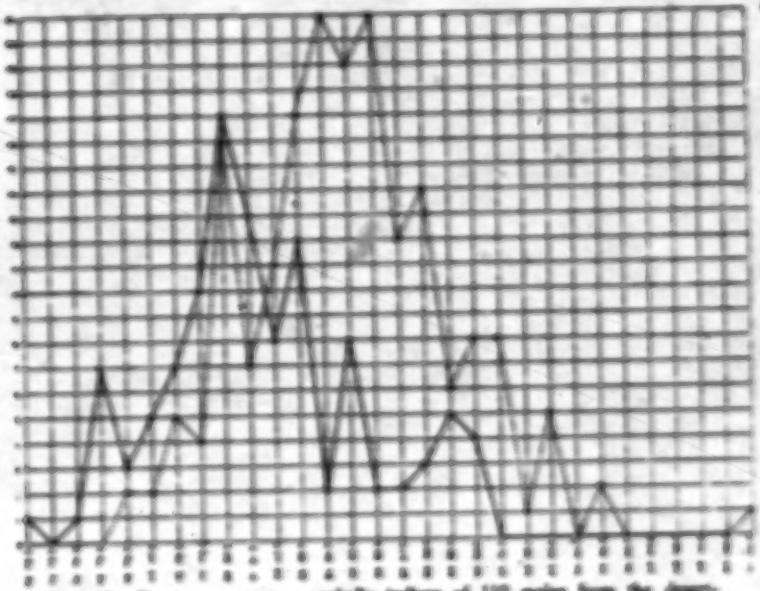

Fig. 12. Continuous curve: cephalic indices of 110 males from the desert-border cities: Damascus, Ma'alūlah, Homs, measured by the author. Dotted curve: 175 Lebanese.

The table (p. 24) shows that the real Lebanese and Alawi are equally hyperbrachycephalic as the Armenians.

I may add to this that the blond type of the Lebanese (2.56), too, comes much nearer to the Armenian (2.31) than to the Bedouin type (1.59).

In the West this race has spread as far South as the mountains and coasts of Syria, but much less in Palestine, as appears from the fact that the Sidonese peak(s) do not occur with the Palestinians (see below).

Group	Length	Breadth	Height	Br. : l. ind.	H. : l. ind.	L. + br. ind.
Armenians ♂	18.14	15.42	13.11	86.1	69.99	72.37
Armenians ♀	17.84	15.04	12.36	84.1	69.33	70.71
Real Lebanese ♂	18.06	15.53	13.14	85.9	84.87	72.98
Real Lebanese ♀	17.41	14.99	12.99	85.7	83.99	72.05
Alawi (Khalily ♂)	17.83	15.37	13.15	85.4	85.47	71.79

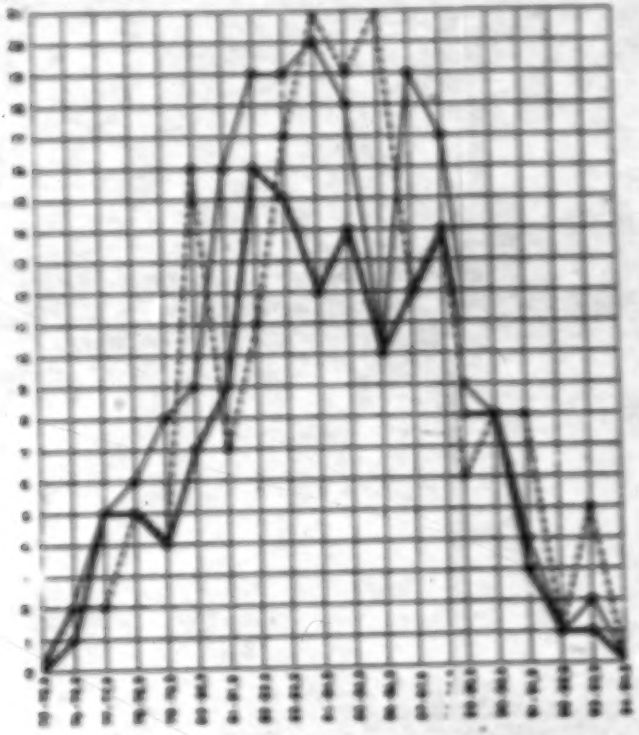

Fig. 13. Thick continuous curve: cephalic indexes of 145 Alawites measured by the author. Thin continuous curve: the same on 48 Armenians, measured by CHANTRE. Dotted curve: Lebanese indexes.

Probably all the people hitherto described as related to the Subarean Hittites or Proto-Hittites, the Hurrians, as the one covered by this index people corresponds with the extent of the Hittite empire. This people covered Anatolian Armenia, invaded Mesopotamia on the East and in the West covered the mountainous ranges and coastland of Syria for many

Sk Kappers D-5 (ca. 1932) 1934 MI Middle East
ALawiya 407
Lebanon 1931
Druze 1926

centuries B.C., while they occupied Palestine only temporarily and less commonly, the most Southern Hittite ruins being found near lake Tiberias.

Another prevailing brachycephalic — also partly hyperbrachycephalic people are the *Druses*, many of whom live also in the Lebanon, having their chief centre in the Hauran district, South of Damascus, North of Mount Hermon.

With Dr. Kh. Pereira I measured about 90 Druses, nearly all men. Their average measurements and indices were:

Group	Length	Breadth	Height	L. br. ind.	Br. h. ind.	L. h. ind.
Druses ♂	17.82	15.39	13.89	87.26	82.9	72.11

Miss N. Izzeddin, who measured a great many of her kinsmen, kindly gave me the following averages expressed in m.m. as a preliminary result of her work.

Druses	Length	Breadth	L. br. ind.	Height	Bregma-
Men 20–65 y.	180.84 ± 0.34; $T = 6.76$	156.13 ± 0.29; $T = 5.83$	86.45 ± 0.19; $T = 3.86$	134.34 ± 0.45; $T = 9$	130.72 ± 0.28; $T = 5.6$
Women 20–65 y.	171.89 ± 0.41; $T = 6.42$	149.59 ± 0.36; $T = 4.74$	87.14 ± 0.28; $T = 4.37$	126.77 ± 0.45; $T = 6.74$	130.9 ± 0.35; $T = 5.96$

Total lon. h.	Upp. lon. h.	Nasal h.	Nasal br.	Standing h.
126.57 ± 0.35; $T = 6.62$	68.45 ± 0.25; $T = 5$	51.96 ± 0.19; $T = 3.88$	25.— ± 0.14; $T = 2.76$	165.6 ± 0.30 $T = 6.94$
104.5 ± 0.34; $T = 5.35$	62.42 ± 0.23; $T = 3.69$	51.87 ± 0.23; $T = 3.61$	26.32 ± 0.15; $T = 3.39$	152.25 ± 0.31; $T = 4.96$

These indices [1]) as well as those measured by Shanklin, also registered in fig. 14, show the prevailing brachycephalic character of the Druses.

This also appears from the Druse skull — kindly given to me by a Druse — so that the authenticity of the material is guaranteed.

The glenoccipital character, and height, of this skull are equally striking as with the Lebanese skull in the same figure 14a.

[1]) The curve of Miss Izzeddin's Druses always two indices (73 and 74; 75 and 76 etc.) are grouped together.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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shown in the table above are found in other parts of the Middle East but three indigenous sects need mention here: the Druzes, who are a mountain people professing a religion which derived from Islam in the eleventh century A.D., but became independent; the Alawis of the mountains behind Latakia, whose religion appears to be a dogmatic form of Shii Islam with some survivals of Christian ritual; and the Maronites, who are a Christian sect, living mainly in the north of Lebanon.

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The religion of the majority of Syrians and of the head of the Syrian state is Sunni Islam; in the Lebanon, Muslims and Christians are fairly evenly divided and the President of the Republic is a Maronite Christian and the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim. The Christians of the Arab Levant have provided the Middle East with great leaders in journalism, letters, politics, and science, but in present-day Syria the Christians are mainly prominent in commerce and industry. There is hardly any dangerous animosity between the sects, but sectarian bonds are a very real force in the lives of people who for so long lived under the Turkish *millet* system whereby each sect was an administrative unit, the head of which exercised considerable authority.

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So mixed a population living in a variety of environments naturally does not constitute one physical type, but some generalizations are hazarded for the sake of a fuller picture. Dark hair is almost universal but the skin of the town dweller is no darker than that of a Mediterranean European; the Syrians and Lebanese are not often as tall or as heavy as the average Englishman but they mature at an earlier age. The poorer nomad eats mainly bread, with milk and fruit and vegetables as less frequent additions and meat as an event, but in the towns and villages most people eat a full diet with rather more oil and spice than is used in Britain. The cultivator and the nomad wear local costumes but most townspeople wear European clothes; the tarbush or the head-cloth are usual but not universal headgear for men. Most Muslim women wear the veil, but in the towns the richer women are becoming more and more emancipated and, particularly in Beirut, many lead the same lives as Christian women. In Lebanon and in Damascus and Aleppo the way of life is very like that in southern Europe, and both countries make a pleasant home for a European.

History

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Semitic-speaking people have inhabited for four or five millennia the area which is known historically as Syria, and yet for much of this period the rulers of what is now Syria ar

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (837) 1941 MI 1 Lebanon MEI

they declared they tasted nothing, they were asked to consider if they were tasting plain paper. They were tested one at a time, to avoid suggestion so far as possible, and in places where a high percentage were positive, enough blanks were interspersed among the tests to keep the rumour going about that some persons could taste this peculiar paper, while others could not. We also assured the patients in advance that no stigma, clinical or otherwise, attached to the ability or lack of ability to taste the substance. The work was of course less accurate, being carried out relatively hastily under "field" conditions, than a study made in the laboratory would have been. But we do not think that there are enough errors in our data to affect the percentages significantly.

Since our record of hair and eye color was incidental to the blood grouping work, and usually had to be done hurriedly, we adopted the simple plan of classifying by inspection all hair and eyes into four equal grades according to depth of pigmentation, ranging from the lightest "Nordics" to the darkest Africans. We planned to include in the first grade of hair blonds, ranging from albinos to Scandinavian blonds, in the second blonds and very light browns, in the third browns of different shades, in the fourth dark browns and blacks. In the case of eyes, grade 1 included the blues, 2 the dark blues and grays, 3 the "hazels" and browns, and 4 the dark browns and blacks. Of course such a classification is very crude, and we may unconsciously have varied our standards somewhat in different localities, but not enough, we feel, greatly to affect the results.

Degrees of skin pigmentation were similarly estimated: 1 signifies "white" skin and so on, up to 4 which includes the "blacks".

The presence or absence of hair on the second phalanx of the fingers, inherited, according to Danforth, as a dominant, was also observed rather hastily, to test if there were differences in frequency in different ethnic groups. The presence of even a single hair was taken as positive. Our results are probably only approximate (compare Boyd and Boyd, '37).

The results are presented in table 1.

TABLE 1—(Continued)

Hair on armed phalanx

Locality	Religion	Sex	Observed	Hair present: with	Hair present: without
Beirut	Muslim	Male	66	77.9	22.1
"	"	Female	61	55.7	44.3
Bodaghaya	Christian	Male	66	68.8	31.2
"	"	Female	34	50.0	50.0
"	Muslim	Male	159	58.1	41.9
"	"	Female	66	54.5	45.5
"	All	Male	219	62.6	37.4
"	"	Female	92	53.6	46.4
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	Male	245	62.4	37.6
	"	Female	173	61.6	38.4
'Aleiliye	Druse	Male	11	72.7	27.3
"	"	Female	37	56.8	43.2

Eye pigmentation

Locality	Religion	Sex	Observed	Eye colour classification 1	2	3	4
Beirut	Muslim	Male	66	7.6	13.2	77.0	4.6
"	"	Female	60	20.0	20.0	68.3	1.7
Bodaghaya	Christian	Male	59	4.2	16.8	74.2	4.5
"	"	Female	37	0.9	11.8	64.7	17.8
"	Muslim	Male	142	10.8	13.4	68.7	6.3
"	"	Female	67	4.5	9.0	76.1	10.4
"	All	Male	221	8.2	14.7	71.5	5.0
"	"	Female	94	4.3	9.5	73.7	12.5
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	Male	242	3.1	13.7	77.5	7.7
	"	Female	159	6.3	8.4	71.2	14.5
'Aleiliye	Druse	Male	11	9.1	18.2	54.5	18.2
"	"	Female	37	0	0	70.6	29.4

Hair pigmentation

Locality	Religion	Sex	Observed	Hair colour classification 1	2	3	4
Beirut	Muslim	Male	66	0	4.6	66.9	28.5
"	"	Female	60	0	0	79.3	20.7
Bodaghaya	Christian	Male	66	0	7.0	38.5	53.5
"	"	Female	37	0	17.7	35.3	47.0
"	Muslim	Male	156	0	8.7	56.5	36.5
"	"	Female	64	0	12.6	42.5	35.0
"	All	Male	210	0	6.6	56.2	43.3
"	"	Female	81	0	13.6	56.8	29.6
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	Male	240	0.8	13.8	42.9	42.9
	"	Female	171	0	23.4	48.2	48.4
'Aleiliye	Druse	Male	11	0	0.1	36.4	54.5
"	"	Female	35	0	0	33.3	66.7

TABLE 6—(Continued)

Rhesus phenotypes

Place	Religion	Sex	No. tested	Per cent positive (phenotypes) for rhesus			
				1	2	3	4
Boarij	Muslim	Male	40	22.5	42.5	32.5	0
"	"	Female	39	72.3	27.7	0	0
Meshghara	Christian	Male	39	72.1	28.9	0	0
"	"	Female	37	78.2	21.5	0	0
"	Muslim	Male	122	62.6	36.6	0	0
"	"	Female	67	70.1	29.9	0	0
"	All	Male	222	66.7	33.3	0	0
"	"	Female	84	71.4	28.6	0	0
Boyounie and Ghazie (Armenians)	Christian	Male	106	36.7	60.7	2.8	0
	"	Female	111	30.3	69.7	0	0
'Aindiya	Druze	Male	11	63.6	27.4	0	0
"	"	Female	17	70.6	29.4	0	0

Since there are often sharp local variations in physical characteristics in Syria, we give our results separately for each locality investigated. Where more than one religious group was represented, we have subdivided our subjects on this basis also, as the barriers to mixture of different religious groups are still kept up, and there is some reason to suppose that different ethnic stocks may be represented in each to different degrees. This also enables us to look for the possible effects of inbreeding on the various characters.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The results for the A2B blood groups are on the whole what was to be expected. The Armenian results show the high percentage of A found by previous workers (compare Boyd, '39 b). These individuals represent a recent influx into our area. We were informed that our subjects were mostly from Marash and vicinity, Turkey. In the case of the two Arab villages, it is rather surprising that the results for Boarij, where all are Moslems, should agree well with the results for the Christians from Meshghara, while the Christians and Moslems in Meshghara show a significant difference in blood group frequencies. It is our impression, however, that the

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 M.Q. Lebanon MB

other Near-Eastern peoples (Parr, '34; Boyd and Boyd, '37). The whole Near East, if we may generalise from the still relatively scanty data at our disposal, seems to be relatively homogeneous with respect to the "tasting" gene. Our results support a suggestion previously made by us that most of Parr's subjects were males.

It is still open to doubt if the presence of hair on the second phalanx is a simple hereditary character. In our previous report (Boyd and Boyd, '37 a), we mentioned that, although there was considerable variation in sex incidence, the racial variations observed were slight. On the whole, the same statement would also apply to our new data, but there is a suggestion that there is a higher incidence of mid-digital hair in Beerij than in Meshghara, for instance. Sewall ('29) found very few Eskimos had mid-digital hair, suggesting that strong racial differences may exist.

The grades of eye color found in the populations reported here are fairly consistent, with rather more light eyes than we found in Egypt. The hair pigmentation is on the whole dark, and it will be noted that in several cases there is a suggestion that the males are darker. A similar tendency was observed in some of the populations we reported in 1937. The skin is on the whole lighter than in Egypt, and again the males seem to be the darker. Greater exposure to the sun may be a contributing factor. The Armenians seem somewhat darker than the Syrians (compare Seltzer, '36). Our observations on Syrian pigmentation seem to agree roughly with those of Shanklin ('38).

Bedouin results. In addition to testing the blood groups of the Syrian Bedouin, we made other observations on them. The blood groups have been previously reported (Boyd and Boyd, '38), but it may be worth while to present here the other results, even though the conditions under which we had to work were such that our pigmentation, etc., figures for the Bedouin are less to be trusted (see table 2). The subjects were all males.

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 M61 Lebanon MEI

always heterozygous. If inbreeding had modified the A,B groups notably, we should expect the frequency of group AB to be less than $2pq$ (the gene frequencies p and q are calculated from the frequencies of O, A, and B only). In fact, $2pq$ does give an expected percentage of group AB of 14.4 which is greater, but not significantly greater than the value found.

Whether a person of group A or group B is heterozygous or homozygous cannot be told readily except by test of his parents or offspring, or both, and even then the test will of course often be inconclusive, since human families are so often too small to give a sample of all the types of children an individual could produce. In our tests on the families of Bourij, we tested six families in which one of the parents belonged to group A or group B. In four of these families, the groups of the children proved the individual in question to have been heterozygous, a result which again does not suggest that the proportion of heterozygotes in the population of Bourij has been notably decreased by inbreeding.

As a rule when the anthropologist has invoked the concept of inbreeding, the exact genetic mechanism by which the character in question is determined has been obscure, so no test analogous to the above could be made. We venture to suggest that if in such cases tests could be made, inbreeding would be found not to be one of the major forces in the modification of the average local human population.[1]

SUMMARY

Tables showing the results of studies of blood groups, blood types, taste reaction to phenyl-thio-carbamide, mid-digital hair, and eye, hair, and skin pigmentation are presented for

[1] We are indebted to the officers of the Near Commission in Beyrouth, and in particular to M. le Général Martin, for permission and encouragement to carry out this work; to Miss Anne Fuller, holder of the Margaret E. Maltby Fellowship of the American Association of University Women, 1937-38, for assistance and hospitality in Bourij; to the Tarbush family for hospitality and assistance in Mashghara; and to Drs. Berbarian and Kassatly for help with the Armenian work. Miss Najla Tabet-El-Din put us in touch with the Druze village of Aleiqlya. Many others, too numerous to mention here, made our difficult task somewhat lighter. To all of these we extend our best thanks.

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 MI 1 Lebanon MII

the native inhabitants of three Syrian towns, and for Armenians now living in and near Beyrouth. Observations on the last five characteristics are presented for samples of two tribes of Syrian Bedouin. The effect of inbreeding on blood groups and types is discussed.

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172 In 1948, Fejfarova Beinq and Doherty excavated the Paleolithic site of Ksar 'Akil near Beirut. Further excavations were made at this site in 1947 by Fejfarova Beinq and Murphy. In the preliminary report by Beinq he concludes that the site contains remains of Aurignacian (Ksarakilian, Middle Aurignacian and Chatelperronian) and Levalloiso-Mousterian occupations. This sequence is revealed in some 30.0 meters (over 98 feet) of deposit, the base of which has not yet been reached. The fossil material is typical of the time and region; the differentiating of Aurignacian and Levalloiso-Mousterian on millimeter evidence is striking while the vertebrate remains permit of climatic studies. Two human skeletons, at least in part, were found close together at 11.5 meters at the base of the Chatelperronian. The lower at the 30.0 meter level shows the skeletons consisted of stones strongly cemented together.

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141 For my opening statement on the living inhabitants of Syria, I will quote from one of my research papers entitled "Anthropometry of Syrian Males." The major differences in passing from the Lebanon Mountains to the desert border towns of Syria and on into the desert are:

1. A progressive lengthening of the head.
2. A progressive narrowing and lengthening of the face.
3. An increase in nasal length and a change from convex to straight noses.
4. A marked increase in the darkening of the skin.

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● 142 However, before continuing this comparison between the mountain, the desert border and the desert dwellers, we will first consider the Lebanese. Studies on the living Lebanese have been made by Professor Kappers from the Central Institute of Brain Research, Amsterdam, who confined his studies largely to head forms; by Professor Ikeda, formerly of the American Junior College, on Beirut; and by myself on the Mixed, the Bdawi and the Alaouites from the north. In skin color, the majority of these three groups are light or medium. Brunet or brown skin occurred in 20% of the Bdawi, 10% Mixed and 20% from Alaouites. As a rule the hair is straight or has low waves, the hair color is invariably black or dark brown; Bdawi 90%, Mixed 90% and Alaouite 80%. Only four blondes were observed among the Alaouites and none among the Bdawi or Mixed males. However, an occasional red or sandy haired is observed. The Lebanese eye color is most frequently dark brown — least, Bdawi 45%, highest Alaouite 97%. Light brown eyes are commonest among the Bdawi, 55%, least among the Alaouites 3%. Frequently brown eyes are found mixed with other colors such as green, grey or blue. Pure blue eyes were observed five times in the Bdawi, five times among the Mixed and twenty times among the Alaouites. Among the mountain groups, the nasal profile is frequently convex and the wings are of medium width.

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141 The Lebanese stature is of medium height as compared with the other groups of the world, ranging from 160 c.m. for the Bdawi to 167 c.m. for the Mixed. The most striking characteristic of the Lebanese is in head form. The heads are short and round with in many cases a pronounced flattening of the occiput (the back part of the skull). This

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 MEI Lebanon MEI

BLOOD GROUPS AND INBREEDING IN SYRIA

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[2] The anthropology of the Near East is an intricate subject, but in view of the significance of the region for the prehistoric and early historic development of man, it is of importance. Rather than attempting to labor a point probably already conceded by most readers, we may simply refer to the remarks on this subject of Kappers and Parr ('34), Field ('35), Keith ('35), and Shapiro ('38).

Knowledge of the physical anthropology of this region, as Shapiro ('36) points out, is meager. In particular, few studies of characteristics known to be inherited in a definite way, such as "taste-blindness", or blood groups, have been [2a] made (compare Boyd, '39 b). We believe that our study (carried out in 1937 when one of us held a Guggenheim fellowship) on the incidence of the M,N types was the first to be made in the region covered by us.

[2] We were particularly anxious to determine the blood groups [3] of the Bedouin, previously tested for A and B by Shapiro ('35 b), and reported to be very high in group O, thus resembling some North American Indian tribes. Our results on the Bedouin tested by us did not support this picture (Boyd and Boyd, '38; Kayasi, Boyd and Boyd, '38), and we therefore desired to test also some villagers for comparison. Beit Mirrij seemed of special interest because it was known to represent a highly inbred population, and because a thorough sociological survey was being carried out there by Miss Anne Fuller. Mashghara was of interest as a typical mountain village, part Christian and part Moslem. We wished to test some Arme-

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 ME 1 Lebanon ME1

nians because the M,N frequencies had never been reported for this ethnic group. Our attempt to test the Druze, a special religious group, unfortunately never resulted in a large enough sample to have any value, but the results are presented for the sake of completeness.

Our blood group results on two tribes of Syrian Bedouin have already been reported (Boyd and Boyd, '38). The other Syrian results are reported here. They include tests on about 131 individuals from Boarij, 306 from Meshghara (both towns in the Lebanon), 339 Armenians living in Beyrouth and nearby Ghazir, and an insignificant sample of Druze from 'Abadiya, not far from 'Aley, on the way up from Beyrouth to Damascus. In addition to determining the blood groups and types, we also recorded in a rough way degrees of hair, eye, and skin pigmentation, looked for hair on the second phalanx of the fingers, and tested for taste reaction to phenyl-thio-carbamide. These results are also presented.

Methods of preparation of the sera we used have been presented previously (Boyd, '39 a). Groupings were carried out by the test-tube method, as recommended by Landsteiner and by Schiff (compare Boyd and Boyd, '37; Boyd, '39 b). In each day's set-up bloods of known type were included, to check the activity of the sera. The anti-B, -M, and -N sera were preserved with acriflavine, and the anti-A with brilliant green, as recommended by Rosenthal (Boyd, '39 a). They were transported in stoppered bottles in a tin box, protected with rubber pads, which was kept on ice as much of the time as possible.

Taste reactions to phenyl-thio-carbamide were tested by means of filter paper impregnated with the substance, as described by Parr, one of the first to call attention to the anthropological significance of taste reactions to this compound.

We framed our questions to the subjects with considerable care, and frequently used blank paper to check the honesty of replies. We found our smattering of Arabic in general sufficient for this work, so that it was not necessary to depend upon interpreters for the patient's reaction to the test substance. The subjects were always asked to compare the taste, if they perceived one, to that of a substance known to them, and if

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 ME 1 Lebanon ME1

they declared they tasted nothing, they were asked to consider 143
if they were tasting plain paper. They were tested one at a 125
time, to avoid suggestion so far as possible, and in places 151
where a high percentage were positive, enough blanks were interspersed among the tests to keep the rumour going about that some persons could taste this peculiar paper, while others could not. We also assured the patients in advance that no stigma, clinical or otherwise, attached to the ability or lack of ability to taste the substance. The work was of course less accurate, being carried out relatively hastily under "field" conditions, than a study made in the laboratory would have been. But we do not think that there are enough errors in our data to affect the percentages significantly.

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blood grouping work, and usually had to be done hurriedly, 125
we adopted the simple plan of classifying by inspection all hair and eyes into four equal grades according to depth of pigmentation, ranging from the lightest "Nordics" to the darkest Africans. We planned to include in the first grade of hair blonds, ranging from albinos to Scandinavian blonds, in the second blonds and very light browns, in the third browns of different shades, in the fourth dark browns and blacks. In the case of eyes, grade 1 included the blues, 2 the dark blues and grays, 3 the "hazels" and browns, and 4 the dark browns and blacks. Of course such a classification is very crude, and we may unconsciously have varied our standards somewhat in different localities, but not enough, we feel, greatly to affect the results.

Degrees of skin pigmentation were similarly estimated: 1 signifies "white" skin and so on, up to 4 which includes the "blacks".

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was also observed rather hastily, to test if there were differ- 125
ences in frequency in different ethnic groups. The presence of even a single hair was taken as positive. Our results are probably only approximate (compare Boyd and Boyd, '37).

The results are presented in table 1.

143

TABLE 1

Blood groups

PLACE	RELIGION	SUBJECTS	PER CENT OF GROUP				GENE FREQUENCIES			
			O	A	B	AB	p	q	r	D/σ
Boarij	Muslim	131	23.7	37.4	29.8	9.1	.295	.244	.487	1.1
Meshghara	Christian	107	29.0	35.5	28.0	7.5	.305	.217	.538	0.9
"	Muslim	199	44.7	40.2	11.6	3.5	.222	.061	.689	0.2
"	All	306	39.2	38.6	17.3	4.9	.256	.126	.626	0.8
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	349	27.7	53.5	13.2	5.6	.375	.113	.526	1.3
'Abadiya	Druse	28	21.4	67.9	7.1	3.6	.482	.071	.463	0.4

Gene frequencies calculated by relations: $r = \sqrt{O/100}$,

$p = \sqrt{O/100 + A/100} - \sqrt{O/100}$, $q = \sqrt{O/100 + B/100} - \sqrt{O/100}$.

$D = 1 - (p + q + r)$, $\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{pq}{2\sqrt{(1-p)(1-q)}}}$

Blood types

PLACE	RELIGION	SUBJECTS	PER CENT OF GROUP			GENE FREQUENCIES		
			M	MN	N	m	n	D/σ
Boarij	Muslim	131	24.4	52.7	22.9	.508	.492	0.6
Meshghara	Christian	107	34.6	51.4	14.0	.553	.347	0.7
"	Muslim	199	28.6	52.3	19.1	.548	.452	0.8
"	All	306	30.7	52.0	17.3	.567	.433	1.0
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	339	34.2	45.4	20.4	.589	.411	1.1
'Abadiya	Druse	28	53.6	39.3	7.1	.733	.267	0.6

Gene frequencies calculated by relations: $m = M/100 + MN/200$,

$n = N/100 + MN/200$, $D = 1 - (\sqrt{\frac{M}{100}} + \sqrt{\frac{N}{100}})$,

$\sigma = 0.5/\sqrt{V}$. (Compare Boyd, '38).

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Taste reaction to phenyl-thio-carbamide

PLACE	RELIGION	SEX	SUBJECTS	PER CENT POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE	
				+	—
Boarij	Muslim	Male	61	60.6	39.4
"	"	Female	58	75.9	24.1
Meshghara	Christian	Male	82	69.5	30.5
"	"	Female	14	71.4	28.6
"	Muslim	Male	115	79.1	20.9
"	"	Female	56	89.3	10.7
"	All	Male	197	75.1	24.9
"	"	Female	70	85.7	14.3
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	Male	147	72.8	27.2
	"	Female	164	77.4	22.6
'Abadiya	Druse	Male	9	66.7	33.3
"	"	Female	15	93.3	6.7

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TABLE 1—(Continued)

Hair on second phalanx

PLACE	RELIGION	SEX	SUBJECTS	PER CENT with	PER CENT without
Boarij	Muslim	Male	68	77.9	22.1
,,	,,	Female	61	55.7	44.3
Meshghara	Christian	Male	90	68.9	31.1
,,	,,	Female	16	50.0	50.0
,,	Muslim	Male	129	58.1	41.9
,,	,,	Female	66	54.5	45.5
,,	All	Male	219	62.6	37.4
,,	,,	Female	82	53.6	46.4
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	Male	165	62.4	37.6
	,,	Female	172	61.6	38.4
'Abadiya	Druse	Male	11	72.7	27.3
,,	,,	Female	17	58.8	41.2

Eye pigmentation

PLACE	RELIGION	SEX	SUBJECTS	PER CENT HAVING PIGMENTATION OF GRADE 1	2	3	4
Boarij	Muslim	Male	68	7.4	13.2	75.0	4.4
,,	,,	Female	60	10.0	20.0	68.3	1.7
Meshghara	Christian	Male	89	4.5	16.8	74.2	4.5
,,	,,	Female	17	5.9	11.8	64.7	17.6
,,	Muslim	Male	142	10.6	13.4	69.7	6.3
,,	,,	Female	67	4.5	9.0	76.1	10.4
,,	All	Male	231	8.2	14.7	71.5	5.6
,,	,,	Female	84	4.8	9.5	73.7	12.0
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	Male	142	2.1	12.7	77.5	7.7
	,,	Female	155	6.5	8.4	70.3	14.8
'Abadiya	Druse	Male	11	9.1	18.2	54.5	18.2
,,	,,	Female	17	0	0	70.6	29.4

Hair pigmentation

PLACE	RELIGION	SEX	SUBJECTS	PER CENT HAVING PIGMENTATION OF GRADE 1	2	3	4
Boarij	Muslim	Male	65	0	4.6	36.9	58.5
,,	,,	Female	58	0	0	79.3	20.7
Meshghara	Christian	Male	86	0	7.0	39.5	53.5
,,	,,	Female	17	0	17.7	35.3	47.0
,,	Muslim	Male	124	0	9.7	50.8	39.5
,,	,,	Female	64	0	12.5	62.5	25.0
,,	All	Male	210	0	8.6	46.2	45.2
,,	,,	Female	81	0	13.6	56.9	29.6
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	Male	165	0.6	15.8	43.0	40.8
	,,	Female	171	0	13.4	46.2	40.4
'Abadiya	Druse	Male	11	0	9.1	36.4	54.5
,,	,,	Female	15	0	0	33.3	66.7

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TABLE 1—(Continued)

Skin pigmentation

PLACE	RELIGION	SEX	SUBJECTS	PER CENT HAVING PIGMENTATION OF GRADE 1	2	3 - 4	
Boarij	Muslim	Male	68	55.9	41.2	2.9	0
"	"	Female	59	72.9	27.1	0	0
Meshghara	Christian	Male	90	71.1	28.9	0	0
"	"	Female	17	76.5	23.5	0	0
"	Muslim	Male	132	63.6	36.4	0	0
"	"	Female	67	70.1	29.9	0	0
"	All	Male	222	66.7	33.3	0	0
"	"	Female	84	71.4	28.6	0	0
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	Male	166	36.7	62.7	0.6	0
	"	Female	173	50.3	49.7	0	0
'Abadiya	Druse	Male	11	63.6	36.4	0	0
"	"	Female	17	70.6	29.4	0	0

Since there are often sharp local variations in physical characteristics in Syria, we give our results separately for each locality investigated. Where more than one religious group was represented, we have subdivided our subjects on this basis also, as the barriers to mixture of different religious groups are still kept up, and there is some reason to suppose that different ethnic stocks may be represented in each to different degrees. This also enables us to look for the possible effects of inbreeding on the various characters.

DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

The results for the A,B blood groups are on the whole what was to be expected. The Armenian results show the high percentage of A found by previous workers (compare Boyd, '39 b). These individuals represent a recent influx into our area. We were informed that our subjects were mostly from Marash and vicinity, Turkey. In the case of the two Arab villages, it is rather surprising that the results for Boarij, where all are Moslems, should agree well with the results for the Christians from Meshghara, while the Christians and Moslems in Meshghara show a significant difference in blood group frequencies. It is our impression, however, that the

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Our A,B results for the Druze, doubtless because of the small size of the sample, do not agree well with those of Parr ('31); no significance can be attributed to this.

The results reported by Shanklin ('38) for the Bekaa and Alouites, whom he lists as mountain dwelling groups, are also different from each other, but perhaps not on the whole too different from our own.

The frequencies for the M,N types, the first to be reported for settled inhabitants of Syria, do not seem to present anything unusual. The M,N frequencies in Syrians and Armenians apparently do not differ notably from those in Europe, but do seem to differ from those in the only two tribes of Syrian Bedouin tested for M and N, where significantly low values of N were found (Boyd and Boyd, '38). We are inclined to consider this another example of the evolutionary effects of isolation (compare Boyd, '40). In M and N frequencies the Druze may resemble the Bedouin, for the χ^2 test indicates that the difference between the M,N frequencies of the Druze and the inhabitants of Boarij, for instance, is significant, in spite of the smallness of the samples. Of course, if the samples had been larger the difference might have been much less marked.

The taste reactions to phenyl-thio-carbamide show in every case the higher proportion of tasters among the females previously reported (Fisher and Brandt, '37; Boyd and Boyd, '37). The per cent of tasters is probably not significantly different in any of these villages from the results obtained for

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SYRIAN BEDOUIN HDS

other Near-Eastern peoples (Parr, '34; Boyd and Boyd, '37). The whole Near East, if we may generalize from the still relatively scanty data at our disposal, seems to be relatively homogenous with respect to the "tasting" gene. Our results support a suggestion previously made by us that most of Parr's subjects were males.

It is still open to doubt if the presence of hair on the second phalanx is a simple hereditary character. In our previous report (Boyd and Boyd, '37 a), we mentioned that, although there was considerable variation in sex incidence, the racial variations observed were slight. On the whole, the same statement would also apply to our new data, but there is a suggestion that there is a higher incidence of mid-digital hair in Boarij than in Meshghara, for instance. Sewall ('39) found very few Eskimos had mid-digital hair, suggesting that strong racial differences may exist.

The grades of eye color found in the populations reported here are fairly consistent, with rather more light eyes than we found in Egypt. The hair pigmentation is on the whole dark, and it will be noted that in several cases there is a suggestion that the males are darker. A similar tendency was observed in some of the populations we reported in 1937. The skin is on the whole lighter than in Egypt, and again the males seem to be the darker. Greater exposure to the sun may be a contributing factor. The Armenians seem somewhat darker than the Syrians (compare Seltzer, '36). Our observations on Syrian pigmentation seem to agree roughly with those of Shanklin ('38).

Bedouin results. In addition to testing the blood groups of the Syrian Bedouin, we made other observations on them. The blood groups have been previously reported (Boyd and Boyd, '38), but it may be worth while to present here the other results, even though the conditions under which we had to work were such that our pigmentation, etc., figures for the Bedouin are less to be trusted (see table 2). The subjects were all males.

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TABLE 2

Results of observations for taste reaction to phenyl-thio-carbamide, mid-digital hair, eye color, hair color, and skin color on two tribes of Syrian Bedouin. In per cents.

TRIBE	SUBJECTS	TASTE REACTION +	TASTE REACTION —	TRIBE	SUBJECTS	MID-DIGITAL HAIR +	MID-DIGITAL HAIR —
Rwala	172	59.9	40.1	Rwala	19	44.8	55.4
Aqedat	53	62.3	37.7	Aqedat	8	41.4	58.6

TRIBE	SUBJECTS	EYE PIGMENTATION OF GRADE 1	2	3	4	SUBJECTS	HAIR PIGMENTATION OF GRADE 1	2	3	4
Rwala	201	0	1.5	86.1	12.4	179	0	1.1	40.2	58.7
Aqedat	72	0	11.1	79.2	9.7	63	0	1.6	36.5	61.9

TRIBE	SUBJECTS	SKIN PIGMENTATION OF GRADE 1	2	3	4
Rwala	196	7.1	47.5	45.0	0.5
Aqedat	73	8.2	47.9	39.7	4.1

The Bedouin taste results are not notably different from those of the city dwellers; there seems to be a somewhat lower incidence of mid-digital hair, the eye and skin pigmentation is definitely darker, the hair is perhaps somewhat darker. Allowing for the great differences in nomenclature, this difference seems to agree fairly well with that found by Shanklin ('35).

Perhaps our data, in spite of their crudeness, and the small numbers of subjects represented, will contribute to some small degree to a filling out of our knowledge of the distribution of pigmentation in this part of the world. The importance of systematic surveys of the frequency of individual genes, such as the "tasting" gene, is beginning to be appreciated (Boyd, '40).

Effect of inbreeding. It is not uncommon in anthropological papers to see differences between various local populations ascribed to inbreeding. It has even been suggested that "races" may be created by a process depending partly on inbreeding. It is likely that the word inbreeding, as used by some authors, has been corrupted from its correct genetical significance, and perhaps is really meant to be synonomous with endogamy, or something of the sort. As the geneticist uses the word, it means mating among close relatives. Others

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have remarked that actually the effect of inbreeding is transitory, in the sense that one generation of random mating would restore the population to the condition in which it started, so that the process can hardly have the importance apparently sometimes attributed to it (compare Boyd, '40). There has probably been a good deal of inbreeding in all of the villages studied by us. In the cases of Boarij, we are fortunate in having a sample of a population known to be relatively highly inbred. From a study carried out there by Miss Anne Fuller, we know that marriages between cousins are very common, as are consanguinous marriages where the relationship is less close. Almost the entire population of the village can be traced back to three or four family lines. The blood groups and the M,N types offer a means of checking the extent of the effect of inbreeding on the population.

It is known from genetics that the effect of inbreeding on a population is to increase the proportion of homozygotes and decrease the proportion of heterozygotes, and if the process is carried far enough, pure homozygous types will emerge in the same proportion (if selection or mutation play no role) as the frequencies of their genes in the original population (Robbins, '17).

With the M,N types, the heterozygote is type MN, and type M and type N are homozygous. If the inbreeding had modified these frequencies in the population of Boarij very much, we should find that type M and type N were relatively more numerous than would normally be found, so that we should have the relation:

$$\sqrt{M/100} + \sqrt{N/100} > 1$$

Actually, it may be seen from table 1 that in Boarij the heterozygote, MN, was slightly (but not significantly) in excess of the theoretical maximum of 50%, and we find

$$\sqrt{M/100} + \sqrt{N/100} = 0.972 < 1$$

Thus there is no evidence that inbreeding has increased the proportion of the homozygotes in the M,N types.

In the case of the A,B groups, the only group which is known a priori to be heterozygous is the AB group, which is

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always heterozygous. If inbreeding had modified the A,B groups notably, we should expect the frequency of group AB to be less than 2pq (the gene frequencies p and q are calculated from the frequencies of O, A, and B only). In fact, 2pq does give an expected percentage of group AB of 14.4 which is greater, but not significantly greater than the value found.

Whether a person of group A or group B is heterozygous or homozygous cannot be told readily except by test of his parents or offspring, or both, and even then the test will of course often be inconclusive, since human families are so often too small to give a sample of all the types of children an individual could produce. In our tests on the families of Boarij, we tested six families in which one of the parents belonged to group A or group B. In four of these families, the groups of the children proved the individual in question to have been heterozygous, a result which again does not suggest that the proportion of heterozygotes in the population of Boarij has been notably decreased by inbreeding.

As a rule when the anthropologist has invoked the concept of inbreeding, the exact genetic mechanism by which the character in question is determined has been obscure, so no test analogous to the above could be made. We venture to suggest that if in such cases tests could be made, inbreeding would be found not to be one of the major forces in the modification of the average local human population.[1]

SUMMARY

Tables showing the results of studies of blood groups, blood types, taste reaction to phenyl-thio-carbamide, mid-digital hair, and eye, hair, and skin pigmentation are presented for

[1] We are indebted to the officers of the Haut Commissariat in Beyrouth, and in particular to M. le Général Martin, for permission and encouragement to carry out this work; to Miss Anne Fuller, holder of the Margaret E. Maltby Fellowship of the American Association of University Women, 1937–38, for assistance and hospitality in Boarij; to the Trabulsi family for hospitality and assistance in Meshghara; and to Drs. Berberian and Kunstler for help with the Armenian work. Miss Nejla 'As-ed-Din put us in touch with the Druze village of 'Aludiya. Many others, too numerous to mention here, made our difficult task somewhat lighter. To all of them we extend our best thanks.

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the native inhabitants of three Syrian towns, and for Armenians now living in and near Beyrouth. Observations on the last five characteristics are presented for samples of two tribes of Syrian Bedouin. The effect of inbreeding on blood groups and types is discussed.

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TABLE 1—(Continued)

Skin pigmentation

PLACE	RELIGION	SEX	SUBJECTS	PER CENT HAVING PIGMENTATION OF GRADE			
				1	2	3	4
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This may indicate that the present Armenians consist of two groups, two more perhaps closely related, but still differing.

From the same members from which the Armenians descended, also the Khalibians (who call themselves also Syrians, Assyrians or Aramaeans, Mesopotamia originate. In former times also the Armenians called themselves Khaldi, and their country Khaldia and both groups seem to descend from an earlier stock, the Hurrians according to Speiser.[1])

Now curiously with the Khalibians I found the same index as with the hyperbrachycephalic Armenian group, viz. 86.1 (Chantre found a higher index = 88).

This may indicate that the original Armeno-Khalibian or Hurrian stock is chiefly represented by the hyperbrachycephalic or real Armenoid group and that the 83.5 group amongst the Armenians is a subbrachycephalic Caucasian admixture.

As one *London* already pointed out, it is very likely that the spread of the Armenoid group is a much greater one than the spread of the Armenians

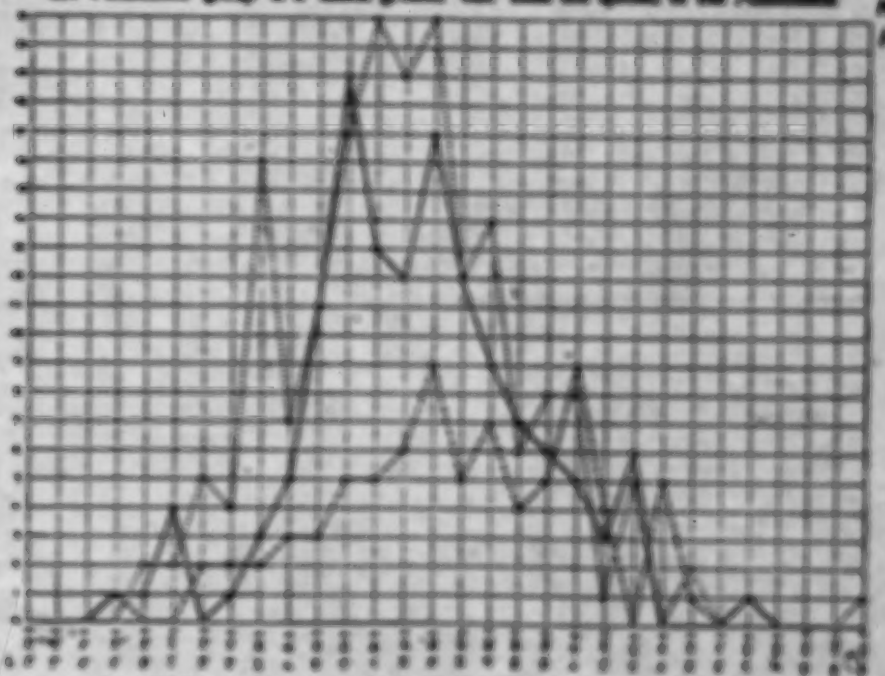

Fig. 3. Frequency curve of 256 Lebanese (dotted line) superposed on the Armenian curve (continuous) line. [1])

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1) Speiser, Mesopotamian Origins, 1930.

groups. Probably a large part of the Armenoids were certainly not Indo-European speakers, but it is not known what languages they spoke. Perhaps some of the Asiatic ancestors of the Lydians, the Lycians and Albanians—Perhaps also the Kelteminar people (see below) belong to this group.—

That for the Lebanese this supposition is right appears from the fact that the frequency curve of the Lebanese contains practically the same type as the Armenian curve, as the superposition of these curves shows. (Fig. 3).

Fig. 4. At the left two Armenians from Dalmat, at the right two Hittite[illegible]

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This seems to prove that the new law spread for South from Amorite groups over the mountains and coasts of Syria, south here in Palestine, as agrees with the fact that the Amorite[1] people disappear(s) with the population of Palestine.

Although the Lebanese consider themselves Arabs, speaking Arabic, the spread of the Amorite laws makes it very probable that both the Amorites and Lebanese are closely related. Probably both are related to the Hittites or Proto-Hittites, the Hatti and Hurrians, as the area covered by this laws corresponds with the extent of the Hittite empire, that covered Amorite plus the mountainous ranges and coastland of Syria for many centuries B.C. They may have lived only temporarily and low economically in Palestine.

In favour of this is the resemblance of the pictures of Hittites on Egyptian monuments of the 13th century B.C. and modern Armenians (fig. 5).

It thus appears that the Hittite, Khabbiru, Amorites and Lebanese originated from a large group of people once possessing the whole "fertile crescent".)

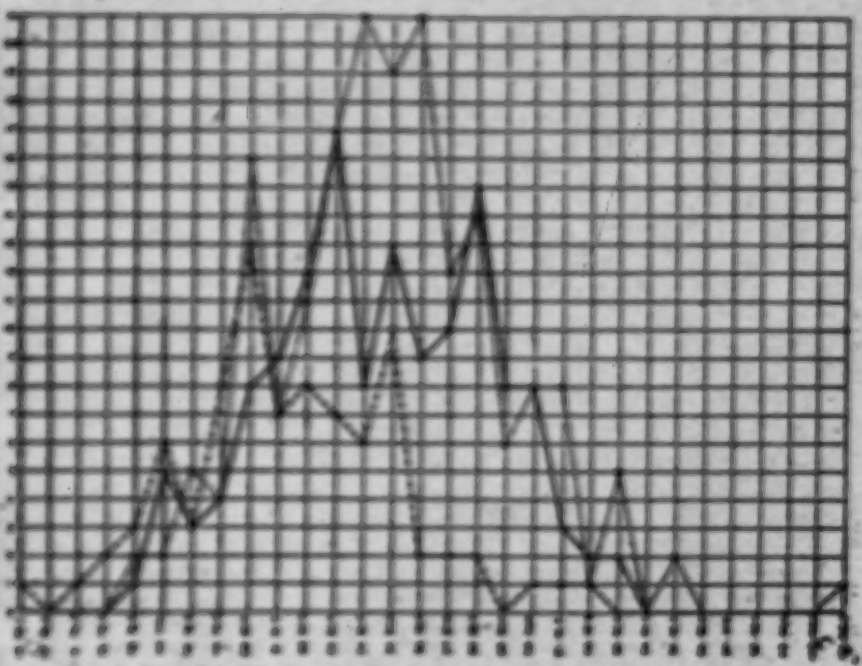

Fig. 5. Detail fm Lebanese cedar, left fm Alhambra, broken fm Indians.

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1) Fig. 4 shows that also with the Akkadians it was primarily in connection with their fight for the desert border when previously fm the Akkadian monument taken from Babylon.

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I may add to this that a similar index (85—85.9) also occurs with a part of the population of Mesopotamia, the so-called Kelten Araber of the present link (fig. 5), so that we may suppose that the Proto-Hittite race once extended at least as far as the Persian gulf.

A closer inspection of the superposed Armenian and Lebanese curves (fig. 3) however shows that in the Lebanese curve there is another peak, at 80—80.9, that fails with the Armenians, so that apparently the Lebanese are not only Armenoid, but also contain another element:—

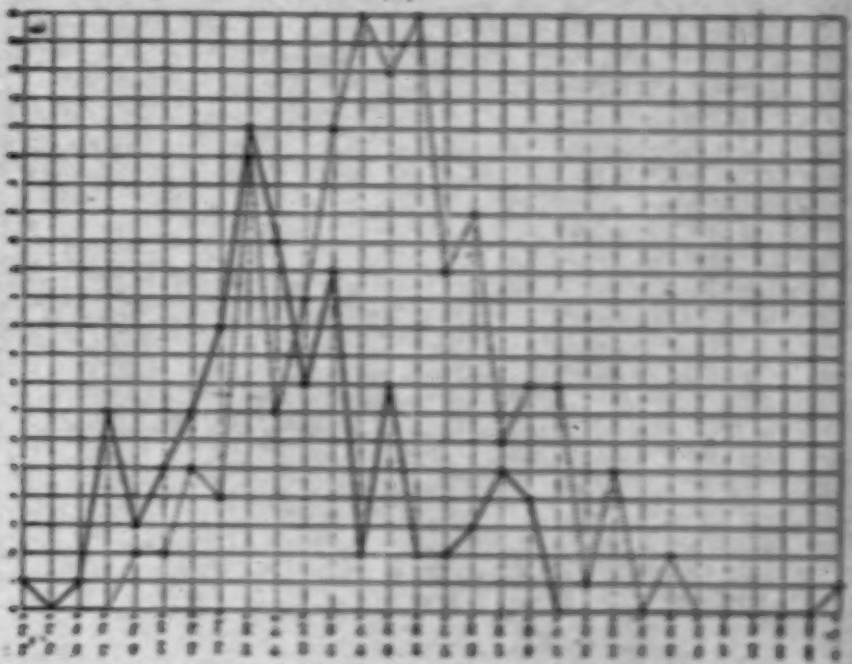

Fig. 6. Dotted line Lebanese, continuous line desert border population from Damascus to Aleppo.

This element is the same as the population of the desert border cities, Damascus, Ma'alulah, Homs, Hama, Aleppo[1]), as appears from the superposition of the frequency curves made of the Lebanese and desert border populations (fig. 6). To what race this population belongs I do not know, but I shall speak of it again when dealing with the Semites. Here it may suffice to say that this

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1) There seems to be an increase in, say, the population of these cities a result of Urban influencing; rather a result of Urban attraction (cf. Rigby chapter XII) of special groups.

Mr. Kappers D-6 (1939-40) 1940 MS 10660a Exp. MS
LEBANON M81
ARMENIANS73
ARABS M10

"short headed index" also occurs in Mesopotamia (see at 80—80.9 in fig. 5) and, also, in Palestinian "Arabs" (at 80—81.9 fig. 6).

Before dealing with the groups of people that might be represented by this graph, I have to speak of the semitic races: the Arabs and the Jews. Arab tradition divides the Arab people in two groups, the monophyletic Adnan Arabs—(al 'aribu'ibu) and the brachycephalic Kahtan Arabs (al 'aribu).—

The origin of the Kahtan Arabs—considered by the Arabs themselves as the most ancient stock (al aribu) is very obscure. Nowadays they mostly live in Irak and in Arabia proper, especially in Yemen. Sidgwick who emphasized their brachycephalic character supposes them to be allied to the Accadians, with whom they may have several features in common, e.g. a more fleshy nose. As long as so little is known concerning the anthropological position of the ancient inhabitants of this Southern region, we should wait for more data.

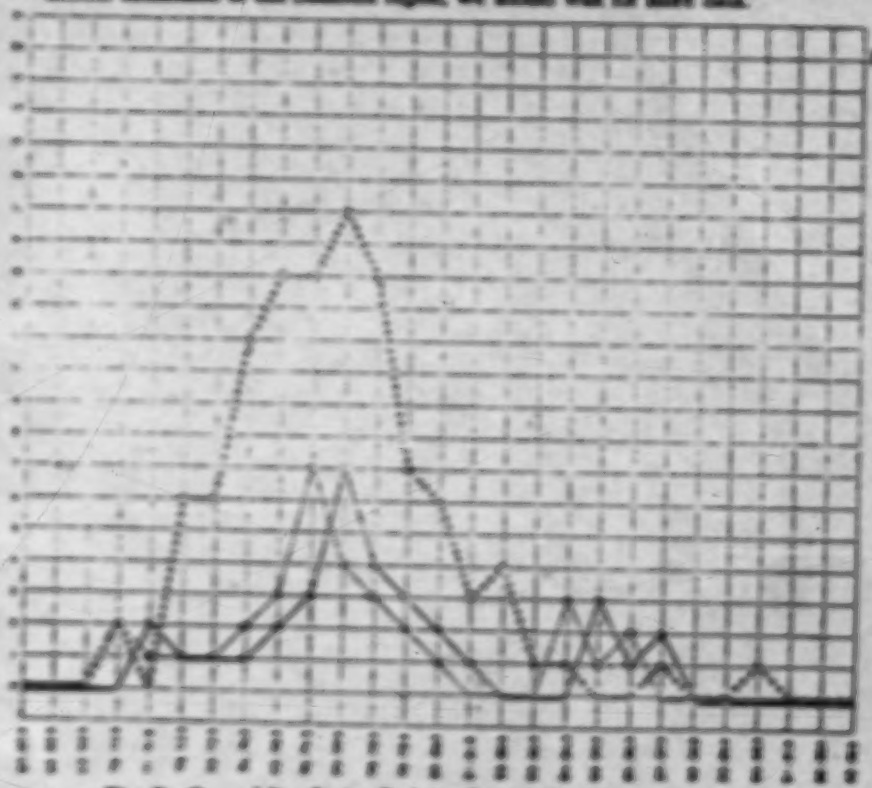

Fig. 7. Cranial Sex Series Bedouins, Dotted line Phoenicians and Palaeocene Skulls.

Lebanon HEI

141 flattened occiput is one of the characteristics of the Dinaric race discussed by Carleton Coon in his book The Races of Europe. To a certain extent this may be ascribed to the influence of cradling. The shortest mean head length is 176 mm for Mitzeli, the longest 179 mm for Alouite. The head breadths range from 140 mm for Alouite to 158 for Mitzeli. The Mitzeli head height is relatively high, mean 139, but the Alouites are low, mean 135 mm. By dividing the head length into the head breadth and multiplying by 100 we determine the cephalic index; cephalic indices of 80% and above are classified as brachycephalic, those between 75 and 79.9 as mesocephalic and those 75 and below as dolichocephalic. The Lebanese are brachycephalics or hyper-brachycephalics, Mitzeli mean cephalic index 87%, Druzes 87%, Beiuns 86% and Alouites 84%.

174 Who are these extreme brachycephalics living in the Lebanon Mountains, surrounded on the east, south and southwest by extremely long-headed Mediterraneans? How long have they been here, from where did they come and to what places have they migrated?

Some people are of the opinion the Lebanese are descendants of the Phoenicians. I think we can definitely state that the Lebanese are not descendants of the Phoenicians. The two differ radically in head form. A number of Phoenician skulls have been studied in North Africa, principally from the old Phoenician city of Carthage. These skulls were long, narrow and had cephalic indices of 74%. Dr. Sergeyi measured 15 skulls from Phoenician tombs in Sidon dating from about 900 B.C. The Sidon skulls were also long and narrow with a cephalic index of 74.

In general there is a more or less continuous mountain chain extending from the Lebanon on into Turkey and from there into the Caucasus. Most of the inhabitants of this extensive mountain zone are hyper-brachycephalics. We cannot say where the Lebanese originated but they certainly are related to the peoples of the north. A general term for the common group is protoarmenoids or Armenoids. Similar peoples are prevalent in some of the Balkan states, particularly Albania.

We know that the Lebanese have been here a long time because, as pointed out by Professor Coon, brachycephalic seafarers migrated from Lebanon and Cyprus as early as 3000 B.C. and carried metal into south-western Europe.

144 Professor Coon of Harvard University has also suggested that these Lebanese should be classified as Dinarics and that they are the result of mixture between Alpine brachycephalics and long headed Mediterraneans. There is one set of dominant characteristics which pervades the Dinaric groups — hyper-brachycephaly, nasal convexity and occipital flattening. In spite of the controversial cephalic index, many of the Lebanese are Alpine in having bulbous noses, wide faces, abundance of body hair and beard, thick set body form with short arms and legs and broad hands and feet.

Sh. Kappers D-5 (ca. 1933) 1834 M3 Middle East M3
ALAWITES M07
LEBANON M81

The Lebanese and Alouite people. The Druses.

A L 191 M M4

As appears from the preceding pages, many centuries ago several groups of the Hurrians of Urartu changed their name and language. The same is found in the West with the population of the ancient Subartu, whose descendants, the Lebanese and Alouites, now speak Semitic.

Their relation to the other groups appears from the fact that the frequency curve of my Lebanese contains practically the same shape as my Armenian curve, as the superposition of these curves shows.

However, a closer inspection of the superposed Armenian and Lebanese curves (fig. 11) shows that in the Lebanese curve there is an additional peak, at 80—80.9, that fails with the Armenians, so that apparently the Lebanese contain an additional element.

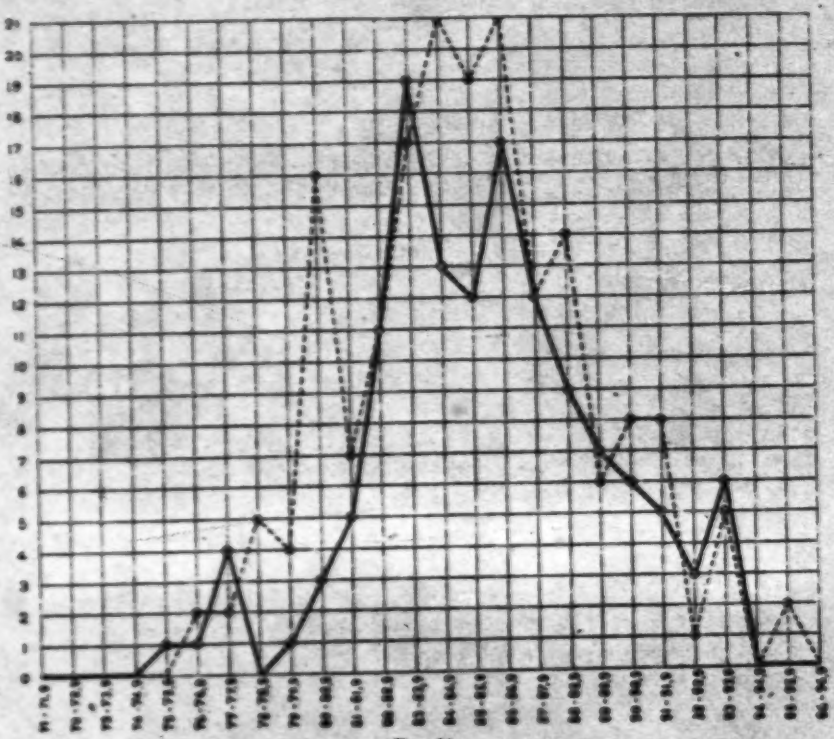

Fig. 11.

_____ Cephalic length-breadth indices of 135 Armenians superposed upon the
_____ Cephalic length-breadth indices of 175 Lebanese, showing that both people largely descend from the same stock (index 83—86).
Contrary to the Armenian curve, the Lebanese curve shows an additional peak at 80—80.9. After the measurements of the author.

86 Kappers D-8 (ca. 1933) 1936 MI Middle East MI

This element is the same as the population of the desert-border cities, Damascus, Ma'allulah, Homs, Hama, Aleppo, as appears from the superposition of the frequency curves made of the Lebanese and desert-border population (fig. 12). To what race this population belongs will be discussed in Chapter IV. That the additional peak in my Lebanese curve is

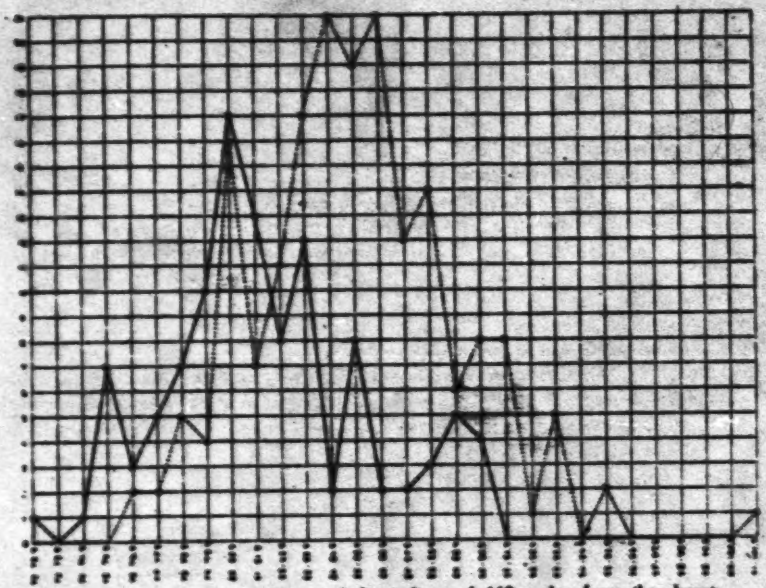

Fig. 12. Continuous curve: cephalic indices of 110 males from the desert-border cities: Damascus, Ma'allula, Homs, measured by the author. Dotted curve: 175 Lebanese.

caused by an admixture from the "*desert-border population*" appears also from the fact that in and near Safitah, a place in the Alouite mountains, which lies further away from the desert-border and connections of which with the larger desert-border cities consequently are not so easy as in the Lebanon and Antilebanon, this admixture fails, as is seen in fig. 13 in which the continuous curve of 145 Alouites from the surroundings of Tripolis (23), Safitah (94), and Bishraye (28) is superposed on the Lebanese curve.

The table (p. 24) shows that the real Lebanese and Aloui are equally hypsicephalic as the Armenians.

I may add to this that the blood type of the Lebanese (2.56), too, comes much nearer to the Armenian (2.31) than to the Beduin type (1.59). [143]

In the West this race has spread as far South as the mountains and coasts of Syria, but much less in Palestine, as appears from the fact that the Subarean peak(s) do not occur with the Palestinians (see below).

55: Kappers D-5 (ca. 1933) 1934 M1 Middle East M1
ALAWITE 1909
LEBANON 1911

Group	Length	Breadth	Height	Br. l. ind.	Br. h. ind.	L. h. ind.
Armenian ♂	18.14	15.62	13.11	86.11	83.93	72.27
Armenian ♀	17.84	15.09	12.36	86.04	82.18	70.71
Real Lebanese ♂	18.06	15.53	13.18	85.99	84.87	72.98
Real Lebanese ♀	17.41	14.95	12.55	85.87	83.95	72.08
Aloui (Chiefly ♂)	17.85	15.27	13.10	85.66	85.67	73.39

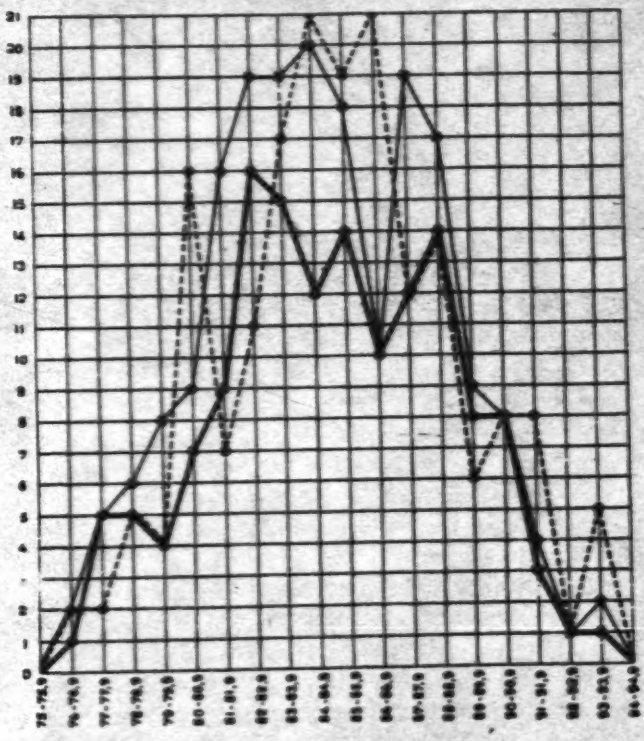

Fig. 13. Thick continuous curve: cephalic indices of 145 Aloutes measured by the author. Thin continuous curve: the nine plus 48 Annamites, measured by CHANTRE. Dotted curve: Lebanese indices.

Probably all the people hitherto described are related to the Subarean Hittites or Proto-Hittites, the Hurrians, as the area covered by this index people corresponds with the extent of the Hittite empire. This people covered Anatolian Armenia, invaded Mesopotamia on the East and in the West covered the mountainous ranges and coastland of Syria for many

55: Kappers D-5 (ca. 1933) 1934 M1 Middle East
ALAWITE M07
LEBANON M21
DRUZE MD6

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centuries B.C., while they occupied Palestine only temporarily and less numerously, the most Southern Hittite ruins being found near lake Tiberias.

Another prevailing brachycephalic — also partly hyperbrachycephalic people are the *Druses*, many of whom live also in the Lebanon, having their chief centre in the Hauran district, South of Damascus, North of Mount Hermon.

With Dr. Kh. FURAYHA I measured about 90 Druses, nearly all men. Their average measurements and indices were:

Group	Length	Breadth	Height	L. br. ind.	Br. h. ind.	L. h. ind.
Druses ♂	17.82	15.55	12.85	87.26	82.9	72.11

Miss N. IZZEDDIN, who measured a great many of her kinsmen, kindly gave me the following averages expressed in m.m. as a preliminary result of her work.

Druses	Length	Breadth	L. br. ind.	Height	Bizygom.
Men 20—65 y.	180.84 ± 0.34; T = 6.76	156.13 ± 0 29; T = 5.83	86.45 ± 0.19; T = 3.86	134.34 = 0.40; T = 8	139.72 ± 0.28; T = 5.6
Women 20—65 y.	171.89 ± 0.41; T = 6.42	149.59 ± 0.30; T = 4.74	87.18 ± 0.28; T = 4.37	126.77 ± 0.43; T = 6.74	130.9 ± 0.25; T = 3.96

Total fac. h.	Upp. fac. h.	Nasal h.	Nasal br.	Standing h.
126.37 = 0.33; T = 6.62	68.85 ± 0.25; T = 5	55.98 ± 0.19; T = 3.88	35.— ± 0.14; T = 2.76	165.6 ± 0.30 T = 6.04
114.5 = 0.34; T = 5.35	62.41 ± 0.23; T = 3.60	51.87 ± 0.23; T = 3.61	30.52 ± 0.15; T = 2.30	152.25 ± 0.31; T = 4.86

These indices[1]) as well as those measured by SHANKLIN, also registered in fig. 14, show the prevailing brachycephalic character of the Druses.

This also appears from the Druse skull — kindly given to me by a Druse — so that the authenticity of the material is guaranteed.

The planoccipital character, and height, of this skull are equally striking as with the Lebanese skull in the same figure 14a.

[1]) The curve of Miss IZZEDDIN's Druses always two indices (73 and 74; 75 and 76 etc.) are grouped together.

Communications are excellent in the coastal districts, but some parts of the interior are inaccessible, especially during the winter months, when snow accumulates on the mountain ridges. Good roads stretch north and south along the coast and in the Bekaa, but the lateral connections are restricted by the nature of the terrain and the shortage of suitable natural passes across the mountains. Trunk highways skirt the coast and extend from Beirut to Damascus, linking Lebanon and Syria. Beirut is also united with Damascus by a railway through Rayak, while a line from Rayak through Homs joins the Istanbul-Baghdad railway at Aleppo. Tripoli is linked with the latter system by a branch from Homs. A coastal railroad, extending from Tripoli to Haifa, was constructed by the British military forces during World War II, and the Lebanese portion is still in operation. Beirut, the principal modern port, handles a large volume of transit traffic for Syria, Jordan, Iraq and other parts of the Middle East. Tripoli is a port of secondary significance, except as an oil-shipping center. The ancient port of Sidon has recently been developed as the terminus of the trans-Arabian pipeline, serving as a Mediterranean port for the shipment of oil from the Saudi Arabian fields of the Arabian American Oil Company. The distances between local points are too short for the promotion of internal air services, but Beirut is an important junction for international airlines serving Europe and the Near and the Far East.

491 496 505 [315] 509

Food and Nutrition

The nutritional standards of the people differ according to the prosperity and the familiarity with food values of the individual families, but they are reasonably high in most parts of the country. Breads and a coarse-grained cereal known as *burghul*, which are usually prepared from wheat but sometimes from barley or millet, are staple foods in both urban and rural areas. Rice is popular among all groups of the population. Liberal amounts of milk are consumed

1/6 511 262

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
LEBANON ME1

in the form of cheese, buttermilk and *leben*, the last a fermented product made from cow's milk. Fresh milk is rarely used, however, except in limited sections in the larger cities. In the rural districts, milk is obtained chiefly from sheep and goats, less frequently from cows. Legumes, potatoes, onions and other vegetables are widely cultivated. Green, leafy varieties are scarce in the inland districts, but wild herbs are often utilized as substitutes. Many types of fruits are abundant, especially in the coastal valleys. They form important supplementary items of diet when in season.

Much of the meat is imported from Syria or Turkey, but relatively little reaches the people outside the larger towns. The average villager seldom consumes meat more than once a week. Mutton and, secondarily, beef are used most extensively. Both are employed, in a cooked or a raw state, in *kubi*, a national dish prepared from meat and *burghul*. Goat meat is found everywhere, while pork is available in the Christian communities. Poultry and eggs are plentiful in most localities and fish in the coastal region. Olive oil and butter are the primary sources of fats.

In spite of the generally satisfactory level of nutrition, a definite decrease in the consumption of protective foods is apparent in the inland districts and in South Lebanon. In 1950, the Lebanese government appointed a Nutrition Committee to promote a better understanding of the elementary principles of nutrition among the people. The different religious customs of the Moslem and the Christian communities influence their nutritional habits and limit the application of mass educational measures.

Housing

Lebanon has a large so-called middle class, and the disparity between the living conditions of the rich and the poor is less pronounced than in most of the neighboring countries. Moreover, many families maintain financial and social contacts with

scribed from Djounieh, on the coast about 30 miles north of Beirut. Microfilaria, supposedly of *Wuchereria bancrofti*, were found in the blood of 3 cases, while the fourth showed symptoms of hydrocele. Local authorities believe that the infection was introduced by African troops stationed in the area during World War II. Potential Culex vectors are abundant.

Nutritional Diseases

Undernutrition is seen predominantly among the children in the congested urban districts and in the poorer villages, where poverty, ignorance and, sometimes, intestinal parasitism are contributory factors. Nutritional diseases are relatively rare, but subclinical manifestations of avitaminosis are frequent. Rickets is often observed in South Lebanon: cases are attributed to the fact that many children are improperly fed and are confined indoors for long periods while their parents are at work in the fields.

Goiter is endemic in the vicinity of Zahle and Djezzin. Cases of cretinism are occasionally encountered.

Miscellaneous Conditions

Sporadic outbreaks of infectious hepatitis are reported, usually in the late summer or the fall. Children are primarily affected, but all age groups are represented in the various epidemics. Cases of encephalitis lethargica are diagnosed from time to time.

Q fever is enzootic among the livestock, and undoubtedly exists to some degree in the general population. In studies from the bacteriology department of the American University of Beirut,[41] a large proportion of positive reactions were obtained in complement fixation tests on blood serum samples from sheep, goats and cattle received from various countries in the Near East. In the serums collected from animals in Beirut, positive reactions were obtained in 25 per cent of 228 sheep tested, in 34 per cent of 134 goats and in 8 per cent of 97 cattle. The reaction rates with the serums from smaller numbers of animals from Tripoli

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 ME 1 Lebanon ME1

nians because the M,N frequencies had never been reported for this ethnic group. Our attempt to test the Druze, a special religious group, unfortunately never resulted in a large enough sample to have any value, but the results are presented for the sake of completeness.

Our blood group results on two tribes of Syrian Bedouin have already been reported (Boyd and Boyd, '38). The other Syrian results are reported here. They include tests on about 131 individuals from Boarij, 306 from Meshghara (both towns in the Lebanon), 339 Armenians living in Beyrouth and nearby Ghazir, and an insignificant sample of Druze from 'Abadiya, not far from 'Aley, on the way up from Beyrouth to Damascus. In addition to determining the blood groups and types, we also recorded in a rough way degrees of hair, eye, and skin pigmentation, looked for hair on the second phalanx of the fingers, and tested for taste reaction to phenyl-thio-carbamide. These results are also presented.

Methods of preparation of the sera we used have been presented previously (Boyd, '39 a). Groupings were carried out by the test-tube method, as recommended by Landsteiner and by Schiff (compare Boyd and Boyd, '37; Boyd, '39 b). In each day's set-up bloods of known type were included, to check the activity of the sera. The anti-B, -M, and -N sera were preserved with acriflavine, and the anti-A with brilliant green, as recommended by Rosenthal (Boyd, '39 a). They were transported in stoppered bottles in a tin box, protected with rubber pads, which was kept on ice as much of the time as possible.

Taste reactions to phenyl-thio-carbamide were tested by means of filter paper impregnated with the substance, as described by Parr, one of the first to call attention to the anthropological significance of taste reactions to this compound.

We framed our questions to the subjects with considerable care, and frequently used blank paper to check the honesty of replies. We found our smattering of Arabic in general sufficient for this work, so that it was not necessary to depend upon interpreters for the patient's reaction to the test substance. The subjects were always asked to compare the taste, if they perceived one, to that of a substance known to them, and if

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 ME 1 Lebanon ME1

they declared they tasted nothing, they were asked to consider 143
if they were tasting plain paper. They were tested one at a 125
time, to avoid suggestion so far as possible, and in places 151
where a high percentage were positive, enough blanks were interspersed among the tests to keep the rumour going about that some persons could taste this peculiar paper, while others could not. We also assured the patients in advance that no stigma, clinical or otherwise, attached to the ability or lack of ability to taste the substance. The work was of course less accurate, being carried out relatively hastily under "field" conditions, than a study made in the laboratory would have been. But we do not think that there are enough errors in our data to affect the percentages significantly.

Since our record of hair and eye color was incidental to the 142
blood grouping work, and usually had to be done hurriedly, 125
we adopted the simple plan of classifying by inspection all hair and eyes into four equal grades according to depth of pigmentation, ranging from the lightest "Nordics" to the darkest Africans. We planned to include in the first grade of hair blonds, ranging from albinos to Scandinavian blonds, in the second blonds and very light browns, in the third browns of different shades, in the fourth dark browns and blacks. In the case of eyes, grade 1 included the blues, 2 the dark blues and grays, 3 the "hazels" and browns, and 4 the dark browns and blacks. Of course such a classification is very crude, and we may unconsciously have varied our standards somewhat in different localities, but not enough, we feel, greatly to affect the results.

Degrees of skin pigmentation were similarly estimated: 1 signifies "white" skin and so on, up to 4 which includes the "blacks".

The presence or absence of hair on the second phalanx of 142
the fingers, inherited, according to Danforth, as a dominant, 143
was also observed rather hastily, to test if there were differ- 125
ences in frequency in different ethnic groups. The presence of even a single hair was taken as positive. Our results are probably only approximate (compare Boyd and Boyd, '37).

The results are presented in table 1.

143

TABLE 1

Blood groups

PLACE	RELIGION	SUBJECTS	PER CENT OF GROUP				GENE FREQUENCIES			
			O	A	B	AB	p	q	r	D/σ
Bourij	Muslim	131	23.7	37.4	29.8	9.1	.295	.344	.487	1.1
Mesbghara	Christian	107	29.0	35.5	28.0	7.5	.265	.217	.338	0.9
"	Muslim	199	44.7	40.2	11.6	3.5	.232	.081	.689	0.2
"	All	306	39.2	38.6	17.3	4.9	.256	.126	.626	0.8
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	340	27.7	53.5	13.2	5.6	.375	.113	.336	1.3
'Abadiya	Druse	28	21.4	67.9	7.1	3.6	.482	.071	.463	0.4

Gene frequencies calculated by relations: $r = \sqrt{O/100}$,

$p = \sqrt{O/100 + A/100} - \sqrt{O/100}$, $q = \sqrt{O/100 + B/100} - \sqrt{O/100}$.

$D = 1 - (p + q + r)$, $\sigma = \sqrt{\frac{pq}{2 \vee (1-p)(1-q)}}$

Blood types

PLACE	RELIGION	SUBJECTS	PER CENT OF GROUP			GENE FREQUENCIES		
			M	MN	N	m	n	D/σ
Bourij	Muslim	131	24.4	52.7	22.9	.508	.492	0.6
Mesbghara	Christian	107	34.6	51.4	14.0	.533	.347	0.7
"	Muslim	199	28.6	52.3	19.1	.548	.452	0.8
"	All	306	30.7	52.0	17.3	.567	.433	1.0
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	339	34.2	45.4	20.4	.569	.431	1.1
'Abadiya	Druse	28	53.6	39.3	7.1	.723	.267	0.6

Gene frequencies calculated by relations: $m = M/100 + MN/200$,

$n = N/100 + MN/200$, $D = 1 - (\sqrt{\frac{M}{100}} + \sqrt{\frac{N}{100}})$,

$\sigma = 0.5/\sqrt{V}$. (Compare Boyd, '38).

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Taste reaction to phenyl-thio-carbamide

PLACE	RELIGION	SEX	SUBJECTS	PER CENT POSITIVE OR NEGATIVE	
				+	—
Bourij	Muslim	Male	61	60.6	39.4
"	"	Female	58	75.9	24.1
Mesbghara	Christian	Male	82	69.5	30.5
"	"	Female	14	71.4	28.6
"	Muslim	Male	115	79.1	20.9
"	"	Female	56	89.3	10.7
"	All	Male	197	73.1	26.9
"	"	Female	70	85.7	14.3
Beyrouth and Ghazir (Armenians)	Christian	Male	147	72.8	27.2
	"	Female	164	77.4	22.6
'Abadiya	Druse	Male	9	66.7	33.3
"	"	Female	15	93.3	6.7

p. 323

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 ME] Lebanon ME1

It is our impression, however, that the Moslems in Meshghara represent the original population, while the Christians mostly represent a more recent immigration, probably from regions near the coast. The inhabitants of Boarij, and the inhabitants of Beyrouth tested by Parr ('31) show a per cent of group B somewhat in excess of that in the Moslems of Meshghara. It is somewhat difficult to test for the significance of this difference since Parr's results themselves do not seem to be altogether internally consistent. In any case, throughout the Near East, sharp local differences in racial characters can be observed, and are not surprising, in view of the intense conservatism of the local cultures.

Our A,B results for the Druze, doubtless because of the small size of the sample, do not agree well with those of Parr ('31); no significance can be attributed to this.

The results reported by Shanklin ('38) for the Bekaa and Alouites, whom he lists as mountain dwelling groups, are also different from each other, but perhaps not on the whole too different from our own.

The frequencies for the M,N types, the first to be reported for settled inhabitants of Syria, do not seem to present anything unusual. The M,N frequencies in Syrians and Armenians apparently do not differ notably from those in Europe, but do seem to differ from those in the only two tribes of Syrian Bedouin tested for M and N, where significantly low values of N were found (Boyd and Boyd, '38). We are inclined to consider this another example of the evolutionary effects of isolation (compare Boyd, '40). In M and N frequencies the Druze may resemble the Bedouin, for the χ^2 test indicates that the difference between the M,N frequencies of the Druze and the inhabitants of Boarij, for instance, is significant, in spite of the smallness of the samples. Of course, if the samples had been larger the difference might have been much less marked.

The taste reactions to phenyl-thio-carbamide show in every case the higher proportion of tasters among the females previously reported (Fisher and Brandt, '37; Boyd and Boyd, '37). The per cent of tasters is probably not significantly different in any of these villages from the results obtained for

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 M. E. Lebanon Mil
SYRIAN BEDOUIN MSS

other Near-Eastern peoples (Parr, '34; Boyd and Boyd, '37). The whole Near East, if we may generalize from the still relatively scanty data at our disposal, seems to be relatively homogeneous with respect to the "tasting" gene. Our results support a suggestion previously made by us that most of Parr's subjects were males.

It is still open to doubt if the presence of hair on the second phalanx is a simple hereditary character. In our previous report (Boyd and Boyd, '37 a), we mentioned that, although there was considerable variation in sex incidence, the racial variations observed were slight. On the whole, the same statement would also apply to our new data, but there is a suggestion that there is a higher incidence of mid-digital hair in Boarij than in Meshghara, for instance. Sewall ('39) found very few Eskimos had mid-digital hair, suggesting that strong racial differences may exist.

The grades of eye color found in the populations reported here are fairly consistent, with rather more light eyes than we found in Egypt. The hair pigmentation is on the whole dark, and it will be noted that in several cases there is a suggestion that the males are darker. A similar tendency was observed in some of the populations we reported in 1937. The skin is on the whole lighter than in Egypt, and again the males seem to be the darker. Greater exposure to the sun may be a contributing factor. The Armenians seem somewhat darker than the Syrians (compare Seltzer, '36). Our observations on Syrian pigmentation seem to agree roughly with those of Shanklin ('38).

Bedouin results. In addition to testing the blood groups of the Syrian Bedouin, we made other observations on them. The blood groups have been previously reported (Boyd and Boyd, '36), but it may be worth while to present here the other results, even though the conditions under which we had to work were such that our pigmentation, etc., figures for the Bedouin are less to be trusted (see table 2). The subjects were all males.

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 M61

always heterozygous. If inbreeding had modified the A,B groups notably, we should expect the frequency of group AB to be less than 2pq (the gene frequencies p and q are calculated from the frequencies of O, A, and B only). In fact, 2pq does give an expected percentage of group AB of 14.4 which is greater, but not significantly greater than the value found.

Whether a person of group A or group B is heterozygous or homozygous cannot be told readily except by test of his parents or offspring, or both, and even then the test will of course often be inconclusive, since human families are so often too small to give a sample of all the types of children an individual could produce. In our tests on the families of Bourij, we tested six families in which one of the parents belonged to group A or group B. In four of these families, the groups of the children proved the individual in question to have been heterozygous, a result which again does not suggest that the proportion of heterozygotes in the population of Bourij has been notably decreased by inbreeding.

As a rule when the anthropologist has invoked the concept of inbreeding, the exact genetic mechanism by which the character in question is determined has been obscure, so no test analogous to the above could be made. We venture to suggest that if in such cases tests could be made, inbreeding would be found not to be one of the major forces in the modification of the average local human population.[1]

SUMMARY

Tables showing the results of studies of blood groups, blood types, taste reaction to phenyl-thio-carbamide, mid-digital hair, and eye, hair, and skin pigmentation are presented for

[1] We are indebted to the officers of the Near Commissariat in Beyrouth, and in particular to M. le Général Martin, for permission and encouragement to carry out this work; to Miss Anne Fuller, holder of the Margaret E. Mackay Fellowship of the American Association of University Women, 1937-38, for assistance and hospitality in Bourij; to the Trabulsi family for hospitality and assistance in Mashghara; and to Drs. Berberian and Kassatly for help with the Armenian work. Miss Najla 'Arab-Ibn put us in touch with the Druze village of 'Aindjar. Many others, too numerous to mention here, made our difficult task somewhat lighter. To all of these we extend our best thanks.

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (397) 1941 MH Lebanon MH

the native inhabitants of three Syrian towns, and for Armenians now living in and near Beyrouth. Observations on the last five characteristics are presented for samples of two tribes of Syrian Bedouin. The effect of inbreeding on blood groups and types is discussed.

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The table in the upper part of the *mafʿal* was moved away first, and dancing continued as before in the space provided. In moments when there was no dancing, solo songs were sung by one or another sitting around the circle. A complete silence fell over the crowd while the *shāʿir* sang many verses in sonorous Classical Arabic of the tragic epic of Qays and Layla, whose plot, though set among Bedawin of the Umayyad period, bears striking resemblance to that of the story of Romeo and Juliet. During the recitation, familiar to all, the peoples' faces seemed thoughtful and reflective, and there was applause when the song was finished. Usually there was no applause after the dances during which everyone was clapping in time anyway.

The couple subsequently took up residence in the groom's own house. Neolocal residence is not uncommon at the present time, and it appears to be preferred by most young couples.

This account requires comment at a number of points.

1. In contrast to funerals, weddings are attended only by those who are invited. In this case the number of those invited by the groom was said to be limited because it was his second marriage, and because two large families happened to be in mourning, hence it was not fitting for their members to attend. Weddings are forbidden outright during the major part of Lent. There is a general sense of the incompatibility of happy and sad events or periods, and these rules and practices have the purpose of avoiding conflicts in emotions.

2. Peghiadi (1955, pp. 296–97) writes in some detail of what he calls a mock battle, of a verbal sort, which takes place in Maronite mountain villages when the groom's party approaches the bride's house. The incident reported above might not deserve to be called a verbal "mock battle" at all, but there was a definite sense of the groom's party being stopped for a time before it was allowed to approach and enter the house.

3. Writing of marriage practices in a Palestinian Muslim village, Granqvist (1935, p. 40) says that since they are losing a daughter, the bride's family do not rejoice at the wedding, and the bride herself is supposed to behave in a sad and subdued manner during the ceremony and must weep before leaving her father's house (*ibid.* p. 43). The same concept appears to be held by Lebanese Christians, and the behavior of the bride was undoubtedly largely conventional. The conventional aspect of this matter would explain the general lack of concern for the bride's tears. In this connection it should be mentioned that, like the European Mediterranean peoples, the Lebanese see no reason to suppress the expression of strong emotions in public. In fact, they interpret the inexpressiveness of North Europeans and their American cousins as evidence of either heartlessness or "deep-ness." By the same token, women in labor are free to scream loudly even when they are not actually suffering acute pain.

4. In the Middle East generally, the chief traditional solo woman's dance is some variation of what is commonly known as the "belly dance," the basic move-

1. - [A newly married couple of the village -- Analyst]

DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS OF THE LEBANON

By ELIAHU EPSTEIN

THE Lebanese Republic covers an area of about 10,000 sq. k.* The population was last assessed in the Order of the President dated June 17, 1943, as the number of citizens registered in the registration records on December 31, 1942. This Order also referred to a number of Lebanese who had emigrated but had retained their Lebanese citizenship.

The Order in question was published in connection with the elections to the Lebanese Parliament. Although the Moslem communities disagreed with the correctness of the number given, the Order remains the official document pending the holding of a general Census which will determine the figures more precisely.

The following is the table which served as the foundation for fixing the population of the Lebanon as on January 1, 1943:†

Communities.	Inhabitants.	Emigrants.	Total.
Maronites — — — —	518,000	91,276	609,276
Sunni — — — —	195,000	4,953	199,953
Shi'ah — — — —	100,000	2,000	102,000
Greek Orthodox — — —	166,000	33,000	199,000
Druses — — — —	71,711	4,000	75,711
Greek Catholics — — —	61,000	13,000	74,000
Armenian Orthodox (Gregorians)	58,000	8,000	66,000
Minorities — — — —	41,000	2,000	43,000
Total	1,084,411	159,571	1,243,982

The following are the estimated figures for the movement of population in the Lebanon, and the estimated natural increase:‡

Communities.	1932 Census.	End 1943.	Difference.	Percentage.
Sunni — —	179,687	195,000	15,313	8·5
Shi'ah — —	155,153	100,000	44,153	28·5
Druses — —	68,207	71,711	3,504	5·0
Maronites —	463,620	518,000	54,380	11·0
Greek Catholics	55,045	61,000	5,955	10·5
Greek Orthodox	92,000	166,000	74,000	13·0

The instructive conclusions which can be drawn from these tables are:

(a) Most of the emigrants from the Lebanon and those who continue

* Since the demarcation of the Syro-Lebanese Frontier has not been completed, estimates of the area of the two States vary. The area of the Autonomous Sanjak of the Lebanon (1861-1915) was 6,700 kilometres and its population was 400,000.

† "Le Syrie et l'Orient," Beirut, 20-25, 6, 1943.

‡ *Ibid.* The figures in these tables and the statistical calculations should be accepted with extreme caution on account of the backward methods used for demographical statistics in the Lebanon.

2c Syntelic 8-8 (no date) 1946 MEL Lebanon MEL

to maintain their Lebanese citizenship abroad are Christians, the over-

(e) The natural increase among the non-Christian population of the Lebanon, and particularly of the Shi'ah and the Druze, is more than twice as great as that of the Christian population. These facts can serve as a key to explain various developments, the influence of which may be decisive in shaping the social character and political fate of the Lebanon.

Any person reviewing the demographic problems of the Lebanon cannot but observe a number of factors common to the Christian population of the Lebanon and the Yishuv (the Jewish community) in Palestine. The natural increase of the Christians in the Lebanon is roughly equal to that of the Yishuv in Palestine.*

Against this, however, the Yishuv in Palestine has incomparably more potential reserve in the way of immigration from abroad than that which is available to the Lebanese Christians through the return of emigrants. And just as the chief concern of Zionism in Palestine is the creation of possibilities for the absorption of fresh immigrants from abroad, so the Christians of the Lebanon are faced first and foremost with the problem of preventing emigration from the country, and, in consequence, the creation of opportunities for absorbing emigrants who do return and who can return to their homeland, given suitable absorptive conditions. In addition, attention is devoted to the creation of opportunities for absorbing Christians who require a refuge.

The absence of dynamic economic resources in the Lebanon which could increase and expand the sources of livelihood for a progressive population has led to a steady emigration from the country since the middle of the last century. This process has chiefly affected the Christians whose requirements are more developed and whose living standards are higher than those of their Druze and Moslem neighbours; it has created a serious social and political problem which, taken together with their lower rate of natural increase, places the future of the Lebanese Christians in permanent danger.

Robert Widmer described the economic reasons for a migration from the Lebanon in the following passage:†

> "Lebanon is over-populated. As has been stated, the density of population is about 93 people to a square kilometre. In view of the topography of the country, its rocky mountains and its thin soil, its scarcity of mineral wealth, and its undeveloped industries, the land cannot support all its people. Consequently it is to be expected that some of them have to emigrate, leaving many dependent on their remittances."

As long as emigration was temporary, it was in many ways advantageous. To the general broadening of outlook resulting from contact with more advanced countries were added the material benefits of an increase in the country's capital (brought in by returning emigrants), an out-

* Pessimism prevails among the Christians of the Lebanon as regards future prospects among the Jews of Palestine.

† S. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 14.

9:Lebanon G-3 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

• 161

POPULATION DENSITY

Per square mile

Eight villages in project and control area ..... 100 persons per sq mile

For comparison:

LEBANON ..... 300 persons per sq mile

UNITED KINGDOM ..... 500 persons per sq mile

JAPAN ..... 600 persons per sq mile

Price 6 — 2

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 ME1 Lebanon ME1

• 161

POPULATION

Each figure represent 1000 people

Total population in five project villages.

total: 5645

Total population in three control villages.

total: 3915

9: Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

Population

Accurate current population figures are not available for Lebanon. Only one true census has been made since the days when Lebanon was a part of the Ottoman Empire. This census was made in 1932 during the French mandate. It is out of date and so is of little use where present population data are required.

An attempt to establish what the current population is was made in this survey. The basic method was to obtain an estimate by the mukhtar. In all cases his estimate was discussed by other village leaders who were present during the interview and the figure taken was the one the group agreed upon. As the mukhtar is the official government representative in the village, and included among his duties is the registration of births and deaths, he is the best available source for population information. Discussion by other villagers tended to reduce bias and made for as accurate an estimate as possible.

Since the figures obtained from the mukhtar are at best only considered estimates, it was decided to check his figures through a sampling technique. Village residences were counted, a sample of about 15 per cent was selected at random, and a house-to-house inquiry was made to determine the number of persons living in each one of the dwelling units selected. After the average number of persons in a household in the sample was determined, the total village population was derived by multiplying this number times the number of residences.

The results of this sampling can be seen in Table II. It should be noted that they coincide closely to the estimates furnished by the mukhtar. The total population in the project area according to the housing sample is 5,555 while the estimates of the various mukhtars give a total of 5,645. The average size of a household in the five project villages is 6.1 persons.

In light of the close agreement shown between the total population figures achieved by the sample and from the mukhtars, the inclination is to accept such estimates as being reasonably accurate. The results shown Table II are believed to be more reliable than any other available data arrived at to date. It is recommended that the population estimate made by the mukhtars (column 4, Table II) be accepted as correct for use in connection with the Improvement Project.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

161
592

TABLE II

Population

Kasmie Rural Improvement Project

Dei'ah	(1) Number of Houses	(2) Average Number of Persons per House	(3) Population Col. (1) x Col. (2)	(4) Population as Estimated by Mukhtar
Project Area				
Sarafand	310	5.5	1705	1800
Saksakiyah	198	5.8	1148	1025
Loubya	59	5.7	336	320
En-Nsariyah	92	7.1	653	800
'Adloun	252	6.8	1713	1700
Sub-total for project villages	911	(Weighted) 6.1	3555	5645
Control Area				
El-Ghaziyah	310	8.3	2573	3200
En-Najjariyah	60	6.1	366	540
El-'Addousiyah	27	6.8	183	175
Sub-total for control villages	397	(Weighted) 7.9	3122	3915
Total	1308	(Weighted) 6.6	8677	9560

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

Egypt, Turkey, and Lebanon, it is the agricultural village that is paramount. The Lebanese, it is true, are generally known abroad as a trading people, whose ships have sailed throughout the Mediterranean world since ancient times. But this urban, merchant community has always been backed by the rural community of the Mountain.

In few other countries do we find the village-community type of human settlement so firmly established and so influential in the development of national life as in Lebanon. The village has existed continuously there since ancient times. Despite great upheavals, the farmer of Lebanon has patiently and persistently cultivated the soil, produced his crops, and raised his livestock. He has found in the rugged mountains a refuge from persecution and oppression. He has adapted himself efficiently to the difficult terrain, blasting the rocks and terracing the steep slopes in order to make room for his trees, vines, and grains. Over many centuries of adjustment to his peculiar physical and societal environment, he has succeeded in developing a clearly defined and firmly established way of life. He stands at present as the main pillar of national life in the mountains of Lebanon, the embodiment of a long and rich cultural heritage.

In appraising the significance of the village community in the life of present-day Lebanon, one can readily point out three major contributions. The first of these is biological: the replenishment and revitalization of the population in general, and of the urban population in particular. A study of the development of Lebanon over the past half century reveals clearly that rural areas have been mainly responsible for the building up of the flourishing urban or partly urban centers of Sidon, Beirut, Tripoli, and Zahleh. They have maintained a high birth rate, true to the trend prevailing in all rural areas of the Middle East. Due to a healthful climate and relatively high standards of sanitation, infant mortality has been lower in Lebanon than in the other countries of the Middle East. The result has been a constant stream of vigorous emigrants leaving the villages for urban centers.

Some fifty years ago this population overflow produced such pressure on the limited land and technological resources of

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Lebanon that it could no longer be absorbed within the country. The village folk had the choice of submitting to a life of poverty or of emigrating abroad, seeking new opportunities and fortunes. The first alternative was incompatible with their cultural heritage. They were mostly independent farm owners, not share croppers; they were awakened by a comparatively high degree of learning; they were exposed to influences of the West; and they had a long history of struggle against great odds, demanding initiative and enterprise on the part of the individual and the group.

Consequently, they resorted to emigration for relief. Some sought opportunities in the urban centers of neighboring Arab countries. They established themselves there as merchants, teachers, publishers, doctors, and as government officials in various capacities. Most of them, however, turned toward the promising New World, north and south. It is estimated that these emigrants, together with the families they have reared, now exceed in number the population resident in Lebanon itself.

Recent estimates put the population of Lebanon at 1.2 million, of whom about 75 percent are rural. There seems to be no slackening in the high rate of increase. The density of population, one of the highest in the world, amounts to about 300 per square mile of total area, and 1,200 per square mile of cultivated area. In the Middle East it is exceeded only by Egypt, which holds the world record with a density of about 2,000 per square mile of cultivated area.

This biological resource of the village community constitutes both a serious problem and a challenge to Lebanon. Emigration possibilities for the surplus population are no longer as readily available as they were prior to a decade or two ago. A realistic, long-range solution lies in the application of an enlightened population policy and developmental program that would result in controlled growth on the one hand, and in the efficient development of the country's natural resources on the other.

The second major contribution of the village community to the country is economic. This is readily apparent and needs little elaboration. Dwellers in the villages are the farming folk of Lebanon. Their agricultural activity is the mainstay of the

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
SYRIA MD1
LEBANON ME1

S L 133

twenty degrees of latitude. The desert in Syria is of rock and gravel more than of sand, and there are hills rising above 3,000 feet both north and south of Palmyra; more than a third of the total area of Syria is steppe or desert.

Rivers

The Orontes flows from the northern part of the Biqaa through the lake of Homs (which holds about 260 million cubic yards of water) to Hama and through the Ghab depression to Turkey. The Litani rises not far from the Orontes but flows at first southward and later west through a deep gorge in the Lebanon mountains into the sea between Tyre and Sidon. The Euphrates runs through Syria for about 430 miles and has, as tributaries from the north, the Balikh and the Khabur. It is on the Euphrates and its tributaries that there is the best prospect of developing hydro-electricity and irrigation.

Climate[1]

S L 132

Over this diverse scene the temperatures vary in the year from below freezing to above 100°F., and on the same day it is possible to ski near the cedars of Lebanon and swim in the sea at Beirut. The rain, which in most places comes between November and February, varies from almost nothing in the desert to about 40 inches a year in the mountains. In the coastal strip the winters are not severe but there is high humidity and small diurnal variation in the summer and this makes the season seem unpleasant and prolonged. In the mountains the snow lies on the topmost peaks for most of the year and the road from Beirut to Damascus is blocked by snow at times in most winters; in the summer the days are hot but the nights are cool enough to draw up to the mountains most of the inhabitants of Beirut. The plateaux and desert have an inland climate with low humidity and higher extremes of heat and cold. Aleppo has greater extremes than Damascus but in both cities there is a distinction between the four seasons: spring from mid-March to mid-May, summer from mid-May to the beginning of October, autumn in October and early November, and winter from November to March.

The People

S L 161 162

Official statistics showed that in 1951 the populations of Syria and of Lebanon were 3,329,137, and 1,303,941 respectively. Over half the inhabitants are engaged in agriculture, about half a million are nomads, and the rest live in towns. The

[1] See table, below, p. 501.

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chief towns of Syria and their populations are: Aleppo, 339,000 Damascus, the capital, 303,000; Hama, 134,000; Latakia, 90,000; Dair az-Zor, 65,000: of the Lebanon—Beirut, the capital, 247,000; Tripoli, 86,000; Sidon (Saida), 78,800; Zahle, 78,031. The population of each country is increasing by about 2 per cent a year. Between half a million and a million Syrians and Lebanese live abroad, mainly in the Americas and Africa; emigration continues; during 1952 about 100 Lebanese emigrated monthly, most of them to South America.

Religions

RELIGIOUS SECTS AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION

	Syria		Lebanon	
	Population in 1947	*Seats in 1947*	*Population in 1951*	*Seats in 1952*
Sunni	2,040,908	100	273,125	9
Shiis (incl. Alawis)	447,993	13	237,107	8
Druze	96,641	3	82,268	3
Maronite	14,133	1	377,544	13
Orthodox Greek	144,517	7	130,858	5
Orthodox Armenian	104,925	2	67,139	2
Orthodox Syrian (Jacobite)	43,081	2	4,562	
Catholic (Latin rite)	6,125		4,127	
Catholic (Greek rite)	49,543	2	81,764	3
Catholic (Syrian rite)	17,613	1	5,911	
Catholic (Armenian rite)	17,493	1	14,218	
Catholic (Chaldean rite)	4,991			
Protestants	11,959		12,641	
Nestorians	9,630			
Jews	30,873	1	5,993	
Others			6,684	
Minorities		3		1
TOTAL:	3,043,310	136	1,303,441	44

The language of the great majority of Syrians and Lebanese is Arabic, and they think of themselves as Arabs. There are minorities of race, religion, and language:[1] the Kurds number between 100,000 and 200,000 and are mainly in northern Syria; most of them speak Kurdish but are progressively becoming less and less distinct from the Arabs. The Armenians, who live mainly in the three principal cities, now number about 140,000, although some 20,000 emigrated to Soviet Armenia in the 1940's. Most of them came as refugees from the Turks after the First World War. Other racial minorities are the Turkomans, Circassians, and Assyrians. Most of the religious sects

[1] For further details see A. H. Hourani, *Minorities in the Arab World* (London, Oxford University Press for RIIA, 1947).

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SYRIA AND LEBANON

During the recent war there was an expansion of cultivation in Syria as a result of high prices and mechanization. The previous table shows the cultivable and cultivated land in different provinces and the distribution of these areas in 1943.

Little is known about the rate of population growth, but it is believed to be rapid. According to the most recent estimates the total in 1944 was 3,987,012, of which the population of Syria was 2,860,411 and of the Lebanon 1,126,600. The population of Syria was divided as follows:

SYRIA: POPULATION AT END OF 1943

Province	*Total*
Latakia	452,507
Aleppo	870,139
Hama	157,458
Homs	212,424
Hauran	112,842
Damascus	603,889
Euphrates	225,023
Jezira	146,001
Jebel ed Druz	80,128
TOTAL	2,860,411

(This estimate excludes the Beduin, whose number is estimated at 400,000.)

About three-quarters of this total, or about 2·1 million, are rural. The amount of cultivated land per head is 2½ acres, but because cultivation is so extensive the area actually cropped is only some 1½ acres.

Lebanon, by contrast with the dry plains of Syria, is intensively cultivated because of the high rainfall on the coast line; yields per acre are higher, and crops are more diversified, including citrus, olives, bananas; small irrigation schemes have been developed along the coast on the streams from the Mountain. The Lebanon depends for part of its grain supply on Syria, and all the cultivated land is cropped. The cultivated area in 1943 amounted to 1·3 million acres. The total population in 1944 was estimated to be 1,126,600; of this probably about 750,000 are rural, and the amount of cultivated land is about 1½ acres per head.

Grain production in Syria and Lebanon together before 1939 averaged 800,000 tons and rose to about 1 million tons during the recent war.

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East
Lebanon MEI

CHAPTER V

COTTON IN LEBANON

000 Lebanon is the smallest, the most cosmopolitan, and one of the most progressive countries in the Middle East. Beirut, the capital, is a modern, pleasant summer resort, whose shops are known over the world. Probably this contact with the world through Beirut explains the strong Western influence in the country.

But Beirut is not Lebanon, and tourism and commerce still are minor aspects of the economy, which still is primarily agricultural. The country as a whole has not modernized as much as the cities. The farmers are much more provincial.

BACKGROUND

133 311 The country has limited resources. The total area is less than 4,000 square miles, a third the size of Maryland, and most of it is mountainous. The crop land is limited to the narrow coastal plain which averages only four miles in width, and to the numerous fairly small valleys in the mountains.

● 161 Lebanon always has had a great many more people than its agriculture can sustain. In the past this pressure was relieved by emigration, but restrictions of the past 25 years, at home and abroad, have checked the exodus and intensified the problem. The population is now about 1.2 million.

642 Progress has been encouraged by the government which is admittedly one of the most stable in the Middle East, despite its lack of experience. Lebanon became an independent Republic only in 1943, after the French mandate was ended. It has been remarkably independent and practical and has not allowed itself to become embroiled in nationalistic issues as many of the other Arab states have.

INDUSTRY

493 With few exceptions, industries are small and devoted chiefly to the production of light consumer goods such as matches, rubber goods, soap, furniture, cigarettes, beer, macaroni, biscuits, and olive oil. The two chief basic industries are the Iraq Petroleum Company's Tripoli topping plant and the Chekka cement factory. Other basic manufacturing plants include cotton textiles, glass, and sole leather.

AGRICULTURE

241 Roughly a third of the tilled land is devoted to cereals and the balance to a wide variety of crops—fruit trees, vineyards, vegetables, and a number of industrial crops including cotton. Approximately 15 per cent of this area is left fallow each year.

The western plains receive 20 to 35 inches of rainfall a year, and that only during the winter months. Because of the dry summers, a few of the crops

63:Simmons et al G-8 (1941-1952) 1964
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LEBANON MEI

122 mean temperature at Beirut ranges from 56° to 60° F. in January and February and from 78° to 82° F. in July and August. The corresponding mean maximum temperatures average 63° to 68° F., and 88° to 92° F., respectively; the mean minimum, 48° to 52° F., and 70° to 74° F., respectively. The daily range approaches 10° to 15° F. in the summer and somewhat less in the winter. The relative humidity reaches 70 to 75 per cent during the summer and the winter months, but drops to 61 to 66 per cent in the transition periods. In general, the temperatures in the Bekaa are comparable with those of the littoral region, but the seasonal and the daily fluctuations are greater, while the humidity is lower.

POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Population

161 The population of Lebanon was estimated at about 1,229,500 in 1948, an increase of over 400,000 since the last census in 1932.

162 795 The people are of mixed ethnic origin, although ancient Semitic and Arabic strains predominate in all parts of the country. Lebanon occupies a unique position among the Arab states, in that Christian and Moslem elements are almost equally prominent, both numerically and politically, among the indigenous populations. The official statistics are compiled on the basis of religious affiliations, emphasizing the vital role of the different communities in the life of the State. The Maronites, Catholics who adhere to eastern forms of ritual but have acknowledged allegiance to the Vatican since the 12th century, numbered around 359,200, or almost 29 per cent of the population, in 1948. They represent the largest single group, and are concentrated to a considerable extent in the coastal mountain districts from Tripoli to Sidon. The remaining Christian minorities included about 123,200 Greek Orthodox, 73,400 Greek Catholics, 63,900 Armenian Orthodox, 13,600 Armenian Catholics, 12,000 Protes-

83:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1952) 1284
MI Middle East

many LEBANON NE1
have retained close contact with their homeland, a factor which has had a profound influence on the social and the economic development of the country.

Unlike the neighboring Arab states, Lebanon is a compact territory. The density of population in the four administrative provinces, exclusive of Beirut district, averaged over 300 per square mile in 1948. It was 484 per square mile in Mount Lebanon, 336 in North Lebanon, and 291 in South Lebanon, but declined to 101 in the potentially fertile districts of the Bekaa. About 60 per cent of the inhabitants live under rural conditions in some 2,300 large or small villages. Urbanization has increased progressively within recent years, however, and almost one half of the population is now concentrated within easy access of Beirut. The city, which is not only the capital and the industrial metropolis of Lebanon but the principal port for the Levant states, had a population of 300,000 to 400,000 in 1950. Tripoli, the second largest city and the terminus of the pipeline from the oil fields in northern Iraq to the Mediterranean, had a population of roughly 78,000. Numerous towns in the southern and the central portions of the Lebanon range are popular resorts, with an annual influx of summer residents.

The fact that Beirut has become one of the leading cultural and educational centers of the Near East has stimulated the spread of education in the rest of the country. The literacy rate is consistently higher among the men than among the women: it probably averages from 75 to 90 per cent in Beirut and the neighboring districts of Mount Lebanon and from 40 to 60 per cent in the other provinces. The expansion of education has been influenced by the activity of French, American and other foreign groups, but the division between the different systems has hindered the development of a unified national program. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory, although the facilities are inadequate, especially in the rural areas of the south.

p. 111(A)

83 Simmons et al G-8 (1941-1942) 1954
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and Sidon were roughly comparable. In a series of 1,151 complement fixation tests on miscellaneous human serums sent to the Wassermann laboratory of the University hospital, 7 per cent gave a positive reaction with Q fever antigen.

SUMMARY

Lebanon, formerly one of the French-mandated Levant states, has been an independent republic since 1943. It is a compact territory, with an estimated population in 1948 slightly in excess of 1,220,500 and a density of roughly 300 inhabitants per square mile. Unlike the surrounding Arab countries, the Christian and the Moslem elements of the population are almost equal in collective numerical strength and political importance.

Responsibility for the health of the people resides in the Ministry of Public Health of the Lebanese government, which acts in co-operation with other ministries and numerous philanthropic and religious organizations. The public health and the medical care functions of the Ministry are directed from Beirut. The city is one of the leading medical centers of the Near and Middle East, with two university medical schools and associated hospitals. In 1948, there were 73 hospitals (including sanatoria) in the country, with an aggregate capacity of 5,181 beds, or approximately 4.2 beds per 1,000 population. Eight hospitals were maintained by the Ministry of Public Health, while 56 were conducted under private or philanthropic auspices and 9 by foreign organizations. In addition to the outpatient services of the hospitals, a central polyclinic, 17 rural dispensaries and 4 tuberculosis clinics were operated by the Ministry; a polyclinic by the municipal health department in Beirut; 16 dispensaries by the Lebanese Red Cross; and various units by other organizations.

Water supplies are derived from streams, springs or wells, and are usually abundant in the coastal region but often deficient in the interior. Treated municipal water sup-

DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS OF THE LEBANON

By ELIAHU EPSTEIN

THE Lebanese Republic covers an area of about 10,000 sq. k.* The population was last assessed in the Order of the President dated June 13, 1932, as the number of citizens registered in the registration records on December 31, 1931. This Order also referred to a number of Lebanese who had emigrated but had retained their Lebanese citizenship.

The Order in question was published in connection with the elections in the Lebanese Parliament. Although the Muslim communities disagreed with the conclusions of the earlier given, the Order remains the official document pending the holding of a general Census which will determine the figures more precisely.

The following is the table which served as the foundation for fixing the population of the Lebanon as on January 1, 1943:†

Communities	Inhabitants	Emigrants	Total
Maronites	318,201	91,270	409,471
Sunni	225,594	4,913	230,507
Shi'ah	200,698	9,367	210,065
Greek Orthodox	106,658	33,655	140,313
Druzes	71,711	4,863	76,574
Greek Catholics	61,956	13,272	75,228
Armenian Orthodox (Gregorians)	58,007	66	58,073
Minorities	41,596	2,159	43,755
Total	1,084,421	159,571	1,243,992

The following are the estimated figures for the movement of population in the Lebanon, and the estimated natural increase:‡

Communities.	*1932 Census.*	*End 1943.*	*Difference.*	*Percentage.*
Sunni	179,667	225,594	45,927	31·1
Shi'ah	159,133	200,698	41,565	38·5
Druzes ...	56,297	71,711	15,414	38·0
Maronites ...	269,620	318,201	48,581	18·0
Greek Catholics	55,045	61,956	6,911	12·5
Greek Orthodox	92,991	106,658	13,667	13·0

The instructive conclusions which can be drawn from these tables are:

(a) Most of the emigrants from the Lebanon and those who continue

* Since the demarcation of the Syro-Lebanese Frontier has not been completed, estimates of the areas of the two States vary. The area of the Autonomous Sanjak of the Lebanon (1860-1915) was 5,700 kilometres and its population was 400,000.

† "La Syrie et l'Orient," Beirut. 22-23, 6, 1943.

‡ *Ibid.* The figures in these tables and the statistical calculations should be accepted with extreme caution on account of the backward methods used for demographical statistics in the Lebanon.

ing Christians who require a refuge.

The absence of dynamic economic resources in the Lebanon which could increase and expand the sources of livelihood for a progressive population has led to a steady emigration from the country since the middle of the last century. This process has chiefly affected the Christians whose requirements are more developed and whose living standards are higher than those of their Druze and Moslem neighbours; it has created a serious social and political problem which, taken together with their lower rate of natural increase, places the future of the Lebanese Christians in permanent danger.

Robert Widmer described the economic reasons for a migration from the Lebanon in the following passage:†

> "Lebanon is over-populated. As has been stated, the density of population is about 93 people to a square kilometre. In view of the topography of the country, its rocky mountains and its thin soil, its scarcity of mineral wealth, and its undeveloped industries, the land cannot support all its people. Consequently it is to be expected that some of them have to emigrate, leaving many dependent on their remittances."

As long as emigration was temporary, it was in many ways advantageous. To the general broadening of outlook resulting from contact with more advanced countries were added the material benefits of an increase in the country's capital (brought in by returning emigrants), an out-

* Fourteen pro-mille among the Christians of the Lebanon as against fifteen pro-mille among the Jews of Palestine.

† S. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 14.

Mount Lebanon, which is twice, or three, as large as the Druses and Shiites, also raises a serious problem for the latter, even in their chief stronghold. Any free-will relinquishment by the Christians of the present boundaries of the Lebanese Republic, and their return to the boundaries of their period of autonomy between 1861 and 1915, would not serve to solve the main problem of preserving the Christian character of their country for any length of time.

167 This situation faces the Lebanese Christians with a number of grave
168. and urgent problems which require solution in the economic field: the creation of conditions that will first and foremost prevent emigration, which chiefly affects the Christian population and systematically reduces their numbers in the country; and, in addition, the development of possibilities for absorbing returning emigrants and Christian immigrants from the neighbouring countries. In any case of organized population transfer in this part of the world for the sake of territorial concentration in accordance with common religious and communal character, the Lebanon would be more suitable than any other Middle Eastern region for serving as a centre for the Christians.

* Most of these are Orthodox (Gregorians). The Catholics and Protestants among them are included under "minorities" in the tables given above.

The total population counted for the Core Group, 323, includes married women from other villages in the Qurnā or from outside the Qurnā (the latter are rare). It also includes Core Group women who have been taken by men from outside the Qurnā or from other villages in the Qurnā (the latter are rare), but it does not include their husbands or their children except, of course, in the case of Affiliate Families. The first inclusion conforms with the law and with general attitudes, both of which hold that a woman becomes a member of her husband's family. The second inclusion conforms with another cultural norm to the effect that marriage to an outsider does not disown a woman from affiliation with her natal family or lineage. (The father, brothers, or patrilineal first cousins of a woman whose marriage, for any reason, is dissolved are morally obligated to come to her assistance if necessary.)

Three families have been excluded from the Core Group count. The first is that of a Greek Orthodox man from Beirut who rents a house in Mīlwī for the summer. He is not a legal resident of the village. His wife is a sister of two Core Group members, but their family has predominantly outside connections.

The second is a family of lineage AJV which has lived in Jbeyl for several decades and appears to have lost all but nominal connection with the village.

The third excluded family perhaps should not be excluded. It lives in Burbara close. The head of the family was in America for a long time. When he returned to Munṣif, his brother had taken over the family house, and there was no room for him. He bought land in Burbara and settled there. The legal residence of the family was not ascertained. The wife is a member of lineage C.XXI, and there are ten children—six daughters, and four sons. Three of the daughters are married—one to a member of her own minimal lineage, C.XVI, another to a Greek Orthodox outsider (in 1943), and the third to a Maronite (in 1946).

One birth, four marriages, and two deaths occurred during the period of study, and the various tabulations take cognizance of all but the deaths. As of the beginning of the study, the Core Group included nine widowers (two of whom were married twice) and twenty-three widows, (eight and twenty-two at the end of the study). The marriages which these individuals contracted are *included* in the marriage data which will be analyzed in a later chapter.

AGE AND SEX RATIOS

Table 3 shows the Core Group in terms of age and sex. It will be observed that females exceed males by only seven, 265 as against 258. In the writer's opinion, the only striking fact which the table reveals is the disproportionately small size of age group 25–34 in the females and age group 25–44 in the males. For this, there are three possible explanations: (1) Emigration was at its peak in the years immediately preceding World War I, and so a large number of potential

7: Golick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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TABLE 3. CORE GROUP: BY AGE AND SEX

Age Group	Male	Female	Total	Age Group	Male	Female	Total
0- 4	24	19	43	50-54	17	11	28
5- 9	23	26	49	55-59	8	7	15
10-14	31	27	58	60-64	6	10	16
15-19	31	31	62	65-69	3	3	6
20-24	30	25	55	70-74	1	6	7
25-29	20	21	41	75-79	2	3	5
30-34	10	11	21	80-84	1	—	1
35-39	13	23	36	85-89	1	1	2
40-44	13	20	33		—	—	—
45-49	22	19	41	Total	258	265	523

parents and older members of these age groups were removed from the scene at that time. (2) It was said that during the War one hundred villagers died directly or indirectly of malnutrition which was a consequence of the Turkish blockade of Lebanon and other evils caused by the war. It is reasonable to suppose that children and adolescents formed a large proportion of those who succumbed during the crisis. (3) No marriages were contracted during the war years. In this connection, we are reminded of Jurkat's statement (1944, p. 311) that the steady population growth of Lebanon was interrupted in the period 1915–1922.

Table 4 shows the number of living children for each married pair (including widows and widowers) in the village. It includes twenty couples, who are probably still in the process of enlarging the number of their children. There were only two cases of childless couples.

No data were obtained on infant and child mortality. The writer's impression is that in recent years, at least, the rate has been low. The table represents a considerable time-span, but all within the period of acculturation. Within this period, no general shift in the number of children per couple is evident. The village genealogy is not suitable for estimating the number of children in past periods

TABLE 4. NUMBER OF LIVING CHILDREN PER MARRIED COUPLE

Number of Children	Number of Couples	Number of Children	Number of Couples
1	6	7	3
2	16	8	3
3	20	9	1
4	12		
5	11	Mean number of children	3.8
6	6	Modal number of children	3.0

421 162 ...women in this study only. For comparative purposes, all we have is Thomas's statement that in Rahalmiyeh, a mainly Greek Orthodox village near Tripoli, women of two generations ago had an average of five children apiece, whereas the women of a Lebanese emigrant community in the southern part of the United States have an average of 3.6 apiece. The members of this community came from Rahalmiyeh, Mtoqfel, and Ghazzeiyeh (Thomas, 1949a, p. 166).

HEALTH

114 297 With a few exceptions, the villagers gave the impression of being in excellent health and there was clear evidence that modern medical practice and practitioners were utilized if necessary as a matter of course. Two villagers had been physicians themselves, a matter of some pride. One is now dead, and the other is retired from practice because of advanced age.

421 512 There is certainly no evidence of physical or mental defects which can clearly be ascribed to inbreeding. Actually, in view of recent studies, we should not expect to find any. It has been suggested, for example, that the genetic composition of a population in which second-cousin marriage is the regular practice is altered comparatively little even after as many as fifteen generations (Khalidun & Gulick, 1956, p. 404). Mtoqfel has been a predominantly endogamous population for fifteen generations at most, and if present conditions are any indication of those of the past, the marriage of second, or closer, cousins is relatively infrequent.

The living patterns of the summer residents generally resemble to the wife and non-working children living in the village for about three months in the summer. Heads of households and working children commute, usually by day taxi, of course, spend their vacations of two to four weeks in the village. This pattern is familiar to Americans who can afford it. In Lebanon, however, it is a money-saving device as well as an escape from the summer discomforts of the city. City living is definitely more expensive than village living. This has evidently always been true, but the situation has been greatly aggravated since 1940. In Beirut, food prices increased about five hundred per cent between 1940 and 1950, other commodities about four hundred per cent, causing severe hardship especially among the lower and middle classes (Gaulis, 1951, pp. 111–12). This fact accounts for the occurrence of eight households in which the children and usually the wives live in the village all year around, while the husbands commute, usually returning to the village only on weekends.

When we look at Table 1 from the point of view of sources of income, we can deduce that the trend to urbanism is definitely increased as contrasted with urbanism in terms of residence only. Twenty-six (virtually 30 per cent) of the heads of household have city jobs and presumably support their families primarily thereby. In addition, a large number of unmarried young adults have city jobs. As we shall see shortly, the village is preponderantly dependent upon urban, rather than rural, sources of income. In this connection, we may cite Jordan who classifies Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and western Turkey as an area in which less than 70 per cent of the population are dependent upon agriculture (Jordan, 1944, p. 102).

Twenty-two individuals are listed as "absent." Of these seventeen are women who have married outsiders and are living away from the village, returning only for occasional visits. Most of them are living in Lebanon. The remainder, eight persons, are living outside of Lebanon, mostly in Baghdad. They maintain contact with the village and are still legal residents of it.

The urban trend is more marked in Ehden than it is in the village proper, partly because Ehden is better located from the point of view of rapid communications with the outside. Ehden's population is as follows: resident, 59; summer, 42; absent, 3; emigrated, 2; total 84. None of the eleven households is wholly resident, and those of them are wholly summer.

OCCUPATIONS

A detailed study and discussion of Table 3 will bring out most of the important facts concerning the occupations of the villagers. Let us first consider the series of totals. The number of males for records that of females who have gainful or purposeful employment outside the home, 171 to 44. The discrepancy in sex ratio which these figures suggest is corrected by the fact that 120 females are housewives or "at home." The total of 76 heads of household does not tally with

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

the 87 households which have been recorded for the Core Group. This is because some of the heads of households are over the age of sixty-nine, and because a few of the households do not have formal male heads.

The "R" and "S" columns indicate the number of individuals who hold, respectively, village and urban (or extra-village) jobs. By far the majority, it can

TABLE 5. OCCUPATIONAL STATUSES, AGES 15–69

Age	Sex		Occupation													Residence	
	Male	Female	Village Worker	Urban	Village Merchant	In School	In Religious School	In Tech. School or College	Police Cadet	City Worker or Merchant	Armchair	Farmer	Idle	Unemployed		R	S
15–19	39	38			1	27	9	6	1	5			7			23	54
20–24	25	11	2		1			4	1	7		6	9	4		5	28
25–29	22 (1)*	7	5	1	1			1	4	9		4	5	5		6	19
30–34	9 (4)	1	1						1	4		2	1			1	8
35–39	8 (2)	1	1		1				2	2	1		2	1		3	7
40–44	19 (17)	3	2	1	5				3	4	2	2	1			11	12
45–49	16 (15)	3	5		4				2	5	2	2	1	2		9	10
50–54	14 (12)			2	7					1				1		13	1
55–59	12 (12)		2	3	5					1				3		8	2
60–64	6 (5)				2				1	1				2		4	1
65–69	5 (2)													3		2	
Total	171 (76)	44	14	10	25	28	9	11	17	37	5	17	24	19		85	122

* Number in parentheses = heads of households.

In addition:
Housewives, or "at home" (all female) = 120.
Occupations not recorded (2 male, 2 female) = 4.

be readily seen, have the latter. In terms of gainful employment, 102 persons work in urban jobs (subtracting 20, the number of these in boarding school and college, from 122). Similarly, the total of 85 in village occupations can immediately be reduced to 57 by subtracting the 28 pupils in the village schools. In addition, most of those listed as unemployed are village residents. The "R" and "S" columns suggest quite strongly the tendency for younger people to predominate in urban jobs, older people to predominate in village jobs.

The "unemployed" figures are the least reliable in the table. In the first place,

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

the distinction between "unemployed" and "retired" among the older men is not at all easy to make. It depends, essentially, on the attitudes of the man himself and his family. In the second place, among the younger men especially, the distinction between "village worker" and "unemployed" is not entirely clear. The "village workers" mostly are either hired farm hands or assistants to "village specialists." In most cases, it was not easy to tell, however, how steady their work was. In the third place, it is quite possible that some of those in the "city worker" class are actually unemployed most of the time.

The class of "farmer" (*fillaḥ*) is very distinct. A farmer is a man who not only owns his own property, but works it for the support of himself and his family. Most of the farmers in Munqiṭ also tend the agricultural property of fellow villagers who are not farmers. This is done, apparently, largely on a cash basis. The standard fee for a day's plowing, for example, was reported to be ten Lebanese pounds (about two dollars and a half).

It was said, "Before (i.e., before emigration and city jobs), we were all *fillaḥiin*." Now there are only ten farmers, and all of them except one are middle aged or elderly men. The exception is a young man of twenty-eight, a member of lineage XX, who evidently intends to make farming a career. He has made a realistic appraisal of the very difficult agricultural conditions in the village itself, and has acted accordingly with considerable initiative. Shortly after World War II he bought some unused land on the southern rim of Wadi Ba'ishta, just outside the Qurni, close to the present terminus of the irrigation channel which brings water from the River Ibrahim (see Figs. 1 and 2). Considerable blasting with dynamite was necessary in the preparation of terraces, and earth had to be transported to the site. But with irrigation water he has already been able to develop a very impressive banana orchard which presumably has brought quick profits (cf. Keen, 1946, p. 82), and he said that he plans to expand in the near future. It is significant that he had to go outside the village territory to accomplish his ends.

The nature of the "village specialist" class can better be understood when it is broken down into subcategories, with the number of persons involved in each, as follows:

Mayor	1	Fishermen	5
Taxi driver	1	Surveyor	1
Barber	2	Mason	2
Priest	1	Carpenter	2
Storekeeper	8	Teacher	4

Part-time jobs held by various men most of whom are included in the tabulation above are: storekeeper (the priest), two bakery owners (a teacher and a farmer), and a crop guard (*naṭuur*, traditionally a very important position). Two men, still living, were once shoemakers, and another was a muleteer part-time. In the population as a whole there are at least six former teachers and five former mayors

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The boarding-school, as well as the day-school, students include both boys and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The chief criterion is that none is a manual laborer, and they were obviously all considered to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practicing physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

Protestant preacher	1	Seamstress	5
Detective	1	Waiter	3
Fireman	1	Hospital attendant	4
Soldier (sergeant)	1	Janitor	2
Tailor	2	Surveyor	1

The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus close village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in itself. Parents and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of the girl to a doctor, a very prestigeful status.

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15–44

	MEN		WOMEN			MEN		WOMEN	
AGE	Single	Married	Single	Married	AGE	Single	Married	Single	Married
15–19	39	0	27	0	30–34	6	9	4	7
20–24	30	1	17	7	35–39	3	4	2	12
25–29	15	8	10	10	40–44	2	14	0	12

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
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forty-five or over is or has been married, except five men and six women. No one married, at least in the present generation, below the age of twenty. From fifteen to forty-five each sex shows, as might be expected, a shift from one hundred per cent single status to nearly a hundred per cent married status. However, the table shows that more women than men are married in the various age-groups concerned; this situation only ceases to be apparent in the ages forty to forty-four. Marriages for both sexes, but especially the men, tend to be rather late, and the reason can be inferred from several statements made by informants to the effect that a man should not marry until he is secure enough in his occupation to be reasonably certain of being able to support a family. A young man who wishes to be married cannot rely on being temporarily absorbed into and supported by an extended family headed by his father or an elder brother. This sometimes happens, but ordinarily the father or brother of such a young married man is in no position to give such assistance, whether or not he would like to be able to. Most men have already been supporting themselves for a number of years before they get married.

A bit of local folklore, evidently traditional, has it that a man should be seven years older than his wife. Calculations made on a sample of fifty-six marriages revealed that the average difference in age between spouses is four years. The mode is between five and six years. The following tabulation indicates the range:

Difference in Age in Years	No. of Marriages	Difference in Age in Years	No. of Marriages
0– 1	6	7– 8	4
1– 2	3	8– 9	5
2– 3	3	9–10	3
3– 4	3	10–11	5
4– 5	7	11–12	4
5– 6	9	12–13	2
6– 7	3	13–14	1

In only two cases included above are the wives older than their husbands, by one and two years. There are six additional cases in which the husbands can be said to be excessively older than their wives—two cases of a 15-year difference, and one each with 17-, 19-, 20-, and 22-year differences. Nearly all the men in these cases had been emigrants who did not marry until they returned to the village in early middle age.

THE MISTRESS OF THE HOUSE

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One of the most widely held notions about the Middle East is that the average Arab woman is a "classic" example of a woman's being a mere chattel in a male-dominated household and society. Certainly Arab culture is strongly patrilineal, and "on the books" woman's status in it may appear to be rather subordinate. The present writer is of the opinion, however, that the restrictions of *legal* status (which

163
165 The writer believes that such a high rate of increase is a true representation of the situation. The facts that tend to support this belief are: the strong desire for children, the large number of children per family, and the healthy condition of the people. This was further verified by mapping the village structure over a period of years. Each map showed the number of households in the village for a particular period. Estimating an average of 6 persons per household (based upon census records for 1930-39 and upon family trees and records for

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TABLE II. GROWTH OF POPULATION IN BISHMEZEEN, NORTH LEBANON, PER PERIODS OF 50 YEARS; 1750-1939

Year	Households	Population
1750	18	108
1800	36	216
1850	121	726
1870		1000
1890		1202
1900	234	1404
1939	203	1218

previous periods) the map may be condensed into the following table (II):

It will be observed that the village population has increased steadily and rapidly until the period 1890-1900, when the peak was reached—between 1,200 and 1,400 people. For the past fifty years, the population has remained stagnant or has shown a slight decrease. The village resources could support that number and no more. The surplus was taken care of by emigration.

P.64 (B)

10.7; Belgium, 7.8; France, 0.9; Ireland, 6.3; Russia, 16.7; England, 11.0; See Thompson, Warren S., *Population Problems*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, N. Y., 1930. pp. 215-217.

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The composition of the sample households by sex, age, age at marriage, and number of tenants was tabulated. Chapter five has additional material on nationality and citizenship. Generally there are separate tabulations for the head of household and children; grandchildren, parents, siblings, other family members and servants. The material thus usually covers three generations.

Plural Marriage

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It is particularly interesting that in only two of our sample households were there plural marriages. In one case the man had two wives, and in the other, three. The economics of subsistence militates against plural marriages.

Sex of Members of the Household

3.21 Head of household, Table 5

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The head of the household was defined by the respondents themselves. In nine-tenths of the cases these were male.

3.22 Children of head of household, Table 6

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Fifty-five percent of the children were male. The sex ratio of the first seven children and of the eighth through twelfth children, grouped, are shown in the table. It would appear that there is a significant difference in the incidence of children remaining in the household by sex.

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It is possible that there is a survival differential in favor of male children, but on the other hand, there is also a greater tendency for male children to remain in the household.

p. 5(B)

3.23 Grandchildren of head of household, Table 7

592
162 Fifty-nine percent of the grandchildren of the heads of households are male. This figure is not significantly different from that of the children of the head of the household.

3.24 Siblings of head of household. Table 8

Females predominate slightly in the sample, although the difference is not statistically significant.

3.25 Other family members in household. Table 9

There is a significant difference in the sex ratio of other family members in the household which probably reflects the dependence of unattached females. At any rate, sixty-seven percent of this miscellaneous group are female.

3.26 Servants of household. Table 10

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592 Servants in Beirut households are overwhelmingly female, constituting as they do about ninety-three percent of the sample of servants.

The incidence of servants living-in is high. Twenty-two percent of the families had at least one servant living with them. The only specialist category which is substantial is that of nurses. Generally, the maid cooks, cleans, and washes.

Age at Marriage of Members of Household

3.31 Male head of household. Table 11

592 The marital status of the male heads of household shows that only eight percent had
800 not married. The modal interval for age at last

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357 married (88 %). Many of these continue as servants until marriage and are then replaced by younger unmarried girls.

Age Distribution

3.41 Population pyramid, Chart 1

162 The population pyramid as indicated in the sample seems to show a fairly normal distribution of ages with the exception of a bulge in the female group between sixteen and twenty. The lowest level bracket (0-5) covers a span of six years. This was done deliberately to compensate for the fact that the 1952 interviews covered the period between August and December, while the 1953 interviews were only from January to July. Therefore, the youngest age group was collected in parts of two calendar years, but covers only one full year.

3.42 Male head of household and wife of household head or female head of household. Table 22

The average age of male heads of households is forty-five. This is to be compared to the average of their wives and female heads of households which is almost thirty-nine. Interestingly enough, the modal age for both sexes falls in the same interval of 36-40. However, there is a decided tendency to marry younger among the women. By the time they reach the modal age only forty percent of the males as compared to fifty-eight percent of the females are married.

3.43 Birthdate by post-mandate, mandate or pre-mandate years.

128* Birthdates of household members were tabulated in three groups, those who were born after the mandate, those born during the mandate, and those born before. The purpose of this tabulation is to indicate to what extent household members were exposed to mandate rule with all that that implies in cultural conditioning.

3.44 Male head of household. Table 23

162 Of the male heads of household, about

p. 7(A)

162 eighty-five percent were born prior to the mandate, the remainder during the mandate.

3.45 Female head of household and wife of household head, Table 24

As in case of men, the women heads of households and wives of household heads were in great majority born before 1922 (70 %). However, thirty percent compared to fifteen percent for the men, were born during the mandate.

3.46 Children of head of household, Table 25

The majority of the children of the heads of households, unlike their parents, were born during the mandate years (64 %). Only a few were born before the mandate. As might be expected, a detailed breakdown of the children from the first to the twelfth indicates a shift from the pre-mandate and mandate birth years to post mandate time. Thus for the sixth through twelfth children a majority have been born under the Republic.

3.47 Father and mother and father-in-law and mother-in-law of head of household, Tables 26, 27, 28, 29

Both fathers and mothers of heads of households as well as fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law all dated back to before the mandate.

3.48 Grandchildren of head of household, Table 30

Over three-quarters of the grandchildren of heads of households have been born since the mandate rule ended.

3.49 Siblings of head of household, Table 31

162 592 It is interesting to note that the siblings of the heads of households have a majority born during the mandate years, unlike the heads of households themselves. This is to be expected inasmuch as the oldest boy is the normal heir to the position of head of household upon the the death of the father.

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3.49.1 **Other family members, Table 32**

As with siblings, other family members tend to be a younger group than the heads of households with almost two-thirds being born during the mandate.

3.49.2 **Servants of household, Table 33**

Of all the household dwellers, the servant group has a larger percentage born during the mandate than any other. Almost four-fifths fell into this group.

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12; Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Household Head

5.1 Birthplace of head of household. Table 54

166 The schedule included various items which were designed to give some insight into family mobility both intra and inter-state. The question on birthplace of the head of the household revealed that sixty-nine percent of our sample were born in Lebanon. (For purposes of the survey, urban Lebanon was defined as Beirut, Tripoli, Sidon, Zahleh, Baalbeck, Tyre and
167 Aley. All others were considered rural.) The great majority of the remainder came from Syria (7%), Palestine (5%) and Turkey (12%). Since interviewers were instructed to fill in the question in present political units, it is noteworthy that the Turkish figure consists almost entirely of Armenians as can be seen by comparison with the Languages Spoken table.* Only about three percent are from western countries.

5.11 Citizenship of head of household, Table 55

● 162 167 The permanency of residents is complicated by the fact that only eighty-four percent claim to be citizens of the Republic. This is particularly interesting as Lebanon is almost always thought of as a country which sends out emigrants rather than receives them.

Birthplace of Household Members Other than Male Head

5.21 Birthplace of father and mother of head of household. Tables 56, 57

166 The birthplace of fathers of the heads of

* See Table 39 & 43

p. 12(1)

12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Table

162
361

Population Size, Residential Floors and A
Estimated from the Sample and T

District	Total	Floo	
		Residential	
		Number	% of Total
Total	40195	33812	84.12
I Port	1337	43	3.22
II Minet el Hosn	2008	1412	70.33
III Zoukak el Blat	1420	1217	85.71
IV Bachoura	2167	1683	77.68
V Saifi	1779	1150	64.65
VI Medawar	2122	1377	64.91
VII Remeil	3513	3076	87.50
VIII Achrafieh	5951	5459	91.74
IX Mazra'a	7090	6431	90.70
X Mouseitbeh	5702	5001	87.70
XI Ras Beirut	3835	3370	87.88
XII Ain el Mreisseh	1341	1112	82.93
XIII Tinshack *	1928	1738	
Agglomerations in Medawar			

* Tabulated separately because of special

Average number of apartments per resi
Average size of family

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ble 4

162 d Apartments and Non-Residential Floors
361 nd Total Buildings by Map Count

Floors		Apartments	Buildings	Population
Non-Residential				
Number	% of Total			
6383	15.88	31394	2278[illegible]	296029
1294	96.77	65	3[illegible]	374
596	29.67	2146	9[illegible]	12361
203	14.28	1850	7[illegible]	10656
484	22.32	2558	1[illegible]	14734
629	35.35	1748	8[illegible]	10068
745	35.09	2093	1[illegible]	12056
439	12.50	4676	1[illegible]	26934
492	8.26	8298	3[illegible]	47796
659	9.30	9775	4[illegible]	56304
701	12.30	7601	3[illegible]	43782
465	12.12	5122	1[illegible]	29508
229	17.07	1690	5[illegible]	9734
190		2941	1[illegible]	13212

[illegible]dal characteristics

[illegible]residential floor = 1.52
= 5.76

p. 30(e)

Table 5

Sex of Head of Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1831	100	
Male	1663	90.82	.007
Female	168	9.18	

Table 6

Sex of Children of Head of Household

Sex	Total	Percent	sp.	1st Child	Percent	2nd Child	Percent	3rd Child	Percent
Total	5071	100.00		1467	100.00	1243	100.00	961	100.00
Male	2804	55.29	.007	894	60.94	681	54.79	483	50.26
Female	2267	44.71	.004	573	39.06	562	45.21	478	49.74

4th Child	Percent	5th Child	Percent	6th Child	Percent	7th Child	Percent	8–12th Child	Percent
621	100.00	380	100.00	214	100.00	107	100.00	78	100.00
334	53.78	200	52.63	120	56.08	54	50.47	38	48.72
287	46.22	180	47.37	94	43.92	53	49.53	40	51.28

19; Churchill 5–6 (1968) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

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162

10: Churchill 8-5 (1960) 1854 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 7

Sex of Grandchildren of Head of Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	212	100	
Male	126	59.43	.034
Female	86	40.57	.034

Table 8

Sex of Siblings of Head of Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	358	100	
Male	171	47.77	.026
Female	187	52.23	.026

Table 9

Sex of Other Family Members in Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	288	100	
Male	94	32.64	.028
Female	194	67.36	.028

Table 10

Sex of Servants of Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	385	100	
Male	39	6.35	.010
Female	355	93.28	.010
No Answer	1	.17	

582

Table 20

Age at Marriage
of Other Family Members in Household

Age	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	288	100	
15 and under	8	2.78	.026
16 - 20	76	26.39	
21 - 25	21	7.29	
26 - 30	13	4.51	
31 - 35	5	1.74	
36 and over	2	0.69	
Unmarried	159	55.21	.029
No Answer	4	1.39	

Table 21

Age at Marriage
of Servants of Household

Age	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	595	100	
15 and over	5	.84	
16 - 20	11	1.85	
21 - 25	3	.50	
26 - 30	6	1.01	
31 - 35	4	.67	
36 and over	—	—	
Unmarried	527	88.57	.013
No Answer	39	6.56	

M2

Table 23

Birthdate of Male Head of Household
by Post Mandate,
Mandate or Premandate Years

Year	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1665	100	
1946 - Present	—	—	
1922 - 1945	251	15.08	.008
Before 1922	1413	84.86	.008
No Answer	1	0.06	

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Table 22

Age of Male Head of Household
and
Wife of Household Head
or
Female Head of Household

Age	Male	Female
Total	1683	1684
16 - 20	10	12
21 - 25	73	176
26 - 30	149	230
31 - 35	162	199
36 - 40	195	206
41 - 45	243	242
46 - 50	234	181
51 - 55	207	143
56 - 60	130	97
61 - 65	97	56
66 - 70	66	22
71 - 75	30	5
76 - 80	11	3
81 - 85	3	4
86 - 90	2	—
Over 90	—	1
No Answer	—	1

Table 24

Birthdate of Female Head of Household
and Wife of Household Head by Post Mandate,
Mandate or Premandate Years

Year	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1683	100	
1946 - Present	—	—	
1922 - 1945	500	29.71	.011
Before 1922	1183	70.30	.011
No Answer	—	—	

p. 24(b)

Table 35

Birth-date of Children of Head of Household by
Post Shrouton, Shanbahu or Pramanabahu Years

Year	Total	Percent	1st Child	Percent	2nd Child	Percent	3rd Child	Percent
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

1st Child	Percent	2nd Child	Percent	3rd Child	Percent	4th Child	Percent	5th Child	Percent	6-10th Child	Percent
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Table 26

Birthdate of Father of Head of Household by Post Mandate, Mandate or Pre-mandate Years

Year	Number	Percent
Total	35	100.00
1945 - Present	—	—
1922 - 1945	—	—
Before 1922	35	100.00
No Answer	—	—

Table 27

Birthdate of Mother of Head of Household by Post Mandate Mandate or Pre-mandate Years

Year	Number	Percent
Total	232	100.00
1945 - Present	—	—
1922 - 1945	—	—
Before 1922	232	100.00
No Answer	—	—

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Table 28

Birthdate of Father-in-law by Post Mandate, Mandate or Pre-mandate Years

Year	Number	Percent
Total	4	100.00
1945 - Present	—	—
1922 - 1945	—	—
Before 1922	4	100.00
No Answer	—	—

Table 29

Birthdate of Mother-in-law by Post Mandate, Mandate or Pre-mandate Years

Year	Number	Percent
Total	51	100.00
1945 - Present	—	—
1922 - 1945	—	—
Before 1922	51	100.00

10-Checkit 3-3 (1970) 1964 ADI London 1973

A22

Table 30

Birthdate of Grandchildren of Head of Household by Post Mandate, Mandate or Premandate Years

Year	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	212	100.00	
1945 - Present	167	78.77	.028
1922 - 1945	45	21.23	.028
Before 1922	—	—	
No Answer	—	—	

Table 31

Birthdate of Siblings of Head of Household by Post Mandate, Mandate or Premandate Years

Year	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	358	100.00	
1945 - Present	7	1.95	.028
1922 -1945	210	58.66	.025
Before 1922	138	38.55	
No Answer	3	.84	

U.S. Census 1970 (1969) 1-C (Census Use)

Table 32
Birthdate of Other Family Members
by Post Mandate,
Mandate or Premandate Years

Year	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	285	100.00	
1945 - Present	27	9.47	
1922 - 1945	183	64.21	.029
Before 1922	71	24.91	.026
No Answer	4	1.40	

Table 33
Birthdate of Servants
by Post Mandate,
Mandate or Premandate Years

Year	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	586	100.00	
1945 - Present	4	.68	
1922 - 1945	474	70.68	.018
Before 1922	98	16.47	.015
No Answer	19	3.19	

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15. Chevalier F-5 (1969) 1964 MIT Census 103

Table 54
Birthplace of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1933	100.00	
Urban Lebanon	511	26.43	.010
Rural Lebanon	828	42.83	.011
Syria	144	7.45	.006
Palestine	96	4.97	.005
Iraq	11	0.57	
Jordan	1	0.05	
Turkey	232	12.00	.008
Iran	3	0.16	
Egypt	17	0.88	
England	6	0.31	
U.S.A.	17	0.88	
France	15	0.78	
Other Europe	21	1.09	
Other Africa	8	0.41	
Other Asia	11	0.57	
South America	7	0.36	
Other	5	0.26	

Table 55
Citizenship of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1920	100.00	
Lebanon	1610	83.86	.008
Syria	111	5.78	.005
Palestine	87	4.53	.005
Iraq	6	0.31	
Jordan	3	0.16	
Turkey	9	0.47	
Iran	7	0.36	
Egypt	13	0.68	
England	5	0.26	
U.S.A.	12	0.62	
France	23	1.20	
Other Europe	19	0.99	
Other Africa	3	0.16	
Other Asia	7	0.36	
South America	2	0.10	
Other	3	0.16	

POPULATION PYRAMID FOR BEIRUT

Males	Females
2	1
4	2
16	4
19	8
51	14
72	31
118	61
155	72
	122
	119

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13. Churchill S-S (1969) 1994 MEI Lebanon MEI

(a) ٢٦ م

McGulick E-5 (1952)1954 MH Lebanon MEI

621 178 167 458 scale. The drastic decline in the market price of silk led to greatly reduced production with a consequently increased interest in other occupations. Meanwhile, the road-building program of the French Mandatory regime, coupled with the introduction of motor vehicles, reduced the physical isolation of the village, and the interest of villagers in nonagricultural occupations away from the village was greatly augmented.

IV

621 178 Consideration can now be given to the effects of these processes of change on the traditional culture as they were observed in 1952. To anticipate for a moment, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the efforts of change have not been uniform throughout the entire village culture, some aspects of which have been more altered than others. In other words, there now are striking cultural disparities in the village, whereas before there was a high degree of consistency. The result is conflict in the minds and souls of the villagers. In what follows, we shall expand, in turn, upon the four basic criteria which were used in describing the traditional culture. The problem of conflict will be considered at the end, under the heading of Localism.

621 178 162 464 *Economics.* The most far-reaching changes in al-Mansūrī, without any question, have been in the area of economic behavior. To comprehend this change, attention must be paid to age distribution and residence pattern. The population of the village in 1952 totalled 523: 258 males and 265 females. A relatively weak representation of persons in their 30's (born during and just after World War I) is to be noted. Formerly all members of the village regularly lived in it. In 1952 only 54.6 percent (286) of the people lived in it all year round, while 35.9 percent (188) regularly lived away (in Beirut or Tripoli for the most part), returning to al-Mansūrī only during the summer and for various special occasions. Of the remainder, 13 persons commuted on a daily or weekly basis between the village and the city, and 36, though still considered to be members of the village, visited it only on rather rare occasions. This group of 36 comprised 17 women who had married complete outsiders and other persons who lived and worked in other parts of the Middle East, mostly in Iraq.

621 178 349 The residence factor can also be [illegible] in terms of households. There were 87 independent households in al-Mansūrī. In 22 of these all members were resident in the village all year round. In 16, no members were resident all year round; they returned as groups only in the summer. In 8 cases, the heads commuted on a daily or weekly basis while their wives and children lived in the village. In the remaining 41 cases, the personnel of each household was split: in general the head and his wife remained in the village while most of the children lived regularly in the city. In other words, a majority of the people, heavily weighted by the older age groups and those

Th Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

THE VILLAGE IN THE NATIONAL LIFE OF LEBANON

Afif I. Tannous

THE MIDDLE EAST reveals itself most fundamentally through a study of its rural society. There is indeed no other road to an authentic understanding of this part of the world. Agriculture is the mainstay of its economy; it also holds the greatest promise for widespread economic development. Of even greater importance, however, is the human factor: between 70 and 80 percent of the people of the Middle East are rural, depending upon agriculture for a living. By sheer numbers, if nothing else, these masses of the population would constitute the substance of national character. But more than that, they have a distinctive culture of their own which has determined the wide base upon which national life must develop. That this basic stratum of Middle East society is inarticulate and has been ignored for long centuries does not alter its fundamental significance.

The rural society of the Middle East consists of two major segments—the pastoral tribe and the agricultural village—which supplement and merge into each other, economically, biologically, and culturally. In some countries of the area, for example Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, and Iran, the nomadic or semi-settled tribe plays a significant role.[1] In others, such as

[1] Afif I. Tannous, "The Arab Tribal Community in a Fashionable Form," *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), 319.

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[*] Afif I. Tannous, Lecturer at The Middle East Institute on the cultural composition of the Arab peoples, is regional specialist in charge of the Middle East Section, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture. The discussion here presented is developed from a chapter by the author in the *Report of the United Nations—Lebanon Agricultural Mission*, of which he was a member.

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twenty degrees of latitude. The desert in Syria is of rock and gravel more than of sand, and there are hills rising above 3,000 feet both north and south of Palmyra; more than a third of the total area of Syria is steppe or desert.

Rivers

The Orontes flows from the northern part of the Bekaa through the lake of Homs (which holds about 260 million cubic yards of water) to Hama and through the Ghab depression to Turkey. The Litani rises not far from the Orontes but flows at first southward and later west through a deep gorge in the Lebanon mountains into the sea between Tyre and Sidon. The Euphrates runs through Syria for about 430 miles and has, as tributaries from the north, the Balikh and the Khabur. It is on the Euphrates and its tributaries that there is the best prospect of developing hydro-electricity and irrigation.

Climate[1]

Over this diverse scene the temperatures vary in the year from below freezing to above 100°F., and on the same day it is possible to ski near the cedars of Lebanon and swim in the sea at Beirut. The rain, which in most places comes between November and February, varies from almost nothing in the desert to about 40 inches a year in the mountains. In the coastal strip the winters are not severe but there is high humidity and small diurnal variation in the summer and this makes the season seem unpleasant and prolonged. In the mountains the snow lies on the topmost peaks for most of the year and the road from Beirut to Damascus is blocked by snow at times in most winters; in the summer the days are hot but the nights are cool enough to drive up to the mountains most of the inhabitants of Beirut. The plateaux and desert have an inland climate with low humidity and higher extremes of heat and cold. Aleppo has greater extremes than Damascus but in both cities there is a distinction between the four seasons: spring from mid-March to mid-May, summer from mid-May to the beginning of October, autumn in October and early November, and winter from November to March.

The People

Official statistics showed that in 1931 the populations of Syria and of Lebanon were 3,319,137, and 1,213,041 respectively. Over half the inhabitants are engaged in agriculture, about half a million are nomads, and the rest live in towns. The

[1] See table, below, p. 500.

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chief towns of Syria and their populations are: Aleppo, 359,000 Damascus, the capital, 305,000; Hama, 134,000; Latakia, 90,000; Deir az-Zor, 65,000: of the Lebanon—Beirut, the capital, 247,000; Tripoli, 86,000; Sidon (Saida), 38,800; Zahle, 38,031. The population of each country is increasing by about 2 per cent a year. Between half a million and a million Syrians and Lebanese live abroad, mainly in the Americas and Africa; emigration continues; during 1952 about 100 Lebanese emigrated monthly, most of them to South America.

Religion

RELIGIOUS SECTS AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION

	Syria		Lebanon	
	Population in 1947	Seats in 1947	Population in 1932	Seats in 1951
Sunni	1,090,308	43	175,183	11
Shia (incl. Alawis)	467,000	21	72,532	5
Druse	84,000	4	31,000	2
Maronite	140,000	6	226,000	6
Orthodox Greek	116,000	5	153,000	4
Orthodox Armenian	90,000	4	40,000	2
Orthodox Syrian (Jacobite)	70,000	3	20,000	1
Catholic Greek (incl.	70,000	3	46,000	3
Catholic Armenian (incl.	30,000	1	15,000	1
Catholic Syrian (incl.	20,000	1	10,000	1
Catholic Chaldean (incl.	10,000	1	5,000	1
Protestant	20,000	1	14,000	1
Jewish	30,000	1	6,000	1
Minorities	30,000	1	6,000	1
Total	3,000,000	102	1,000,000	44

The language of the great majority of Syrians and Lebanese is Arabic, and they think of themselves as Arabs. There are minorities of race, religion, and language:* the Kurds number between 100,000 and 200,000 and are mainly in northern Syria; most of them speak Kurdish but are progressively becoming less and less distinct from the Arabs. The Armenians, who live mainly in the three principal cities, now number about 140,000, although some 20,000 emigrated to Soviet Armenia in the 1940's. Most of them came as refugees from the Turks after the First World War. Other racial minorities are the Turkomans, Circassians, and Assyrians. Most of the religious were

* For further details see A. H. Hourani, *Minorities in the Arab World* (London, Oxford University Press for RIIA, 1947).

2 Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date) 1954 M1 Middle East
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shown in the table above are found in other parts of the Middle East but three indigenous sects need mention here: the Druses, who are a mountain people professing a religion which derived from Islam in the eleventh century A.D., but became independent; the Alawis of the mountains behind Latakia, whose religion appears to be a dogmatic form of Shii Islam with some survivals of Christian ritual; and the Maronites, who are a Christian sect, living mainly in the north of Lebanon.

S L [illegible]

The religion of the majority of Syrians and of the head of the Syrian state is Sunni Islam; in the Lebanon, Muslims and Christians are fairly evenly divided and the President of the Republic is a Maronite Christian and the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim. The Christians of the Arab Levant have provided the Middle East with great leaders in journalism, letters, politics, and science, but in present-day Syria the Christians are mainly prominent in commerce and industry. There is hardly any dangerous animosity between the sects, but sectarian bonds are a very real force in the lives of people who for so long lived under the Turkish *millet* system whereby each sect was an administrative unit, the head of which exercised considerable authority.

S L 142 262 291 177

So mixed a population living in a variety of environments naturally does not constitute one physical type, but some generalizations are hazarded for the sake of a fuller picture. Dark hair is almost universal but the skin of the town dweller is no darker than that of a Mediterranean European; the Syrians and Lebanese are not often as tall or as heavy as the average Englishman but they mature at an earlier age. The poorer nomad eats mainly bread, with milk and fruit and vegetables as less frequent additions and meat as an event, but in the towns and villages most people eat a full diet with rather more oil and spice than is used in Britain. The cultivator and the nomad wear local costumes but most townspeople wear European clothes; the tarbush or the head-cloth are usual but not universal headgear for men. Most Muslim women wear the veil, but in the towns the richer women are becoming more and more emancipated and, particularly in Beirut, many lead the same lives as Christian women. In Lebanon and in Damascus and Aleppo the way of life is very like that in southern Europe, and both countries make a pleasant home for a European.

History

S L 175

Semitic-speaking people have inhabited for four or five millennia the area which is known historically as Syria, although yet for much of this period the rulers of what is now Syria [illegible]

Lebanon ME1

Chapter Nine

LEBANON

Distribution of Minorities

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THE following table shows the distribution of the Lebanese population by religious confessions and districts on December 31, 1944:

Sect	Mohafazat of Beyrouth	Mohafazat of Mount Lebanon	Mohafazat of North Lebanon	Mohafazat of South Lebanon	Mohafazat of the Beqa'	Total
Sunnis	59,593	20,569	102,462	23,418	29,753	235,595
Shi'is	10,679	18,048	1,017	126,701	51,693	209,338
Druses	1,926	59,303	34	6,167	6,881	74,311
Maronites	13,404	178,248	86,476	27,992	21,726	327,846
Greek Catholics	5,840	13,470	1,841	17,118	24,011	64,280
Greek Orthodox	20,073	22,373	47,322	6,911	13,002	109,883
Protestants	3,760	3,023	730	1,795	1,110	10,440
Latins*	2,191	540	63	179	144	3,117
Armenian Orthodox	36,264	13,379	1,025	1,695	5,386	59,749
Armenian Catholics	5,362	3,091	194	273	1,128	10,048
Syrian Catholics	4,089	273	169	9	442	4,984
Syrian Orthodox	2,070	209	100	22	1,332	3,733
Jews	5,022	63	31	306	42	5,666
Chaldeans	974	120	1	10	225	1,330
Various	452	359	3,279	32	119	6,261
TOTAL	174,001	335,774	246,964	212,848	157,014	1,126,601

*i.e. Roman Catholics of the Latin rite.

Thus 53 per cent of the Lebanese population is Christian, 46 per cent Moslem. The largest single community is the Maronite, which includes 29 per cent of the population.

Written Guarantees

The Lebanese Constitution, promulgated in 1926, contained 000

During the recent war there was an expansion of cultivation in Syria as a result of high prices and mechanization. The previous table shows the cultivable and cultivated land in different provinces and the distribution of these areas in 1943.

Little is known about the rate of population growth, but it is believed to be rapid. According to the most recent estimates the total in 1944 was 3,987,012, of which the population of Syria was 2,860,411 and of the Lebanon 1,126,600. The population of Syria was divided as follows:

SYRIA: POPULATION AT END OF 1943

Province	Total
Latakia	
Aleppo	
Hama	
Homs	
Hauran	
Damascus	
Euphrates	
Jezira	
Jebel ed Druz	
Total	2,860,411

(This estimate excludes the Bedouin, whose number is estimated at 400,000.)

About three-quarters of this total, or about 2·1 million, are rural. The amount of cultivated land per head is 2½ acres, but because cultivation is so extensive the area actually cropped is only some 1½ acres.

Lebanon, by contrast with the dry plains of Syria, is intensively cultivated because of the high rainfall on the coast line; yields per acre are higher, and crops are more diversified, including citrus, olives, bananas; small irrigation schemes have been developed along the coast on the streams from the Mountain. The Lebanon depends for part of its grain supply on Syria, and all the cultivated land is cropped. The cultivated area in 1943 amounted to 1·3 million acres. The total population in 1944 was estimated to be 1,126,600; of this probably about 750,000 are rural, and the amount of cultivated land is about 1½ acres per head.

Grain production in Syria and Lebanon together before 1939 averaged 800,000 tons and rose to about 1 million tons during the recent war.

Christians as well. Forty-five Christians were in the secondary section, which enrolled a total of 154 students. It is staffed by a principal, an assistant, and twenty-six teachers, not including nine women kindergarten teachers. Fees range from £L40 to £L325 ($16 to $140) with an addition of another £L500 ($220) for boarding students. The College is almost self-supporting and is said to charge the highest fees in Sidon. Children of teachers are accepted gratis in the primary school and on half-fees in the secondary school. Income from property is spent mostly on the other two schools.

The College has a library of about 2,000 books in Arabic and in French, a small chemical laboratory, and some maps in French and Arabic. It fosters a number of student activities including a literary and dramatic society, a lecture program, two library committees (one each for Arabic and for French books), a Boy Scout troop, and various athletic teams. A school magazine, edited largely by students, is published in Arabic.

The College is now preparing for first and second *baccalaureate*, as well as for the primary-school certificate and the *Brevet*. Its diploma has been recognized by the universities in Egypt, and 4 students are already studying at Egyptian universities. At the time of the Commissioner's visit, English was started in the seventh grade, but it was planned to have a special English section by agreement with the American University of Beirut. In this section English would begin in the kindergarten and continue through the secondary school.

[18] The leaders of the Muslim Charitable Purposes movement may be said to represent in their outlook the opposite pole of the ideology represented by the al-Hikmah College and the Cultural League of Free Education. To them there is nothing that can be called Lebanese culture, but there is an Arab culture, or rather a world culture. They believe that Arabic should be the language of instruction and of expression. They attack the idea of French as a language of expression for Lebanese and Arabs. Foreign languages should be taught for purposes of opening the gateways for acquisition of Western thought, but the expression of thought, whether Western or Eastern, should be in Arabic.

[162, 177] They concede that the foreign-language situation in Lebanon is different from the rest of the Arab countries in that the Lebanese population is more urban, and a large part of the Lebanese villages are summer resorts frequented by people from abroad. The Lebanese, therefore, take more easily to the teaching of foreign languages because their environment fosters acquisition of languages. This, however, should not mean in any way the neglect of the Arabic language, and the use of a foreign language

[illegible]

[illegible] mean temperatures at Beirut ranges from 56° to 60° F. in January and February and from 78° to 82° F. in July and August. The corresponding mean maximum temperatures average 65° to 68° F., and 88° to 92° F., respectively; the mean minimums, 46° to 52° F., and 70° to 74° F., respectively. The daily range approaches 12° to 15° F. in the summer and somewhat less in the winter. The relative humidity reaches 70 to 75 per cent during the summer and the winter months, but drops to 45 to 60 per cent in the transition periods. In general, the temperatures in the Bekaa are comparable with those of the littoral region, but the seasonal and the daily fluctuations are greater, while the humidity is lower.

POPULATION AND SOCIO-ECONOMIC CONDITIONS

Population

The population of Lebanon was estimated at almost 1,210,000 in 1948, an increase of over 400,000 since the last census in 1932. The people are of mixed ethnic origin, although ancient Semitic and Arabic strains predominate in all parts of the country. Lebanon occupies a unique position among the Arab states, in that Christian and Moslem elements are almost equally prominent, both numerically and politically, among the indigenous populations. The official statistics are compiled on the basis of religious affiliations, emphasizing the vital role of the different communities in the life of the State. The Maronites, Catholics who adhere to western forms of ritual but have acknowledged allegiance to the Vatican since the 12th century, numbered around 399,000, or almost 33 per cent of the population, in 1948. They represent the largest single group, and are concentrated to a considerable extent in the coastal mountain districts from Tripoli to Sidon. The remaining Christian minorities included about 153,000 Greek Orthodox, 72,400 Greek Catholics, 40,000 Armenian Orthodox, 15,400 Armenian Catholics, 12,000 Protes-

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[illegible] ments and less than 4,000 each of Syrian Catholics, Syrian Orthodox, Chaldean Catholics and other denominations.

In 1948, the Moslem contingent, comprising about 350,000 Sunnites and 224,000 Shiites, represented slightly less than 45 per cent of the population. The Druzes, a dissident sect of Islam, dating from the 11th century, numbered around 70,000. They are scattered throughout southern and central Lebanon, but about 30 per cent reside in the province of Mount Lebanon. The diverse religious communities tend to live apart, and the close proximity of villages and towns, Christian or Moslem, is a feature of Lebanese life. In addition, about 4,000 Jews reside in Beirut and other cities; the majority are of Sephardic origin, and have been settled in the country for generations.

With the exception of the Armenians, most of whom fled from Turkish territory during the first quarter of the present century, and a few thousand each of Kurds and Assyrians, there are no linguistic minority groups. Most of the inhabitants speak Arabic or a minor dialectal variation. French and English are widely used, however, by the educated Lebanese. Small foreign communities of French, Polish, Greek, American, British and other nationalities also reside in Beirut and the coastal cities.

During the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948, Lebanon received over 110,000 Arab refugees from Palestine. In a total of 926,000 on the roster of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in 1953, about 80 per cent were housed in 15 camps located in different parts of the country, while the remainder lived in the various towns and villages.

A distinctive feature of the recent history of this region is the large-scale emigration of Lebanese to the Americas, Europe and Africa, which reached a peak in the years preceding World War I. The exact number of emigrants, most of whom sought to escape the impoverishing effects of continuing congestion on the land, is not known, but some authorities estimate that it exceeds that of the resident population. Many

have retained close contact with their homeland, a factor which has had a profound influence on the social and the economic development of the country.

Unlike the neighboring Arab states, Lebanon is a compact territory. The density of population in the four administrative provinces, exclusive of Beirut district, averaged over 300 per square mile in 1948. It was 450 per square mile in Mount Lebanon, 350 in North Lebanon, and 290 in South Lebanon, but declined to 100 in the principally fertile districts of the Bekaa. About 60 per cent of the inhabitants live under rural conditions in some 2,500 large or small villages. Urbanization has increased progressively within recent years, however, and almost one half of the population is now concentrated within easy access of Beirut. The city, which is not only the capital and the industrial metropolis of Lebanon but the principal port for the Levant states, had a population of 300,000 to 400,000 in 1950. Tripoli, the second largest city and the terminus of the pipeline from the oil fields in northern Iraq to the Mediterranean, had a population of roughly 70,000. Numerous towns in the southern and the central portions of the Lebanon range are popular resorts, with an annual influx of summer residents.

The fact that Beirut has become one of the leading cultural and educational centers of the Near East has stimulated the spread of education to the rest of the country. The literacy rate is consistently higher among the men than among the women. It gradually averages from 75 to 90 per cent in Beirut and the neighboring districts of Mount Lebanon and from 40 to 60 per cent in the other provinces. The expansion of education has been influenced by the activity of French, American and other foreign groups, but the division between the different systems has hindered the development of a unified national program. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory, although the facilities are inadequate, especially in the rural areas of the south.

65:Landshut S-4 (no date)1950 M1 Middle East
Lebanon ME1

CHAPTER IV

LEBANON

Of all the Arab League countries, Lebanon was the most reluctant to take part in the recent outbreak of anti-Jewish persecution. It was also the first member-nation of the Arab League to restore normal conditions after the conclusion of the armistice with Israel and to abolish restrictions which had been imposed upon the Jews during the fighting.

Lebanon differs from the rest of the Arab countries in a number of ways. First, there is no Muslim majority. Its population is composed of a number of minority groups, none of which individually constitutes a clear majority. The Muslims, both Sunni and Shia, together number only about 447,000, against approximately 600,000 Christians (Maronite, Greek Orthodox, Armenians, etc.) and 77,000 Druzes. The latest census —held in 1944—gives the number of Jews as 4,383, a figure probably increased since then by the steady influx of Jews from Syria to something over 6,500.

A number of Christian Arabs in Lebanon have, it is true, played an important part in the revival of Arab nationalism, mostly in the field of literature. But that has not prevented the Christian community as a whole from regarding the movement with a certain feeling of uneasiness. Albert Hourani (*Syria and Lebanon*, Oxford, 1946, p.128) describes the uneasy relations between Christians and Muslims in Lebanon as follows:

> Arabism has not yet determined its relationship with Islam. Thus there is a tendency for many of the nationalists, although not even most thoughtful leaders, to regard members of the minorities as imperfect Arabs because they are not/are Muslims; or not Muslims at all; usually there is a tendency among the minorities to be suspicious of nationalism as a movement for unrestrained Sunni (Muslim) ascendancy.

Apart from the tendency of the greater part of the Arab nationalist movement to rely on Islam as a rallying cry, its generally anti-Western orientation has provided a further obstacle to whole-hearted support to the country. For no country in the Middle East has taken as easily to Western civilization as Lebanon.

The fact that so high a proportion of its inhabitants are Christians has always made it a specially fruitful field for Western educational missions. The French *Mission Laique* and the American University in Beirut have both played an important part in raising the general level of education, and there is scarcely a middle-class family in

LEGISLATIVE REF

[illegible] brought some regional visit. Close and cherished ties accompanies. Another important factor was the impact on behavior of the development of Middle Europe processes movements, an impact which exceeded that exerted on any other non-producing country in the region. Some projections have been made to between the Soviet-Bloc [illegible], equipment in 1975 and 1976, and the [illegible] connecting the Soviet railheads with Sofia, completed in 1981. A refinery was built in Srbijski and started work there. Software has also benefited from the creation of offices of old companies in Bonn. In addition, it has received many incentives, as well as some reprisal, from the oil producing countries and has applied exports to these countries. For example, fresh fruit and vegetables sent to aid on track on, were severely, to infringement steps. Finally, [illegible] paid to the Government by the oil companies for [illegible] are [illegible] connected to recent years.

The development of Western trade has also contributed to the national income. The increase in such trade has made possible to encouragement and improvement of the part of Belgian country before the Second World War, development of [illegible] communications, purchase of refrigerated storage and other storage facilities and extension of the free area to the harbour from 5,000 square [illegible] in 1970 to 71,000 in 1980 and 145,000 in 1985. Although the development of [illegible] has diverted some of Europe's trade, Belgium which remains a commercial [illegible] of that trade as well as a large [illegible] of that [illegible], which previously passed through Sofia. The opening of a new outlook on Belgium, in 1981, has also encouraged transit of goods and passengers.

In recent years, Belgium has been the centre of a large and widespread gold trade. The relaxation and subsequent [illegible] of exchange controls has also greatly increased the importance of Belgium as an international financial centre. Tourism has increased as shops and restaurants to play a significant part in the country's economy.

Agriculture

Despite large-scale emigration to the cities and abroad, mainly [illegible] the [illegible] population still owns a considerable [illegible] agriculture. Since agriculture accounts for more than two thirds of the national income [illegible] per capita income in agriculture is less than the average in other sectors. The predominance of [illegible] agricultural [illegible] is [illegible] with [illegible], mainly [illegible]. According to the latest estimates, of the total area of [illegible] hectares, [illegible] hectares consist of [illegible], [illegible] are [illegible], [illegible] hectares consist of [illegible], [illegible] are [illegible], [illegible] are [illegible] and [illegible] are [illegible]. Of the [illegible] area, [illegible] hectares are [illegible] and [illegible] are [illegible], the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

VII. LEBANON AND THE MINORITIES

THE greater part of the population of the Levant States, as it was stated in the last chapter, is Arab by language and tradition; in addition the majority is orthodox Moslem by faith. There are, however, a number of communities which are not Arab, others which are heterodox Moslems or not Moslems, and some which are neither Arab nor Moslem.

The religious minorities are more numerous and of greater importance in the country's political life than the national minorities. The following list shows the sectarian composition of Syria and Lebanon:

Community		Syria	Lebanon	Total
A. Moslems and pro-Moslem sects	1. Sunnis			
	2. Shi'is			
	3. Druses			
	4. Alawis			
	5. Ismailis			
	Total			
B. Christians	6. Maronites			
	7. Roman Catholics of the Latin rite			
	8. Greek Orthodox			
	9. Greek Catholics			
	10. Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites)			
	11. Syrian Catholics			
	12. Armenian Orthodox (Gregorians)			
	13. Armenian Catholics			
	14. Assyrians and Chaldean Catholics			
	15. Protestants			
	Total			
C. Jews				
D. Miscellaneous				
	Total			

These sects [illegible] per cent of the total population are orthodox Sunni Moslems, [illegible] per cent belong to other Moslem communities, and [illegible] per cent are Christians.

[illegible]

points in the nationalist programme other than those which are emphasized by the Moslems; they also sometimes conceive of themselves as having a special duty to perform in the movement. For example, some of the Christian nationalists regard it as their task to mediate Western civilization to the Arabs. This sense of a special duty makes for difference, if not for opposition.

6

This much can be said of the whole of Syria and Lebanon. But if a more detailed analysis is to be attempted, Lebanon must be separated from Syria. While in Syria, and in the Levant States taken as a whole, the Sunni Moslems have an overwhelming preponderance, in Lebanon neither they nor any other community forms an absolute majority of the population, and the number of Christians of different sects is slightly greater than that of Moslems, orthodox and heterodox.

Inside Lebanon also a distinction must be made. As will be described later,[1] the Lebanese Republic of to-day was formed after the First World War, by the addition to the pre-war autonomous Sanjaq of Lebanon, which consisted mainly of Mount Lebanon itself, of certain towns and outlying districts. In the former, the population is almost entirely Christian (mainly Maronite) and Druse. The additions included the coastal towns of Tripoli, Beirut, Saida (Sidon) and Sur (Tyre), and the districts of the Biqa' in the east and Jebel Amil in the south. In the towns the population is largely Sunni Moslem, although there are also numerous Shi'is, Greek Catholics and Orthodox and Armenians (mainly in Beirut). In the Biqa' and Jebel Amil the Shi'i Moslems are predominant, but here again there are large Greek Orthodox and Catholic and other communities.

In Mount Lebanon the majority is Christian, but the Druse community is large and strong enough to have played at least an equal and sometimes a greater part in the history of the Mountain. Thus the sectarian composition of Mount Lebanon is very different from that of the rest of the Mandated Territories. To a great extent also its history has diverged from that of other parts of geographical Syria. This has given rise to a specific Lebanese tradition. It is a tradition of asylum: communities of sects and tribes, driven for one reason or another

[1] See Chapter III, p. 170.

● At times the plains of the interior, have found refuge in the previously almost impenetrable valleys of Lebanon, where they could worship and live unmolested from outside. The various communities which have established themselves there have usually respected one another's beliefs and ways. There have been unrest and suspicion between them, but in normal times they have lived peaceably together. It is true that for generations Lebanon was torn by internal strife, but it was the strife of factions and families. It was only for a short time during the nineteenth century that it took the form of a religious war, and even then the fundamental causes were social and political rather than religious.

The Lebanese tradition was also one of autonomy. Caliphs, Crusading rulers and Ottoman Sultans alike refrained from descending more than a little into and the formal recognition of their sovereignty. They left the internal affairs of the Mountain to the care of local dynasts, more often than not members of local landowning families. Often Lebanon was partitioned between more than one of these dynasts; but on occasion a ruler succeeded in uniting the whole Mountain and even in extending his sway beyond it. His rule over the Lebanese, however, was never absolute. The social organization was feudal. In principle and sometimes in fact the ruler of the Mountain was elected by the feudal lords; and although this principle was not always observed, and the principate tended to become hereditary in a great family such as the Shihabis, even the strongest member of such a dynasty would hesitate before interfering with the canons of the great landowners. As in medieval Europe, where the political power was in weak hands the possessions and rivalries of feudal lords led to civil war and chaos. It was not until the nineteenth century that this feudal organization began to break up.

This much is true of the whole Mountain. Among the Maronites however the tradition was enriched by several other strands. It was a tradition of *clericalism*. More even than other Syrians were they were dominated by their clergy. The priests were national leaders, the centre around which turned the struggle of the community to survive and retain its identity; and the Maronite Patriarch, the only Patriarch residing in Lebanon itself, was a temporal as well as a spiritual power in the northern portion of the Mountain.

X. POLITICAL HISTORY, 1920–1936

1

642 THE political organization described in the last chapter
643 remained fundamentally unchanged until 1936. In two out of the four units the years 1920–1936 were on the whole marked by political tranquillity and administrative progress. In Lebanon, constitutional development was more rapid than in the other States. In 1925 the High Commissioner entrusted the Representative Council with the task of drafting a constitution for the State. The constitution was promulgated in May, 1926. It provided for the establishment of normal republican institutions: an elected President, who by convention was always a Christian; a responsible Ministry; an elected Chamber and a nominated Senate, which after a time were combined into a single Chamber, two-thirds elected and one-third nominated. Article 90 reserved the rights and duties of the Mandatory Power, as derived from Article 22 of the Covenant and from the Mandate; while Article 91 stated that when circumstances permitted Lebanon would apply for admission to the League of Nations, and in doing so would have recourse to the good offices of the Mandatory Power.[1] Modified in 1927 and 1929, the Constitution was suspended in 1932 because it had proved too cumbersome and expensive; the administration was carried on directly by the President of the Republic, until in 1934 the High Commissioner issued a decree provisionally re-establishing a small Chamber.

644 Some of the Moslem and other elements in Lebanon were immediately responsive to movements of opinion in the State of Syria and the rest of the Arab world, of which they considered Lebanon to form a part. But to a great extent Lebanese political life developed in its own way; it was dominated by the problems arising from the extension of the
● 645 frontiers in 1920. Lebanon as it existed before 1914 had
646 contained a large Christian majority; but in the Lebanese Republic established in 1920 Christians formed scarcely more than 50 per cent of the population.[2] Moreover, both Christians and Moslems were subdivided into a number of sects, the largest of which, the Maronite sect, included only 30 per cent

[1] For text of the Constitution, see J. B. Kelly, Documents for Constitutional Reference, 1965 edition, Oxford University Press, Volume I, pp. 218–23.
[2] See Chapter 8 (1).

of the population. Several of these were possessed a local predominance in some part of the Republic: the Maronites in the north, the Druzes in the south, the Sunnis in the coastal towns of Beirut, Tripoli and Saida, and the Shi'is in the Biqa' and the extreme south. The consequences which are likely to flow from such a situation are clear. The political life of the Republic was deeply affected by the struggle for equality or superiority between a number of communities, none of them so strong as to be able to dominate all the rest. Sectarian loyalties and sectarian jealousies thus continued and perhaps strengthened themselves. In addition, the domination of the spiritual leaders over the members of their communities was perpetuated; the Maronite Patriarch in particular wielded an incalculable influence over the political life of the country.

The importance of communal differences in Lebanon was recognized by the Mandate. Article 2 stated the necessity of guaranteeing the most complete liberty of conscience and worship; the equal treatment of all inhabitants irrespective of differences of race, religion and language; and the right of communities to maintain their own schools. Article 6 required the Mandatory Power to respect the personal status and religious interests of the different sections of the population. These guarantees were reaffirmed in the Lebanese Constitution, promulgated in 1926, Article 9 of which declared: "Liberty of conscience is absolute. In rendering homage to the Most High, the State respects all confessions and guarantees and protects the free exercise of them, on condition that no harm is done to public order. It guarantees equally to populations belonging to every rite respect for their personal status and their religious interests."

These guarantees were respected by the Mandatory Power to a considerable extent. For example, the traditional jurisdictions of the communal courts were maintained in some matters of personal status, although a large proportion of such matters were transferred to the civil courts. An attempt was made in 1936 to define the whole position of the communal jurisdictions. The High Commissioner issued a decree in which the historic communities were given explicit legal recognition. Their statutes were given the force of law, and

APPENDIX B

RECENT STATISTICS OF THE POPULATION OF SYRIA AND LEBANON

More up-to-date estimates of the population than those given in Chapters V and VII have come to hand since the text of this book was completed. They are as follows:

TABLE I

POPULATION BY PROVINCES ("MOHAFAZAHS")

Syria:

Mohafazat of Damascus	[illegible]
Aleppo	[illegible]
Homs	[illegible]
Hama	[illegible]
Hasetah	[illegible]
Euphrates	[illegible]
Jazirah	[illegible]
Jebel Druse	[illegible]
Lattakia (Alawite)	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]

Lebanon:

Mohafazat of Beirut	[illegible]
Mount Lebanon	[illegible]
North Lebanon	[illegible]
South Lebanon	[illegible]
Bekaa	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]
Total for Syria and Lebanon	[illegible]

Notes:

(i) The Bedouin are not included in the Syrian figures. Their total number has been estimated at about [illegible].

(ii) The Syrian figures give the population as it was at the end of 1945, the Lebanese figures are for the end of 1944.

APPENDIX 9

TABLE II

Population by Religious Communities

Religious Community	Syria	Lebanon
Sunnis	[illegible]	[illegible]
Shi'is	[illegible]	[illegible]
Druses	[illegible]	[illegible]
Alawis	[illegible]	—
Ismailis	[illegible]	—
"Latins" (i.e. Roman Catholics of the Latin rite)	[illegible]	[illegible]
Maronites	[illegible]	[illegible]
Greek Catholics	[illegible]	[illegible]
Greek Orthodox	[illegible]	[illegible]
Armenian Catholics	[illegible]	[illegible]
Armenian Orthodox	[illegible]	[illegible]
Syrian Catholics	[illegible]	[illegible]
Syrian Orthodox	[illegible]	[illegible]
Chaldaean Catholics	[illegible]	[illegible]
Nestorians	[illegible]	—
Protestants	[illegible]	[illegible]
Jews	[illegible]	[illegible]
Yazidis	[illegible]	—
Various	—	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]

433, 162, 464, 439

Egypt	MER1
Turkey	MB1
Iraq	MH1
Syria	MD1
● Lebanon	ME1
Historical Palestine	MF2
Israel	MF1

/For an account of the economic effects of industrialization after World War II and information on industrial output in countries of the Middle East, see 66: Bonne, M1 Middle East, category 116 as follows: Egypt - pp. 293-298, p. 309, Turkey - pp. 298-300, 307-308, Syria and Lebanon - pp. 300-302, 309-310, Palestine - pp. 302-304, Israel - pp. 310-311./

Nevertheless, some two hundred and fifty years ago, the amount of its landed property has remained practically the same. In fact, there has been some decrease in the land area, due to the sale of some plots to outsiders. The early families, who established the village, got hold of the land and made use of it to the extent demanded by their needs. They were few in number and their needs were very simple.

Consequently, during the first one hundred and fifty years or so, the balance of the land-population relationship was weighted heavily on the land side—a much greater supply than there was demand. This gave the village people (consciously or unconsciously) a strong impetus to increase their numbers. At the same time, it was realized that one more child on the farm was a decided economic asset, and not a liability. The growing child cost less to be brought up than he or she could produce. No taxation, school fees, medical expenses, etc., to speak of, were involved. The people went on multiplying and increasing, and consequently, dividing and subdividing the land without being in the least concerned with the point to which the process was leading them.

The village population went on increasing until about 1890. A balance was then struck—between the capacity of the village land and the number of people. The land could not support any more people, and there was a vague consciousness of a growing problem—what will the rising generation do? Meantime, the village

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soil began to show signs of depletion. It could no longer give the same produce as when it was virgin soil; and the old methods of agriculture were not capable of rehabilitating the soil to the desired extent. This further disturbed the land-population balance and made the problem seem more acute. Emigration seemed to be the only solution.

The following table (I) of births and deaths for a period of 40 years is a fair indication of the rate at

TABLE I. BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN THE VILLAGE OF [illegible], NORTH LEBANON, 1870-1909

Period	Births	Deaths	Excess of births over deaths
1870-1874	138	97	41
1875-1879	94	40	54
1880-1884	72	34	38
1885-1889	88	44	51
1890-1894	110	32	80
1895-1899	128	34	89
1900-1904	184	40	144
1905-1909	170	48	122
Totals	972	298	674

which the village population was growing. The period covered is 1870-1909. The increase due to immigration may be neglected since only a few families came to settle in the village after 1870. It must be admitted that the writer cannot affirm the perfect accuracy of the table. It was calculated from the village church records and verified, as far as their memories permitted, by some of the village elders. The table shows a very high increase of births over deaths for that period—about 3.3 times.[1]

[1] This means an average natural increase of about 17 per 1000 population for the period 1870-1909. Compare this rate with the following rates (1908-12): Australia,

B:Tennessee G,S-S (no date) 1942
MX1 Lebanon MX1

The writer believes that such a high rate of increase is a true representation of the situation. The facts that tend to support this belief are: the strong desire for children, the large number of children per family, and the healthy condition of the people. This was further verified by mapping the village structure over a period of years. Each map showed the number of households in the village for a particular period. Estimating an average of 6 persons per household (based upon census records for 1930-39 and upon family trees and records for

TABLE II. GROWTH OF POPULATION IN BIRDSVILLE, NORTH LEBANON, FOR PERIODS OF 50 YEARS; 1750-1939

Year	Households	Population
1750	18	108
1800	36	216
1850	121	726
1870		1000
1890		1202
1900	234	1404
1939	203	1218

previous periods) the map may be condensed into the following table (III):

It will be observed that the village population has increased steadily and rapidly until the period 1890-1900, when the peak was reached—between 1,200 and 1,400 people. For the past fifty years, the population has remained stagnant or has shown a slight decrease. The village resources could support that number and no more. The surplus was taken care of by emigration.

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10.7; Belgium, 7.8; France, 6.9; Ireland, 6.8; Russia, 14.7; England, 11.9; See Thompson, Warren S., *Population Problems*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, N. Y., 1930. pp. 313-317.

Pf: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

Egypt, Turkey, and Lebanon, it is the agricultural village that is paramount. The Lebanese, it is true, are generally known abroad as a trading people, whose ships have sailed throughout the Mediterranean world since ancient times. But this urban, merchant community has always been backed by the rural community of the Mountain.

In few other countries do we find the village-community type of human settlement so firmly established and so influential in the development of national life as in Lebanon. The village has existed continuously there since ancient times. Despite great upheavals, the farmer of Lebanon has patiently and persistently cultivated the soil, produced his crops, and raised his livestock. He has found in the rugged mountains a refuge from persecution and oppression. He has adapted himself efficiently to the difficult terrain, blasting the rocks and terracing the steep slopes in order to make room for his trees, vines, and grains. Over many centuries of adjustment to his peculiar physical and societal environment, he has succeeded in developing a clearly defined and firmly established way of life. He stands at present as the main pillar of national life in the mountains of Lebanon, the embodiment of a long and rich cultural heritage.

In appraising the significance of the village community in the life of present-day Lebanon, one can readily point out three major contributions. The first of these is biological: the replenishment and revitalization of the population in general, and of the urban population in particular. A study of the development of Lebanon over the past half century reveals clearly that rural areas have been mainly responsible for the building up of the flourishing urban or partly urban centers of Sidon, Beirut, Tripoli, and Zahleh. They have maintained a high birth rate, true to the trend prevailing in all rural areas of the Middle East. Due to a healthful climate and relatively high standards of sanitation, infant mortality has been lower in Lebanon than in the other countries of the Middle East. The result has been a constant stream of vigorous emigrants leaving the villages for urban centers.

Some fifty years ago this population overflow produced such pressure on the limited land and technological resources of

schools are maintained by the Lebanese government under the authority of the Ministry of National Education and by private, denominational and foreign agencies. There are no public secondary schools, and institutions for advanced education are conducted almost exclusively by private or foreign organizations.

There are two universities in Beirut, both of which have made substantial contributions to educational and social leadership throughout the Near and Middle East. The Université Saint-Joseph, which was founded in 1875, is operated by Jesuit priests, and some of its departments are subsidized by the French government. It has faculties of law, theology, engineering, philosophy, oriental letters and medicine, with constituent schools of dentistry, pharmacy, nursing and midwifery. The American University of Beirut was established as the Syrian Protestant College in 1866, and renamed in 1920. It is a nonsectarian, autonomous institution, sponsored by the Near East Colleges Association. The present university incorporates schools of arts and sciences, engineering, medicine, pharmacy and nursing, as well as a new school for agriculture, organized in 1952.

Vital Statistics

No reliable vital statistics are available for Lebanon. The registration of births and deaths is compulsory by law, but reporting is irregular, and the facilities for the compilation and the analysis of statistical data are inadequate. The published statistics are incomplete and of little value in the interpretation of true birth and death rates. No census has been taken since 1932, but, on the basis of the official population estimates, the birth rate was calculated at 31.5 per 1,000 population in 1947 and at 36.1 in 1948. The death rates were given at 5.5 and 6.1 per 1,000 population, respectively, figures which are obviously low.

The infant mortality rates are unknown. The general laxness in reporting births in many rural villages and the tendency to

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[illegible]—incidence, nature, and distribution of nervous diseases and conditions (e.g., by countries, seasons, sex, age, occupations); occurrence of epidemics; evidence of immunity or susceptibility to diseases; dental estimates; etc. See also:

[illegible] as a social problem 14
Theory and treatment of disease 15
Care of infants and children 41
Delinquency and divorce differences 140
Incidence of insanity and epilepsies 150
Public health 160

621 census is late males only. For comparative purposes, all we have is Thomas's
162 statement that in Bahamania, a mostly Greek Orthodox village near Tripoli, women of two generations ago had an average of five children apiece, whereas the women of a Lebanese emigrant community in the southern part of the United States have an average of 3.6 apiece. The members of the community came from Bahamania, Mustafi, and Ghantour (Thomas, 1940a, p. 345).

HEALTH

104 With a few exceptions, the villagers gave the impression of being in excellent
707 health and there was clear evidence that modern medical practices and practitioners were utilized if necessary as a matter of course. Two villagers had been physicians themselves, a matter of some pride. One is now dead, and the other is retired from practice because of advanced age.

621 There is certainly no evidence of physical or mental defects which can clearly
512 be ascribed to inbreeding. Actually, in view of recent studies, we should not expect to find any. It has been suggested, for example, that the genetic composition of a population in which second-cousin marriage is the regular practice is altered comparatively little even after as many as fifteen generations (Kirchhoff & Griffith, 1936, p. 404). Mustafi has been a predominantly endogamous population for thirteen generations at least, and if present conditions are any indication of those of the past, the marriage of second, or closer, cousins is relatively infrequent.

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mainly Christian) these run by foreigners are now finding it difficult to discern the suspicions of the Government. In Lebanon, there are almost as many private as state schools and the foreign schools still work without difficulty. There are higher schools for teachers and for agriculture and engineering in Syria and for agriculture in Lebanon, but it is usual for a student to pass from a secondary school directly to a university. The following table shows the various types of schools and number of students.

Type	Lebanon, 1950		Syria, 1950-1	
	Schools	Students	Schools	Students
State:				
Primary	677	84,000	1,800	400,000
Secondary	40	6,000	70	25,000
Technical	2	600	2	1,000
Teachers	2	600	2	1,000
Agriculture	1	200	—	—
Kindergarten	87	5,000	30	2,000
Private	347	57,000	70	25,000
Foreign	140	21,000	25	8,000
Totals	1,296	174,400	1,000	462,000

... = not available.

(Sources: Statistical Abstract of Syria, 1951-2; Département, 1950; Statistiques, Etat Actuel, 1950)

The American University of Beirut is non-sectarian and has students from all over the Middle East. It encourages the use of Arabic as well as English, and its most renowned faculties are those of medicine and social sciences. The University of St Joseph in Beirut is run by the Society of Jesus. Attached to this university are schools of medicine, law, and theology, subsidized by the French Government and administered by the Society, in which teaching is carried on in the French language. A National University has recently been started by the Lebanese Government. The Syrian National University in Damascus teaches in Arabic and its most important faculties are those of law and medicine. A separate body for the study of the Arabic language is the Arab Academy of Damascus.

Health

Malaria and amoebic dysentery are endemic and, though efforts are being made to drain breeding-grounds, preventive medicine is only in a rudimentary stage. Good hospitals exist in the cities and more are under construction; qualified doctors practise in all the towns, but in the villages there is still a lack

of clinics and in the cities a shortage of qualified staff to undertake massage, radiotherapy, and orthopaedics, and there is special need to combat tuberculosis. Syrians and Lebanese are now addicted to hashish which, however, is grown in the Bekaa and smuggled to Egypt. The Lebanese Government periodically burns many of the plantations, which inflates the price of the surviving crop.

Economic Survey

More than half the population of the two countries is engaged in agriculture which is the most important economic activity. Natural resources hardly exist; there is bitumen in Jebel Bishri in Syria but its production would not be economic; about 10,000 tons a year of asphalt is produced from the neighbourhood of Latakia; and salt is extracted in commercial quantities near Aleppo.

Petroleum

For a number of years, associates of IPC searched for oil in Syria and Lebanon but without finding it in commercial quantities; in consequence, the areas held by these IPC associates have been given up. However, the two Governments are still anxious for further efforts to be made to find oil in commercial quantities. The importance of petroleum to the economy of Syria and Lebanon lies in the situation of the two republics athwart the pipelines from the fields of northern Iraq and Saudi Arabia which have outlets on the Mediterranean.* From Iraq a 12-inch and 16-inch line carry oil across Syria by way of Palmyra and Homs to Tripoli in the Lebanon. Together, these two lines can carry about 8 million tons of oil a year (160,000 barrels daily). A third IPC line from Kirkuk to Homs then bears north of the other two and reaches the sea at Banias, and so does not run through Lebanon at all. This new line is 28-30-30-inches in diameter and can deliver oil at about 18 million tons a year (360,000 barrels daily). From the fields of Saudi Arabia a 30-31 inch American pipeline (Tapline) travels over 1,000 miles on its way to Sidon in Lebanon, passing through Jordan and Syria. At present the line is pumping at a rate of about 15 million tons a year (300,000 barrels daily). It should be noted that these four lines all carry crude oil, some of which is refined on the Mediterranean shore for local requirements but the bulk is shipped as crude to the refineries of Europe and elsewhere.

The line from Kirkuk to Haifa is not operating and the Haifa

* See Appendix IV, p. 370 below.

Government regulations provide for the construction of sanitary facilities for every household in the rural areas, but they are not frequently enforced in many villages. The residents of malarious are often low, particularly in South Lebanon, and pollution of the ground is a common practice. Night soil is frequently utilized as fertilizer, and the consumption of uncooked vegetables contaminated in this manner contributes to a high prevalence of intestinal infections.

Fauna and Flora

Anthropoda. Mosquitoes. To date, 9 species of anopheline mosquitoes have been reported from Lebanon, but only three—*A. superpictus*, *A. sacharovi* (= *A. elutus*) and *A. claviger* (= *A. bifurcatus*)—are of primary concern as vectors of malaria. *A. pulcherrimus*, *A. wesenbi*, *A. algeriensis*, *A. hyrcanus*, *A. multicolor* and *A. maculipennis* have also been identified, but all are rare or localized in distribution.

A. superpictus is widespread and the most difficult to control, since it breeds prolifically in the numerous mountain streams, as well as in pools formed by the overflow from springs, in sand pits and in irrigation canals and seepages, where the water is clear and at least partially exposed to the sun. Larvae are found from April to November, with peaks of prevalence from July to September, in localities below 1,000 feet and even shorter periods at elevations up to 4,000 feet. *A. sacharovi* breeds in swampy areas and along the vegetated margins of ponds, streams and neglected irrigation canals and seepages. It is most abundant around the coastal swamps formed by obstructions at the mouths of the rivers and in the marshlands bordering large underground springs in the Bekaa. Like *A. superpictus*, it breeds from April to November, while its prevalence varies with the degree of flooding during the rainy season. The preponderance of both species is influenced to a large extent by the timing and the volume of the winter and the spring rainfall.

A. stephensi breeds in wells, cisterns and other accumulations of water devoid of vegetation, and is often a prominent vector in or near towns and villages, particularly in the drier sections of South Lebanon and the Bekaa. It is sometimes associated with A. superpictus in shaded and stagnant stretches of the smaller streams. This species breeds throughout the year, but seldom appears in significant numbers before March or April.

Whenever other types of mosquitoes are present, but, with the exception of Culex pipiens, they are of no known medical importance. A. aegypti is responsible for the transmission of dengue fever, which occurs in sporadic outbreaks. Several species of Culex have been recorded, including C. univittatus (= C. pipiens molestus), the probable vector in occasional cases of filariasis and one of the most annoying pest mosquitoes.

Anopheline control measures are undertaken by several agencies, but up to the present there has been no central governmental program covering all parts of the country. The antimalaria service of the Ministry of Public Health started control operations in the Damour plain, south of Beirut, in 1945. The work, which originally combined swamp drainage and antilarval measures, has gradually been extended, with considerable success, to other portions of the littoral and to limited inland areas, especially in the populous districts to the north and the south of the capital. Larvicidal DDT sprays and residual spraying in the towns and the villages with DDT preparations or Gammexane have been used almost exclusively since 1946.

The Near East Foundation, in cooperation with the Ministry and other agencies, carried on an extensive malaria control campaign in the central Bekaa valley from 1941 to 1955, when it closed its headquarters in Lebanon. Anopheline vectors of malaria have been almost eliminated from the Anjar villages and about 300 square miles in the Aamiik swamp region, south of Riyak. The measures employed included drainage, the

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residual spraying of the village houses with insecticides, the treatment of breeding places with larvicides, the screening of permanent bodies of water with Gambusia fish, and the airplane spraying of anopheline mosquito areas with DDT preparations. The villages protected in this manner in 1951 had an aggregate population of about 60,000.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees conducts DDT residual spraying programs in camps and villages occupied by refugees under its jurisdiction, especially in the highly endemic coastal areas in the south and in the Jordan plain near the Syrian border. In September, 1951, demonstration projects were initiated by the World Health Organization, in conjunction with the Ministry of Public Health. The program will include systematic surveys in partially controlled and uncontrolled endemic areas, as the Hebron plain, the northern and the southern sections of the Sinai, the littoral around Tyre and the more remote villages in the coastal area subject.

Flies. Flies of the family *Muscidae* are abundant in all parts of the country, and undoubtedly play a significant role in the spread of intestinal and eye diseases. Several species of *Musca* occur, among which *M. domestica vicina* and *M. sorbens* are most prominent. The stable fly, *Stomoxys calcitrans*, and the nonbiting variety, *Musca stabulans*, are also plentiful. Species of *Haematobia* are numerous. The myiasis-producing flies, which are serious pests for the livestock and occasionally attack man, include *Chrysomyia albiceps*, *Calliphora erythrocephala* and various species of *Sarcophaga* and *Wohlfahrtia*. The flies most frequently implicated in human myiasis are probably *Lucilia sericata* and *Wohlfahrtia magnifica*.

Several species of sandflies have been identified, including *Phlebotomus papatasii* and *P. sergenti*, vectors of cutaneous leishmaniasis in endemic foci, and *P. chinensis* and *P. major*, suspected of being vectors in

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sporadic cases of hydrocoma. *P. japonicus* also transmits sandfly fever, which is endemic throughout this region.

Lice. The human lice, *Pediculus humanus corporis*, *P. humanus capitis* and *Phthirius pubis*, infest the inhabitants in some of the poorer urban and rural communities. *P. humanus corporis* is the vector in occasional outbreaks of louse-borne typhus and louse-borne relapsing fever.

Fleas. The human flea, *Pulex irritans*, and the rat and the dog fleas, *Ctenocephalides felis felis* and *C. canis*, are common. The rat flea, *Xenopsylla cheopis*, infests the domestic and the wild rodents, and is implicated in the transmission of sporadic cases of murine typhus and plague. *Xenopsylla humilis* is indigenous to Palestine, and probably occurs throughout the coastal area, where it is a potential vector of plague.

Bedbugs. The bedbug, *Cimex lectularius*, is an annoying pest in all sections of the country.

Ticks and Mites. Numerous species of ticks infest the livestock. The dog tick, *Rhipicephalus sanguineus*, is widespread. It has been implicated in the transmission of cases of Rocky Mountain spotted fever. *Ornithodoros tholozani* is found in certain isolated localities, and is probably the vector in a few recognized cases of tick-borne relapsing fever.

The human itch mite, *Sarcoptes scabiei*, is widely distributed. It was exceptionally prevalent during the war years 1941-45. The grain itch mite, *Pediculoides ventricosus*, is plentiful in the grain-producing districts. It produces a troublesome rash when it attacks man.

Scorpions and Spiders. Species of *Buthus* and *Scorpio* are sometimes seen, particularly in the interior, but serious cases of scorpion sting apparently are unusual. The poisonous black spider, *Latrodectus mactans*, is reported from Syria and Israel, and may exist in adjacent portions of Lebanon.

Reptiles. Poisonous snakes are relatively rare, but the vipers, *Vipera lebetina lebe-*

[illegible]

[illegible]

ness, *P. falciformis* and *P. palmivorus*, are encountered in some localities.

Habitats. The leaves are, Rubber are regions, is prevalent throughout the coastal area. *B. rubra* discolorifera is present in small numbers in Beirut and the coast towns, but predominates in the inland villages. *B. rubra rubra* is also present. Mites are abundant under both rubber and rural conditions.

Distribution.* The Indo-rubber mite, *Bo* (*Hevea brasiliensis* [= *B. caoutchouc*]), is found in a few localized areas—in the vicinity of Sidon, in the Plain of Sharon and the Esdraelon district concurrent with the springs of Ras el Ain, near Tyre, and in the Litany River, around the Qasmieh bridge in the Bekaa. It is the intermediate host of *Schistosoma haematobium*, and, although the infection apparently is not endemic in the indigenous population, it has recently been observed among Palestinian refugees in the Tyre region.

Plants. Little scientific information is available, but many of the trees, the grasses and the weeds which are known to produce allergic manifestations in susceptible individuals in other countries flourish in Lebanon.

The stamens of wheat sometimes contain seeds of *Cephalosporium cerebrum* or *Lolium temulentum*. Occasional cases of poisoning are traceable to the consumption of breads or farinaceous prepared from wheat flours thus contaminated.

The broad bean, *Vicia faba*, is widely used as a food, but it may cause such symptoms when eaten raw. Serious cases are rare, rarely more, but fatalities are reported at most commonly among young children. In some cases, the chick-pea, *Lathyrus sativus*, a common fodder crop, is responsible for poisoning when it is used as a food.

Food Sanitation

The sanitary inspection of restaurants and premises where food is prepared or sold is the responsibility of the municipal health

*See footnote, page 45.

[illegible]

[illegible] organization in Beirut and of the government authorities in other parts of the country. Shops dispensing foods are required to have a permit, but the enforcement of sanitary regulations is lax in many towns and villages. Although the law provides for the examination of food handlers at 3-month intervals, the routine examinations are often cursory and of little value. The established meats are inspected from time to time, not only by the health officers, but also by agents of the Lebanese meat's department.

Meat animals are inspected, before and after slaughter, by veterinary officers in the municipal abattoirs in Beirut and the principal cities. There is no regular supervision, however, of the meat supplies in the rural areas. A large percentage of the meat used in Lebanon is imported from Syria or Turkey, and is not subject to routine inspection locally.

[illegible] There are two small pasteurization plants in Beirut which process limited amounts of milk, butter and cheese. Although the plants are supervised by the municipal authorities, no control is exercised over the sanitary quality of the raw product. Pasteurized milk is bottled; all other milk is sold in bulk. Milk is commercially bottled before use in each household, but butter and cheese are potential sources of human infection. Brucellosis is endemic among the cattle and the goats. The extent of bovine tuberculosis is not known.

HEALTH SERVICES AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

Recent Developments

[illegible] The public health organization which had evolved before Lebanon became an independent republic in 1943 was reorganized in 1950, and its responsibilities were defined by law. At that time, its name was changed from that of Ministry of Hygiene and Public Assistance to the Ministry of Public Health. The Ministry, which has its headquarters in Beirut, is administered by a Minister of Public Health who is assisted

[illegible]

[illegible] nurses. Since 1951, nurses have also been trained at the Christian Medical Center in Beirut. A School of Midwifery is incorporated in the Jesuits' Dispensary in Middelton, and has a 4-year course for the training of midwives.

Personnel

[illegible] Physicians. Eight hundred and sixteen physicians were reported as practicing in Lebanon in 1949—roughly 1 per 1,000 population. Of this number, 448 were located in Beirut and the remainder in the governorates—120 in North Lebanon, 148 in Mount Lebanon, 51 in South Lebanon and 49 in the Bekaa. In 1951, the staff of the Ministry of Public Health included 30 doctors—6 attached to the headquarters in Beirut, 4 to the quarantine services and 10 in charge of the area units. The municipality of Beirut employs 10 to 15 physicians and the Ministry of National Education, 4.

Dentistry. Reports for 1949 indicate that there were 106 dentists in the country, 69 of whom were settled in Beirut.

Nurses. In 1951, it was estimated that there were from 350 to 400 nurses in Lebanon. In addition, nursing care was given in the hospitals operated by religious orders.

[illegible] Others. The official publications for 1949 listed 210 graduate midwives and 106 midwives with practical training. Over 70 per cent of the graduate midwives were located in the vicinity of Beirut. The same year, there were 103 graduate pharmacists and 41 assistant pharmacists.

[illegible]

[illegible] Prior to 1941, public health activity was largely concentrated in Beirut; consequently, the organization of preventive services and the extension of medical facilities to the provincial districts are still in the developmental stage. At present the reports of research investigations sponsored by the medical departments of the French and the American universities and by other agencies provide the chief sources of information regarding the prevalence of specific

[illegible]

[illegible] Diseases in Lebanon. A section for the compilation and the study of mortality and mortality statistics was established in the Ministry of Public Health in 1953, but the data collected were previous decades are admittedly incomplete. With relatively few exceptions, the notification of communicable diseases was not compulsory. Resistance to quarantine regulations and fear of the social stigma often attached to certain diseases are among the factors contributing to a general laxity in the reporting of even treated notable communicable hospitals and clinics. Although facilities are being expanded continuously, many cases of illness in the rural areas still receive little or no medical attention. Moreover, due to the inadequacy of laboratory services, the differential diagnosis is lacking in many instances. For the most part, the mortality statistics are reliable in the towns, but in the more remote villages the causes of death may be certified by uneducated officials. The deficiencies in reporting and the inaccuracies in diagnosis thus detract from the reliability of the disease statistics available.

Diseases Known as Communicable, Common Diseases Sometimes, or Diseases Rare

Typhoid and Paratyphoid Fevers. Typhoid fevers are among the most important endemic diseases in the country. Typhoid fever is prevalent, with from 700 to 1,000 cases reported annually in the 5 years [illegible]-49. Water-borne outbreaks, caused by the pollution of spring and well supplies, are frequent, especially in the smaller towns and villages. The individual outbreaks vary in severity, but, in general, the fatality rates range from 5 to 10 per cent. One of the largest epidemics in recent years occurred in Zahle in 1944: over 1,000 cases were recorded. Typhoid fever persists throughout the year, usually with peaks of prevalence between May and October and again in December and January. Water-borne outbreaks often coincide with the onset of the heavy rains in the early winter. The

p. 123(A)

p. 123(B)

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

p. 124(b)

1934-35, infection was detected in 22 per cent of 1,156 sheep and goats examined and in 45 per cent of 201 cattle.[49] The degree of infection varies, as shown by the subsequent investigation in 1941,[50] in which cysts were found in 7 to 12 per cent of 2,000 sheep carcasses examined, in 47 per cent of 324 cattle and in 67 per cent of 34 camels. The presence of a greater preponderance of cysts with viable scolices in the sheep carcasses, coupled with the fact that mutton is used more extensively than beef, suggests that sheep represent the chief reservoir of infection. Infection with the liver flukes, *Dicrocoelium dendriticum* and *Fasciola hepatica*, is frequent among the sheep and other domestic animals, and cases are seen occasionally in man.

Brucellosis. Brucellosis is enzootic among the cows and the goats. Little raw milk is used, but sporadic human cases result from contact with infected animals or from the consumption of contaminated cheese and butter. In an investigation conducted in the bacteriologic laboratory of the American University hospital in 1948,[51] agglutination tests were performed on 1,370 samples of whey from the milk of animals in localities where the existence of the human disease was suspected. A positive agglutination reaction was obtained in 17 per cent of the samples of milk collected from 306 cows in Beirut and in 23 per cent from 162 cows in Mesloghara, a village in the Mount Lebanon area. Similarly, positive reactions were observed in 15 per cent of the milk samples from 130 goats in Beirut, in 26 per cent from 82 goats in Tripoli and in 16 per cent from 190 goats in Lakkouk, in the mountains between Beirut and Tripoli. Four strains of *Brucella abortus* and 6 of *Br. melitensis* were isolated from the milk samples; 2 each from the cows in Beirut and Mesloghara and from the goats in Beirut, Tripoli and Lakkouk. Evidence of persistent human infection was indicated by the results in a series of agglutination tests on blood serums from 640 patients registered in the hospital and the clinics of the

American University in Beirut. About 6 per cent gave a positive reaction with *Br. abortus* and *Br. melitensis*. Sporadic cases of infection with *Br. suis*, as well as with *Br. abortus* and *Br. melitensis*, are diagnosed in the course of routine serologic examinations in the Institute de Bactériologie of the Faculté Française de Médecine.

Other Infections. Food poisoning caused by the consumption of cheese and other foods contaminated with toxic strains of *Staphylococcus* is common.

Diseases Spread Chiefly Through the Respiratory Tract

Tuberculosis. Tuberculosis is prevalent, but the extent of infection is not accurately known. In the 6 years 1943-48, the reported deaths from tuberculosis averaged 234 a year, or roughly 31 per 100,000 population. The validity of such mortality statistics is questionable, however, due to the deficiencies in reporting and the tendency to conceal the presence of infection.

Several tuberculin test surveys have been made on small selected groups of the population, but with considerable variation in results. In 1948, the first representative survey was undertaken in Beirut and the surrounding suburbs by the Ministry of Public Health, in co-operation with the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and associated organizations. From October, 1949, to the middle of March, 1950, tuberculin tests were performed on a voluntary basis on about 41,000 individuals of all ages, 29,500 of whom were subsequently inoculated with BCG vaccine. The proportion of persons giving a positive reaction to tuberculin was estimated at 14 to 22 per cent. Among the schoolchildren, who comprised the largest group, the reaction rate averaged 5 per cent at 6 years of age and 17 per cent at 18 years of age. A comparable series, made up of the persons attending a testing center in one of the poorer districts of Beirut, showed 7 per cent positive reactions among children 6 years of age and 26 per cent at 18 years of age.

Q. 125(a),

Higher rates were found in other groups. Among the nurses in the 2 university hospitals, the rates were 35 per cent at 20 years of age and 50 per cent at 25 years of age. Tests among textile workers showed a progressive increase in the reaction rate, from 32 per cent at 13 years of age to 60 per cent at 27 years of age. In the military personnel tested, the reaction rate reached 72 per cent at 35 years of age.[1] Since the departure of the international teams in 1950, the tuberculin testing and BCG inoculation program has been carried on in conjunction with the special tuberculosis dispensaries.

The facilities for the diagnosis and the treatment of tuberculosis have been augmented within the last few years, but they are still inadequate. Taking advantage of the unusually favorable climatic conditions, several tuberculosis sanatoria have been established in Lebanon, which attract patients from all the surrounding Arab countries. In 1948, 4 sanatoria, with an aggregate capacity of 1,067 beds, were maintained by religious or philanthropic organizations. About 370 beds were subsidized by the Ministry of Public Health—40 at Antoura and the remainder in the larger sanatorium operated by a French mission at Bhamdoun. The entire quota of tuberculosis beds is not available for Lebanese patients, since private cases of other nationalities are accepted at all institutions. Due to the deficiency in diagnostic facilities, the majority of cases now referred to the sanatoria are in advanced stages of the disease. Since 1949, the Ministry has opened special tuberculosis dispensaries, with X-ray facilities, in Beirut and Zahle and, more recently, in Tripoli and Sidon. The Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign Society and the Lebanese Red Cross also carry on programs for the prevention of tuberculosis and support diagnostic and treatment services.

Smallpox. Smallpox is endemic, and sporadic cases are reported almost annually. Vaccination against smallpox is compulsory, but enforcement is often incomplete in the rural frontier districts. A major epi-

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demic occurred in 1942 which, according to the official statistics, involved 482 cases, with a fatality rate of 21 per cent. The incidence and the severity of the disease declined the following year—43 cases were reported in 1943, with a fatality of 16 per cent. Subsequently, the prevalence was sporadic until 1948, when localized outbreaks were again observed. From 142 to 171 cases a year were reported in 1948-49, but in 1950 the incidence dropped to the normal low level. Two cases were recorded in 1950, none in 1951.

Diphtheria. Diphtheria has increased in prevalence within the last few years. The reported incidence averaged 20 cases a year in the period 1942-47, but since 1948 it has approximated 130 to 200 cases. Many local authorities attribute the sudden rise in the number of recognized cases in part to the recent influx of refugees and tourists from other countries. The presence of a high rate of subclinical infection, with a correspondingly high degree of immunity in the indigenous population, is suggested by the large number of children who give a negative reaction to the Shick test at an early age. In a series of tests performed in 1949[20] on 1,077 children, 4 to 16 years of age, attending schools in Beirut and the immediate vicinity, 91 per cent responded with a negative reaction. Starting at 5 years of age, the proportion of positive reactors averaged 9 per cent up to 10 years of age and 7 per cent from 10 through 14 years of age. Nineteen children from 15 to 16 years of age were included in the series; all gave negative reactions. In 1950, a program was started for the immunization against diphtheria of all children under 10 years of age.

Meningitis. Small localized outbreaks of meningococcus meningitis are reported almost every year. The recorded cases are normally few in number, but waves of increased prevalence are noted at irregular intervals. In the 12 years 1939-50, the incidence ranged from 12 to 52 cases a year, except in the 2 years 1944 and 1945, when it reached 203 and 101 cases, respectively.

Other Infections. Pneumonia and influenza are common. A serious epidemic of influenza occurred in 1950, in which over 2,000 known cases were recorded between February and June and over 800 in the month of March. 164

Measles, whooping cough and mumps are endemic and frequently epidemic. Scarlet fever is rare. A high degree of immunity is apparently acquired at an early age by the local inhabitants, since repeated surveys, using the Dick test, have shown that the natural susceptibility to scarlet fever toxins is low in adolescents and adults. In a Dick test[illegible]ly carried out in 1949[illegible] on 838 children from 5 to 14 years of age, in different schools in Beirut, negative reactions were obtained in 72 per cent. The number of children giving a positive reaction to the toxin decreased gradually from 25 per cent at 6 to 7 years of age to 8 per cent at 12 to 14 years of age. 164 761

Poliomyelitis is normally sporadic, and the first widespread outbreak was reported in 952. In the 3 months from June to September, 55 cases and 9 deaths were reported from various parts of the country. Over 78 per cent of the cases were among children under 5 years of age. Rheumatic fever is prominent among the diseases of childhood. 164

Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Contact

Venereal Diseases. Venereal diseases are widely distributed, but little information is available regarding their prevalence in the general population. Syphilis and gonorrhea predominate, but all forms of venereal disease are encountered, especially in Beirut, which is a center for traffic from the east and the west.

Diseases of the Eyes. Trachoma is a major public health problem in sections of southern Lebanon, where a large percentage of the people live in small and often remote villages and the standards of living and sanitation are generally low. The extent of infection varies in different localities, but 164 511 369

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in some villages at least 80 per cent of the inhabitants are affected. The disease is encountered less frequently in the north, except in certain congested quarters of Beirut and Tripoli, which house large numbers of workers from the south. In most areas, a higher rate of infection prevails among the Moslem communities than among the Christians. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Public Health, the incidence has decreased appreciably since 1943. A total of 3,843 cases was reported in 1949, in contrast with over 6,000 cases in 1941. The recorded cases, however, represent a small fraction of the actual prevalence. In a study of roughly 180,000 cases from all parts of the country, undertaken by doctors from the American University of Beirut in 1950,[42] the infection rates were estimated at 40 per cent in South Lebanon, 15 per cent in the Bekaa, 10 per cent in North Lebanon and 5 per cent in Mount Lebanon. They averaged 5 per cent in Beirut district, but reached 20 per cent in some of the poorer quarters of the city.

Acute conjunctivitis is widespread from June to December, and particularly between August and October, when the flies are abundant. About two thirds of the cases are usually attributed to infection with *Haemophilus conjunctivitidis* (Koch-Weeks bacillus). A large proportion of the remainder are of pneumococcal origin. Cases of gonococcal conjunctivitis are relatively infrequent.

A special hospital for the treatment of trachoma and other eye diseases has recently been established by the health authorities at Tebnin, an important focus of trachoma in South Lebanon. Measures for the improvement of sanitary conditions are also being carried forward in many villages.

Diseases of the Skin. Mycotic infections, especially favus and ringworm of the scalp or the skin, are common. The majority of cases of dermatophytosis are caused by *Achorion schoenleini*, *Trichophyton violaceum* or *T. gypseum*. Lupus is sometimes seen in the dermatology clinics.

753 Cases of impetigo are numerous, often
571 following lesions produced by the irritating
569 effects of the sun. Scabies and pediculosis
575 are encountered in the crowded sections of the cities and in the poorer rural villages. Both were widely distributed during the war years 1941-46, when the scarcity of soaps and clothing contributed to increased unhygienic conditions. Cases of human syphilis are observed occasionally.

164 Leprosy. Leprosy is endemic, and cases
569 are reported sporadically. Thirty-one cases were known to exist in Lebanon in 1950. Of this number, 7 were located in South Lebanon and 11 in the Hermil area of the northern Bekaa, while 13 were irregularly distributed throughout the rest of the country. With the exception of one 17-year-old boy in Beirut, all the cases were from rural communities. No young children were included, and most of the affected individuals were over 25 years of age. Clinically, about 75 to 80 per cent of the cases were lepromatous in type. There is no hospital for the
164 treatment of leprosy in Lebanon, but pa-
943 tients are sent at government expense to the
944 leprosarium at Douma, near Damascus.

Leprosy in Lebanon. Areas of Greatest Prevalence

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Other Infections. Canine rabies is common, and human cases are observed from time to time. In each of the 4 years 1947-50, from 469 to 421 persons from Lebanon and Syria received prophylactic treatment for the prevention of rabies at the Institut Antirabique of the Faculté Française de Médecine at Beirut. Either the Semple or the Fermi type of vaccine was employed. From 3 to 6 deaths were recorded each year, usually among individuals who had been bitten by wild animals or who had delayed treatment. About 75 per cent of the persons registered within this period were bitten by dogs and 20 per cent by rats; the remainder by cats, wolves, hyenas and other animals.

Anthrax is enzootic among the sheep, and human infections occur occasionally. Sporadic cases of rat-bite fever are recorded.

Leptospirosis is not reported, but the infection is known to be enzootic among the local rats. Using a combination of staining, darkfield illumination and culture technics, *Leptospira icterohaemorrhagiae* was demonstrated in 8 out of 65 specimens of *Rattus norvegicus* trapped in Beirut in 1945.[20] Five rats of the species *R. rattus alexandrinus* were studied at the same time, but none was found to be infected.

Diseases Spread by Arthropods

Malaria. Malaria has long been a disease of major health and economic importance in Lebanon. As a result of anopheline control programs, it has recently dropped from first to second place among the disease problems of the country. Nevertheless, at least one fifth of the inhabitants live in endemic or hyperendemic regions, and are potentially exposed to infection each year. The trend over the last decade has been downward; the official statistics suggest that the peak of prevalence occurred in 1942-44, coincident with the military operations in the area and the influx of persons from other countries. The recorded cases, which represent a small fraction of the total, diminished from over 21,000 in 1943

to about 6,000 in 1948; the deaths from 132 to 26.

Malaria is present in over one third of the territory, while the highest transmission rates are found in the rural villages situated near swamps or watercourses. The intensity of infection varies with the geography and the social and the agricultural development of the district, as well as with the volume of spring rainfall, factors which govern the breeding of the primary vectors, *Anopheles sacharovi*, *A. superpictus* and *A. claviger*. Hyperendemic foci exist chiefly in the Bekaa valley and in portions of the littoral, but active transmission also takes place in scattered localities in the mountains up to elevations of 2,700-3,000 feet. The malaria season extends from May to December, with *Plasmodium vivax* predominating in the spring and the summer, and *P. falciparum* in the late summer and the fall. *P. malariae* is encountered in a relatively small proportion of the cases. *P. ovale* was identified in 1943,[7] but the presence of this species has not been confirmed, and many authorities doubt that it is indigenous.

Malaria control work, involving drainage projects, antilarval measures and the distribution of antimalarial drugs, has been carried on by governmental and other agencies for several years. Since 1946-47, supplementary programs, based upon residual spraying in the towns and the villages with DDT preparations or Gammexane, have been undertaken by the Ministry of Public Health in the littoral and certain highly malarious inland districts. No co-ordinated surveys have been attempted, but a considerable reduction in prevalence is apparent. In accumulated studies made by different observers prior to 1947, covering 173 representative communities in all 4 provinces, the spleen rates in children were estimated at 50 per cent or more in 22 villages. They ranged from 25 to 49 per cent in 61 villages, from 11 to 24 per cent in 85, and from zero to 10 per cent in 7. However, in limited surveys of 31 rural villages subsequently undertaken by the caza (district)

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Distribution of Malaria in Lebanon

doctors of the Ministry in December, 1950, the spleen rate exceeded 5 per cent in only 3 villages, both in the Bikaa. It was less than 10 per cent in 23 villages, and ranged from 11 to 24 per cent in 3 and from 25 to 40 per cent in 3. Splenic indices of 3 to 25 per cent were observed in 11 villages studied in Mount Lebanon, whereas rates of 30 to 80 per cent had been recorded previously. Similarly, the rates in 6 villages in North Lebanon ranged from 6 to 44 per cent in 1950, as against 14 to 68 per cent in the surveys prior to 1947. The spleen rates for 7 villages in South Lebanon varied from 5 to 16 per cent in 1950 and from 32 to 83 per cent prior to 1947. The 1950 rates for 6 villages in the Bekaa ranged from 5 to 31 per cent; the rates recorded before 1947, from 20 to 80 per cent. Reductions of 35 to 49 per cent were noted in Deir el Achair, Anoumik and Saidi, villages with initial indices of 68 to 80 per cent[40]

Beirut and the surrounding suburbs are now relatively free from malaria. Some transmission takes place in the communities along the river, but the spleen rates probably do not reach 10 per cent, even in the most malarious sectors. As of 1951, major

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foci of malaria persisted in the 'Akkar plain, in sections of the northern and the southern Bekaa and in scattered districts in the Lebanon mountains. A malaria survey, to implement and correlate the previous studies, and a demonstration control program were inaugurated in 1951 by the Ministry, in co-operation with the World Health Organization.

Rickettsial Infections. Louse-borne typhus apparently is not endemic, but occasional outbreaks have been recorded, usually during periods of social distress. Infestation with lice is common among the inhabitants in the poorer urban and rural districts, and minor epidemics have followed the introduction of the disease from surrounding areas in the Near East. No cases were reported during the war years 1941-45, and the widespread employment of DDT sprays in the towns and the villages has materially reduced the danger of infection. Murine typhus is indigenous, however. Sporadic cases are observed from all parts of the country, the majority of which occur during the summer months, from July through September. The disease is typically mild, with a comparatively low fatality rate. The actual prevalence is unknown, due to the general confusion in diagnosis and the lack of facilities for laboratory confirmation outside Beirut. The causative agent, *Rickettsia mooseri*, has been isolated from rats captured in Beirut. The rat flea, *Xenopsylla cheopis*, is the vector.

Cases of fièvre boutonneuse are sometimes reported, in which the dog tick, *Rhipicephalus sanguineus*, is the probable vector. Since the diagnosis has been established primarily in hospitals in Beirut, the extent and the distribution of the infection are uncertain.

Plague. Serious outbreaks of plague have been recorded in the past, but only sporadic cases have been reported since the early 1930s. The last case, a bubonic infection, was seen in 1947 in a village on the outskirts of Beirut. Many local authorities believe that the infection exists among the wild

rodents in some rural districts of the interior, but the presence of a sylvatic focus has not been established.

Relapsing Fever. Tick-borne relapsing fever is endemic, and cases confirmed by laboratory examination are encountered from time to time. The tick vector, *Ornithodorus tholozani*, is found in caves and sheltered crevices in certain remote rural areas.

Outbreaks of louse-borne relapsing fever are described intermittently from Syria, less frequently from Lebanon. In connection with the epidemics which spread through the Mediterranean countries in 1942-44, only 173 cases were recorded from Syria and Lebanon combined.

Leishmaniasis. Isolated cases of kala-azar are observed in the hospitals in Beirut almost every year. The infection probably occurs over a wide area, but only one focus, located around Chekka on the road to Tripoli, has been recognized to date. Cutaneous leishmaniasis, or Oriental sore, is endemic in sections of the Littoral and the Bekaa valley. In 1948, an outbreak involving over 200 cases was reported from Hermil, a village in the northern Bekaa. The cases were found mainly among young children. Canine leishmaniasis is known to be present in the Beirut area, and a considerable reservoir of infection undoubtedly exists among the dog population.

Phlebotomus flies are widely distributed throughout this region. *Phlebotomus papatasii* and *P. sergenti* are vectors of cutaneous leishmaniasis, while *P. chinensis* or *P. major* may be implicated in the transmission of the visceral infection.

Other Infections. Sandfly fever is common during the summer months, when the vector, *Phlebotomus papatasii*, is present in large numbers. Seasonal outbreaks of dengue fever are recurrent in the coastal region. An unusually severe outbreak was experienced in the vicinity of Beirut in 1945.

Filariasis was unknown in Lebanon until 1945, when 3 indigenous cases, all with lymph gland involvement, were reported. Later, in 1951, a series of 4 cases was de-

scribed from Djezzineh, on the coast about 164
30 miles north of Beirut. Microfilaria, supposedly of *Wuchereria bancrofti*, were found in the blood of 3 cases, while the fourth showed symptoms of hydrocele. Local authorities believe that the infection was introduced by African troops stationed in the area during World War II. Potential *Culex* vectors are abundant.

Nutritional Diseases

Undernutrition is seen predominantly 146
among the children in the congested urban 369
districts and in the poorer villages, where 611
poverty, ignorance and, sometimes, intestinal parasitism are contributory factors. Nutritional diseases are relatively rare, but subclinical manifestations of avitaminosis are frequent. Rickets is often observed in South Lebanon: cases are attributed to the fact that many children are improperly fed and are confined indoors for long periods while their parents are at work in the fields.

Goiter is endemic in the vicinity of Zahle 146
and Djezzin. Cases of cretinism are occasionally encountered.

Miscellaneous Conditions

Sporadic outbreaks of infectious hepatitis 164
are reported, usually in the late summer or the fall. Children are primarily affected, but all age groups are represented in the various epidemics. Cases of encephalitis lethargica are diagnosed from time to time.

Q fever is enzootic among the livestock, and undoubtedly exists to some degree in the general population. In studies from the bacteriology department of the American University of Beirut,[45] a large proportion of positive reactions were obtained in complement fixation tests on blood serum samples from sheep, goats and cattle received from various countries in the Near East. In the serums collected from animals in Beirut, positive reactions were obtained in 23 per cent of 228 sheep tested, in 34 per cent of 134 goats and in 8 per cent of 97 cattle. The reaction rates with the serums from smaller numbers of animals from Tripoli

and Sidon were roughly comparable. In a series of 1,151 complement fixation tests on miscellaneous human serums sent to the Wassermann laboratory of the University hospital, 7 per cent gave a positive reaction with Q fever antigen.

SUMMARY

Lebanon, formerly one of the French-mandated Levant states, has been an independent republic since 1943. It is a compact territory, with an estimated population in 1948 slightly in excess of 1,229,500 and a density of roughly 300 inhabitants per square mile. Unlike the surrounding Arab countries, the Christian and the Moslem elements of the population are almost equal in collective numerical strength and political importance.

Responsibility for the health of the people resides in the Ministry of Public Health of the Lebanese government, which acts in co-operation with other ministries and numerous philanthropic and religious organizations. The public health and the medical care functions of the Ministry are directed from Beirut. The city is one of the leading medical centers of the Near and Middle East, with two university medical schools and associated hospitals. In 1948, there were 73 hospitals (including sanatoria) in the country, with an aggregate capacity of 5,181 beds, or approximately 4.2 beds per 1,000 population. Eight hospitals were maintained by the Ministry of Public Health, while 56 were conducted under private or philanthropic auspices and 9 by foreign organizations. In addition to the outpatient services of the hospitals, a central polyclinic, 17 rural dispensaries and 4 tuberculosis clinics were operated by the Ministry; a polyclinic by the municipal health department in Beirut; 16 dispensaries by the Lebanese Red Cross; and various units by other organizations.

Water supplies are derived from streams, springs or wells, and are usually abundant in the coastal region but often deficient in the interior. Treated municipal water sup-

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Supplies are available in Beirut, Tripoli and some of the mountain resort towns, but many well and spring sources are unprotected and subject to pollution. Sewerage systems exist in parts of Beirut and Tripoli, but primitive methods of sewage disposal are employed in most towns and villages. The standards of food sanitation vary; the enforcement of sanitary regulations devolves upon the municipal health organization in Beirut and upon the government in other parts of the country.

The most prominent disease problems are malaria, typhoid fever, dysentery and trachoma. Tuberculosis, pneumonia, venereal diseases, rheumatic fever, helminthiasis and skin infections are common. Monkeypox is

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1960 1961 infection is prevalent in localized foci. Vaccination against smallpox is compulsory, but occasional cases and outbreaks are recorded.

1964 Leprosy, rabies, diphtheria, poliomyelitis, brucellosis, murine typhus, leishmaniasis and tick-borne relapsing fever are endemic. Meningococcus meningitis, measles, whooping cough, dengue fever, sandfly fever and infectious hepatitis are endemic and sometimes epidemic. Scarlet fever and fièvre boutonneuse are sporadic. Filariasis and schistosomiasis have apparently been introduced within the last few years. Outbreaks of plague, louse-borne typhus and cholera have occurred in the past, but no recent cases have been recorded.

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M:Tannous G,S-S (no date) Ref.
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311 167 soil began to show signs of depletion. It could no longer give the same produce as when it was virgin soil; and the old methods of agriculture were not capable of rehabilitating the soil to the desired extent. This further disturbed the land-population balance and made the problem seem more acute. Emigration seemed to be the only solution.

165 166 The following table (I) of births and deaths for a period of 40 years is a fair indication of the rate at

TABLE I. NUMBERS OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN THE VILLAGE OF BISHMEZZEEN, NORTH LEBANON, 1870-1909

Period	Births	Deaths	Excess of births over deaths
1870-1874	108	27	81
1875-1879	94	40	54
1880-1884	72	34	38
1885-1889	95	44	51
1890-1894	118	32	86
1895-1899	123	34	89
1900-1904	184	40	144
1905-1909	178	45	133
TOTAL	972	296	676

which the village population was growing. The period covered is 1870-1909. The increase due to immigration may be neglected since only a few families came to settle in the village after 1870. It must be admitted that the writer cannot affirm the perfect accuracy of the table. It was calculated from the village church records and verified, as far as their memories permitted, by some of the village elders. The table shows a very high increase of births over deaths for that period—about 3.3 times.[1]

R 64(A)

[1] This means an average natural increase of about 12 per 1000 population for the period 1870-1909. Compare this rate with the following rates (1908-12): Austria,

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The writer believes that such a high rate of increase is a true representation of the situation. The facts that tend to support this belief are: the strong desire for children, the large number of children per family, and the healthy condition of the people. This was further verified by mapping the village structure over a period of years. Each map showed the number of households in the village for a particular period. Estimating an average of 6 persons per household (based upon census records for 1930-39 and upon family trees and records for

TABLE II. GROWTH OF POPULATION IN BAKHOUSHIEH, NORTH LEBANON, FOR PERIODS OF 80 YEARS; 1750-1939

Year	Households	Population
1750	18	108
1800	36	216
1850	121	726
1870		1000
1890		1332
1900	234	1404
1939	203	1218

previous periods) the map may be condensed into the following table (III):

It will be observed that the village population has increased steadily and rapidly until the period 1890-1900, when the peak was reached—between 1,200 and 1,400 people. For the past fifty years, the population has remained stagnant or has shown a slight decrease. The village resources could support that number and no more. The surplus was taken care of by emigration.

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10.7; Belgium, 7.8; France, 6.9; Ireland, 6.3; Russia, 18.7; England, 11.9; See Thompson, Warren S., *Population Problems*, McGraw-Hill Book Company, N. Y., 1930, pp. 214-217.

Schools are maintained by the Lebanese government under the authority of the Ministry of National Education and by private, denominational and foreign agencies. There are no public secondary schools, and institutions for advanced education are conducted almost exclusively by private or foreign organizations.

There are two universities in Beirut, both of which have made substantial contributions to educational and social leadership throughout the Near and Middle East. The Université Saint-Joseph, which was founded in 1875, is operated by Jesuit orders, and some of its departments are subsidized by the French government. It has faculties of law, theology, engineering, philosophy, oriental letters and medicine, with constituent schools of dentistry, pharmacy, nursing and midwifery. The American University of Beirut was established as the Syrian Protestant College in 1866, and renamed in 1920. It is a nonsectarian, nonpolitical institution, sponsored by the Near East Colleges Association. The present university incorporates schools of arts and sciences, engineering, medicine, pharmacy and nursing, as well as a new school for agriculture, organized in 1952.

Vital Statistics

No reliable vital statistics are available for Lebanon. The registration of births and deaths is compulsory by law, but reporting is irregular, and the facilities for the compilation and the analysis of statistical data are inadequate. The published statistics are incomplete and of little value in the interpretation of true birth and death rates. No census has been taken since 1932, but, on the basis of the official population estimates, the birth rate was calculated at 21.3 per 1,000 population in 1947 and at 26.1 in 1948. The death rates were given at 5.5 and 6.1 per 1,000 population, respectively, figures which are obviously low.

The infant mortality rates are unknown. The general laxness in reporting births in many rural villages and the tendency to

165 evade punishment by concealing the death
369 of unregistered infants detract from the
165 validity of the meager data available. Local pediatricians believe that the mortality rate in children up to 2 years of age averages from 25 to 30 per cent for the country as a whole. It ranges from 10 to 15 per cent, or more, in Beirut proper to from 30 to 45 per cent in Tripoli, Sidon and the towns of
165 the interior. In the more remote villages of
871 South Lebanon, the standards of living are uniformly low, and the mortality in children under 2 years of age probably reaches 50 to 70 per cent. Intestinal diseases are foremost among the causes of death in infancy and early childhood.

Social Economy

241 The economy of Lebanon is based upon
914 agriculture, but the country is in a more
167 favorable position than the neighboring Arab states, in that the national income is augmented by an increasing tourist traffic and by remittances to their families from
241 emigrants living abroad. Although the
511 coastal plain and the Bekaa valley support a variety of crops, a large part of the territory is mountainous and unsuitable for cultivation. The coastal region is cultivated intensively, with a series of narrow terraces extending along the seaward slopes of the Lebanon range up to an elevation of about 3,000 feet. Little more than 20 per cent of the total land area is now under production, while less than one fifth of that is irrigated. Considerable disparity exists between recent estimates of the amount of arable land, but all agree that it can be increased materially by a greater utilization of the available water resources and by improved
653 methods of cultivation. Programs have already been initiated for the further development of irrigation facilities, notably in the southern Bekaa, and in the 'Akkar plain, a triangular sector between the coast
412 and the northern frontier with Syria. The tradition of private ownership is strong in the mountainous districts of the north, and most of the land is cultivated by independent farmers.

ibia, *V. lebetina castanea* and *V. palaestina*, are encountered in some localities.

Rodents. The brown rat, *Rattus norvegicus*, is prevalent throughout the coastal area. *R. rattus alexandrinus* is present in small numbers in Beirut and the coast towns, but predominates in the inland villages. *R. rattus rattus* is also present. Mice are abundant under both urban and rural conditions.

Molluscs.* The fresh-water snail, *Bulinus truncatus* (— *B. contortus*), is found in a few localized areas—in the vicinity of Sidon, in the Nahr el Sanour and the irrigation ditches connected with the springs of Ras el 'Ain, near Tyre, and in the Litany River, around the Qaraoun bridge in the Bekaa. It is the intermediate host of *Schistosoma haematobium*, and, although the infection apparently is not endemic in the indigenous population, it has recently been observed among Palestinian refugees in the Tyre region.

Plants. Little scientific information is available, but many of the trees, the grasses and the weeds which are known to produce allergic manifestations in susceptible individuals in other countries flourish in Lebanon.

The stocks of wheat sometimes contain seeds of *Cephalaria syriaca* or *Lolium temulentum*. Occasional cases of poisoning are traceable to the consumption of breads or *burghul* prepared from wheat flours thus contaminated.

The broad bean, *Vicia faba*, is widely used as a food, but it may cause toxic symptoms when eaten raw. Serious cases are relatively rare, but fatalities are reported almost annually among young children. In some cases, the chick-pea, *Lathyrus sativus*, a common fodder crop, is responsible for poisoning when it is used as a food.

Food Sanitation

The sanitary inspection of restaurants and premises where food is prepared or sold is the responsibility of the municipal health

*See footnote, page 10.

diseases in Lebanon. A section for the compilation and the study of morbidity and mortality statistics was established in the Ministry of Public Health in 1951, but the data collected over previous decades are admittedly incomplete. With relatively few exceptions, the notification of communicable diseases was not compulsory. Resistance to quarantine regulations and fear of the social stigma often attached to certain diseases are among the factors contributing to a general laxity in the reporting of cases treated outside government hospitals and clinics. Although facilities are being expanded continuously, many cases of illness in the rural areas still receive little or no medical attention. Moreover, due to the inadequacy of laboratory services, the differential diagnosis is lacking in many conditions. For the most part, the mortality statistics are reliable in the towns, but in the more remote villages the causes of death may be certified by nonmedical officials. The deficiencies in reporting and the inaccuracies in diagnosis thus detract from the validity of the disease statistics available.

Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Intestinal or Urinary Tract

Typhoid and Paratyphoid Fevers. Enteric fevers are among the most important endemic diseases in the country. Typhoid fever is prevalent, with from 718 to 1,824 cases reported annually in the 8 years 1943-49. Water-borne outbreaks, caused by the pollution of spring and well supplies, are frequent, especially in the smaller towns and villages. The individual outbreaks vary in severity, but, in general, the fatality rates range from 5 to 11 per cent. One of the largest epidemics in recent years occurred in Zahle in 1946: over 1,000 cases were recorded. Typhoid fever persists throughout the year, usually with peaks of prevalence between May and October, and again in December and January. Water-borne outbreaks often coincide with the onset of the heavy rains in the early winter. The

American University in Beirut. About 6 per cent gave a positive reaction with *Br. abortus* and *Br. melitensis*. Sporadic cases of infection with *Br. suis*, as well as with *Br. abortus* and *Br. melitensis*, are diagnosed in the course of routine serologic examinations in the Institute de Bactériologie of the Faculté Française de Médecine.

Other Infections. Food poisoning caused by the consumption of cheese and other foods contaminated with toxic strains of *Staphylococcus* is common.

Diseases Spread Chiefly Through the Respiratory Tract

Tuberculosis. Tuberculosis is prevalent, but the extent of infection is not accurately known. In the 6 years 1943-48, the reported deaths from tuberculosis averaged 254 a year, or roughly 21 per 100,000 population. The validity of such mortality statistics is questionable, however, due to the deficiencies in reporting and the tendency to conceal the presence of infection.

Several tuberculin test surveys have been made on small selected groups of the population, but with considerable variation in results. In 1949, the first representative survey was undertaken in Beirut and the surrounding suburbs by the Ministry of Public Health, in co-operation with the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and associated organizations. From October, 1949, to the middle of March, 1950, tuberculin tests were performed on a voluntary basis on about 45,000 individuals of all ages, 29,500 of whom were subsequently inoculated with BCG vaccine. The proportion of persons giving a positive reaction to tuberculin was estimated at 14 to 22 per cent. Among the schoolchildren, who comprised the largest group, the reaction rate averaged 5 per cent at 6 years of age and 17 per cent at 18 years of age. A comparable series, made up of the persons attending a testing center in one of the poorer districts of Beirut, showed 7 per cent positive reactions among children 6 years of age and 26 per cent at 18 years of age.

757 Higher rates were found in other groups.
659 Among the nurses in the 2 university hospitals, the rates were 35 per cent at 20 years of age and 50 per cent at 25 years of age. Tests among textile workers showed a progressive increase in the reaction rate, from 32 per cent at 13 years of age to 60 per cent at 27 years of age. In the military personnel tested, the reaction rate reached 72 per cent at 35 years of age.[1] Since the departure of [640] the international teams in 1950, the tuberculin testing and BCG inoculation program has been carried on in conjunction with the special tuberculosis dispensaries.

164 The facilities for the diagnosis and the
758 treatment of tuberculosis have been aug-
943 mented within the last few years, but they are still inadequate. Taking advantage of the unusually favorable climatic conditions, several tuberculosis sanatoria have been established in Lebanon, which attract patients from all the surrounding Arab countries. In 1948, 4 sanatoria, with an aggregate capacity of 1,067 beds, were maintained by religious or philanthropic organizations. About 270 beds were subsidized by the Ministry of Public Health—40 at Azzounieh and the remainder in the larger sanatorium operated by a French mission at Bhannés. The entire quota of tuberculosis beds is not available for Lebanese patients, since private cases of other nationalities are accepted at all institutions. Due to the deficiency in diagnostic facilities, the majority of cases now referred to the sanatoria are
744 in advanced stages of the disease. Since
164 1949, the Ministry has opened special tu-
943 berculosis dispensaries, with X-ray facilities, in Beirut and Zahle and, more recently, in Tripoli and Sidon. The Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign Society and the Lebanese Red Cross also carry on programs for the prevention of tuberculosis and support diagnostic and treatment services.

164 Smallpox. Smallpox is endemic, and spo-
751 radic cases are reported almost annually. Vaccination against smallpox is compulsory, but enforcement is often incomplete
164 in the rural frontier districts. A major epi-
165

164 demic occurred in 1942 which, according to
165 the official statistics, involved 482 cases, with a fatality rate of 21 per cent. The incidence and the severity of the disease declined the following year—63 cases were reported in 1943, with a fatality of 16 per cent. Subsequently, the prevalence was sporadic until 1948, when localized outbreaks were again observed. From 142 to 175 cases a year were reported in 1948-49, but in 1950 the incidence dropped to the normal low level. Two cases were recorded in 1950, none in 1951.

164 167 Diphtheria. Diphtheria has increased in prevalence within the last few years. The reported incidence averaged 20 cases a year in the period 1942-47, but since 1948 it has approximated 130 to 200 cases. Many local authorities attribute the sudden rise in the number of recognized cases in part to the recent influx of refugees and tourists from
164 other countries. The presence of a high rate
751 of subclinical infection, with a correspondingly high degree of immunity in the indigenous population, is suggested by the large number of children who give a negative reaction to the Shick test at an early age. In a series of tests performed in 1949[22] on 1,077 children, 4 to 16 years of age, attending schools in Beirut and the immediate vicinity, 91 per cent responded with a negative reaction. Starting at 5 years of age, the proportion of positive reactors averaged 9 per cent up to 10 years of age and 7 per cent from 10 through 14 years of age. Nineteen children from 15 to 16 years of age were included in the series; all gave negative reactions. In 1950, a program was started for the immunization against diphtheria of all children under 10 years of age.

164 Meningitis. Small localized outbreaks of meningococcus meningitis are reported almost every year. The recorded cases are normally few in number, but waves of increased prevalence are noted at irregular intervals. In the 12 years 1939-50, the incidence ranged from 12 to 52 cases a year, except in the 2 years 1944 and 1945, when it reached 205 and 101 cases, respectively.

63:Simmons et al G-8 (1941-1951) 1954
MI Middle East
LEBANON ME1

752 758 743 164 Other Infections. Canine rabies is common, and human cases are observed from time to time. In each of the 4 years 1947-50, from 469 to 621 persons from Lebanon and Syria received prophylactic treatment for the prevention of rabies at the Institut Antirabique of the Faculté Française de Médecine at Beirut. Either the Semple or the Fermi type of vaccine was employed. From 2 to 6 deaths were recorded each year, usually among individuals who had been bitten by wild animals or who had delayed treatment. About 75 per cent of the persons registered within this period were bitten by dogs and 20 per cent by rats; the remainder by cats, wolves, hyenas and other animals.

[165]

164 232 Anthrax is enzootic among the sheep, and human infections occur occasionally. Sporadic cases of rat-bite fever are recorded.

Leptospirosis is not reported, but the infection is known to be enzootic among the local rats. Using a combination of staining, darkfield illumination and culture technics, *Leptospira icterohaemorrhagiae* was demonstrated in 8 out of 65 specimens of *Rattus norvegicus* trapped in Beirut in 1945.[22] Five rats of the species *R. rattus alexandrinus* were studied at the same time, but none was found to be infected.

Diseases Spread by Arthropods

164 744 Malaria. Malaria has long been a disease of major health and economic importance in Lebanon. As a result of anopheline control programs, it has recently dropped from first to second place among the disease problems of the country. Nevertheless, at least one fifth of the inhabitants live in endemic or hyperendemic regions, and are potentially exposed to infection each year. The trend over the last decade has been downward; the official statistics suggest that the peak of prevalence occurred in 1942-44, coincident with the military operations in the area and the influx of persons from other countries. The recorded cases, which represent a small fraction of the total, diminished from over 21,000 in 1943

lz Epstein 8-3 (no date) 1946 ME1 Lebanon ME1

DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS OF THE LEBANON

By ELIAHU EPSTEIN

[131] THE Lebanese Republic covers an area of about 10,000 sq. k.* The population was last assessed in the Order of the President dated June 17, 1943, as the number of citizens registered in the registration records on December 31, 1942. This Order also referred to a number of Lebanese who had emigrated but had retained their Lebanese citizenship.

[166] The Order in question was published in connection with the elections in the Lebanese Parliament. Although the Moslem communities disagreed with the correctness of the number given, the Order remains the official document pending the holding of a general Census which will determine the figures more precisely.

162 The following is the table which served as the foundation for fixing
167 the population of the Lebanon as on January 1, 1943:†

Communities.	*Inhabitants.*	*Emigrants.*	*Total.*
Maronites	318,201	91,276	409,477
Sunni	225,594	4,913	230,507
Shi'ah	200,698	9,367	210,065
Greek Orthodox	106,658	33,655	140,313
Druzes	71,711	4,863	76,574
Greek Catholics	61,956	13,272	75,228
Armenian Orthodox (Gregorians)	58,007	66	58,073
Minorities	41,596	2,159	43,755
Total	1,084,421	159,571	1,243,992

166 The following are the estimated figures for the movement of population in the Lebanon, and the estimated natural increase:‡

Communities.	*1932 Census.*	*End 1943.*	*Difference.*	*Percentage.*
Sunni	179,667	225,594	45,927	31·1
Shi'ah	159,133	200,698	41,565	38·5
Druzes ...	56,297	71,711	15,414	38·0
Maronites ...	269,620	318,201	48,581	18·0
Greek Catholics	55,045	61,956	6,911	12·5
Greek Orthodox	92,991	106,658	13,667	13·0

167 The instructive conclusions which can be drawn from these tables are:
641 (*a*) Most of the emigrants from the Lebanon and those who continue

161 175 * Since the demarcation of the Syro-Lebanese Frontier has not been completed, estimates of the areas of the two States vary. The area of the Autonomous Sanjak of the Lebanon (1860-1915) was 5,700 kilometres and its population was 400,000.

† "La Syrie et l'Orient," Beirut. 22-23, 6, 1943.

‡ *Ibid.* The figures in these tables and the statistical calculations should be accepted with extreme caution on account of the backward methods used for demographical statistics in the Lebanon.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Lebanon was chosen for this study because of the writer's interest
the country itself and because he had undertaken preliminary research on it. It 7 ASIN
must be noted that Lebanon has a number of characteristics which tend to differ- 177
entiate it somewhat from its neighbors: it has been a refuge area for various re- 369
ligious sects, half of its population is Christian, it is one of the most intensively
acculturated of the Arabic-speaking countries, it is not the headquarters of any
nomadic tribes as such, and it is primarily a country of agricultural villages and
urban seaport centers. Urban studies in Lebanon, or in any other Middle East
country, will be of tremendous value and importance, but they must be based on
as thorough as possible an understanding of village life. This is because so many [116]
city dwellers were village born and bred. Furthermore, urban studies in the Middle
East should probably be undertaken by teams of researchers which include other
social scientists in addition to anthropologists. A village study is therefore the
most suitable type of research for a single anthropologist in Lebanon.

This work attempts to do two things: (1) to present as detailed a description 121
as possible of the culture-in-change of a Lebanese village; (2) to isolate the major
themes in the traditional culture and in the change process, and to present a
theoretical scheme which serves to give some form and meaning to the observed
phenomena.

In line with this purpose, there are two parts to the work. Part I is a descrip- 128
tive analysis of the village culture as of the time of investigation. This is the way
the people lived it and the way it was observed. Probably there is nothing unusual
in the categories into which this material is divided for presentation. However, a
note on them is in order. There can be little disagreement with Bateson's sugges-
tion (1935, p. 179) that such categories as "religion," "social life," and "eco-
nomics," lead to serious difficulties in the study of other cultures, especially when
the concepts behind their use are directly applicable only to the investigator's own
culture. Involved in this problem is the fact, brought into clear focus by the func-
tionalists, that the elements of culture and society are, by and large, interde-
pendent. One cannot, therefore, get very far into the discussion of such an inclu-
sive category as "religion," for example, without soon becoming involved in
questions of "economics" and "social life," as well as "ritual."

Afif Tannous has analyzed the Middle East village quite handily in terms of
three major categories: "Land," "Religion," and "Kinship Organization" (1944).
These he considers to be the major themes in village life. The present writer does
not follow this conceptualization in Part I, although he does draw upon it in
Part II. Tannous's categories of Land and Kinship Organization are approximately
covered in two separate chapters, but phenomena all of which could be subsumed
under Religion are discussed separately, for reasons which should become clear.
Categorical lines must be drawn somewhere if system is to be used, as it must be.
The problem is to define categories in such a way that there is no undue repetition
and yet so that the interdependent, or overlapping nature of cultural elements is
given recognition. The arrangement of Part I is an attempt to achieve these ends.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

SUBSISTENCE

RESIDENCE PATTERNS

TURNING again to Table 1, it will be observed that the people of the village are classified not only according to lineage and household but also according to residence, of which five types are distinguished and briefly defined on the table itself. This section will deal with all of them except the emigrant group, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Unquestionably, the outstanding demographic fact about al-Munṣif today is the large proportion of its citizens who are absent from it most of the year, living and working in Beirut or Tripoli. This trend was preceded by that of mass emigration, but the active phase of the latter is now largely over, owing to the restrictive immigration quotas put into effect by several countries since 1920. Table 1 indicates the way in which each household is affected by the trend to the city. It will be observed that of the 87 households: 22 are wholly resident; 16 are wholly summer; 8 have heads who commute while the main body of the household is resident; 41 are split. Of the 41 split households: 39 have the head and others resident; 2 have the head and others in summer only.

From this and the population totals, it is clear that in terms of numbers, residence in the village all year around is still the predominant pattern. Of the total personnel only 18 per cent of the households are "summerers" (the villagers sometimes refer to them as *ṣayfiyyi*) only. The urban trend is, nevertheless, far more marked than it was in Bishmizzîin about 1939 when 13.5 per cent of the total population held jobs or went to school away from the village nine months of the year (Tannous, 1942, p. 67). Tannous refers to this as "temporary emigration," and says that it is a "unique phenomenon which has recently occurred in the village" due to the development of modern means of transportation. Février (1950, p. 277) says that in Ras al-Matn, a large village north and inland from Beirut, many are absent during the winter. Fisher (in a personal communication) remarks that low-altitude villages around Juni appeared to be largely deserted in wintertime in 1951. Thoumin (1936, p. 189) says that in general automobilism has increased the circulation of the population, especially in the direction of the city. We can safely say that urbanism has been an increasing tendency since the 1920's, but we cannot say how the situation in Munsif compares to that in other villages.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

knowledge of English were becoming commonplace. The village school had become a primary agent of culture change in marked contrast to the situation recently observed in Tangier (cf. Schorger, 1952b, p. 254). With widened horizons and increased financial means, a demand for Western material goods, particularly household furnishings and clothes, was created and satisfied, as far as possible, by the villagers.

The first World War brought an abrupt and temporarily devastating halt to this process of change. Lebanon, though a province of the Turkish Empire, was blockaded by the Turks because of the well-known Allied sympathies of many of its people. During the blockade, both emigration and emigrants' remittances were stopped and many segments of the rural population, including Munṣif, were reduced to near starvation. (See Hourani, 1946, especially pp. 33–49, for a general review of this period.)

When the war ended, the Munṣifiin could neither turn back the clock nor could they quite pick up where they had been forced to leave off in 1914. Silk production never regained its former pre-eminence. Emigration resumed, but in 1924 emigration to the United States was virtually ended. Emigration to other parts of the world correspondingly increased, but never on the same scale as it had been to the United States.

Meanwhile, the French had assumed the League of Nations Mandate over Lebanon (and Syria) and had embarked upon a program of modernization of the country, a policy which was exactly the opposite of their attempts in Morocco at preventing acculturation (cf. Coon, 1949, p. 451). The French established in Lebanon a constitutional form of government which strongly resembled their own, and it included a public school system also modeled on their own. One of the chief purposes of these activities was to disseminate specifically French culture. This was not particularly appreciated by many of the sect groups in the country.

The French were responsible, in another line of endeavor, for the building of a system of paved highways, and the beginning of a network of telephone lines, of airports, and of rural electrification in a few districts. The establishment of rapid communication and transportation systems created a profound change in the entire country. In Munṣif, as in many other villages where economic problems had become acute, the change consisted of the beginning of an intensified drift of villagers to the cities to earn their livelihood. Life in the cities tended to make the villagers more aware than before of foreign artifacts and values and to elevate their notion of what constituted an adequate standard of living (see Bonne, 1948, especially pp. 271–72). For the first time, villagers now had the opportunity of meeting and interacting with outsiders on a large scale, and village exogamy, a rarity before, began to become rather frequent (see Patai, 1947, especially p. 15, for an itemization of the types of change which have occurred in Palestine, but also Lebanon).

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types, economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the importation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

3. The drift of villagers *en masse* to the city for employment—in part in consequence of factors 1 and 2.

4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

The intellectual factors in the economic change in Munṣif were brought about by the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In this connection, three consequences must be noted:

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village and urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied *both* with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well-recognized by many. Malinowski (1945, pp. 67–68) has remarked on its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Wenlerrse (1946, p. 268) refers to education as unfitting people for village life. Keen (1946, p. 43) speaks of a prevailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Richardson and Batal say:

> Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The technical backwardness, the contrast of enormous wealth and extreme poverty, the group hatreds, nepotism, the apathy of peasant millions and overlords alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West form small listless "middle-class" groups talking progress, but either powerless, unwilling, or thwarted in their attempts to change a millennia-entrenched system. (1949, pp. 489–90.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts in values among the Munṣifiin, as among other Middle Easterners. The various changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of traditional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Munṣifiin are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a means of sub-

grants began to take place. During the period 1915-1919, a sharp drop occurred, due to the restrictions of the first World War. A similar drop occurred again during the period 1930-1934, and continued through the last period 1935-1939. The two causes responsible for this last drop were the world depression of 1929 (which led foreign countries to restrict immigration) and the appearance of a new trend of emigration—from the village to other parts of the country—as will be discussed below.

Emigration to other parts of the country: Emigration within the country may be divided into two distinct types—permanent and temporary. The former covers those cases when the emigrants made their permanent residence in other parts of the country. The following table (V) indicates

TABLE V. EMIGRATION FROM THE VILLAGE OF BISHMIZZEEN, NORTH LEBANON TO OTHER PLACES WITHIN THE COUNTRY, 1890-1939 (AVERAGE TOTAL VILLAGE POPULATION FOR THE PERIOD ABOUT 1270)

Year	NUMBER		
	Male	Female	Total
1890	1	1	2
1925	1	1	2
1929	1	1	2
1933	2	6	8
1935	5	4	9
TOTAL	10	13	23

to what extent this type of emigration took place. (It must be pointed out that the figures of this and the previous table include only those emigrants who were born or established in the village and who migrated from it. The figures do not include those who were born and grew up in the adopted countries.)

166 The second type, or temporary emigration, refers to a unique phenomenon which has recently occurred in the village. With the development of modern means of communication, a relatively large number of people (89 men and 73 women, or about 13.5 per cent of the total population) now migrate to other parts of the country (chiefly Tripoli and Beirut) where they engage in business, hold jobs or go to schools for nine months of the year, and come back to live in Bishmizzeen during the summer.

Illustrative Extracts from Personal Letters

621 186 In the course of his study in the village, the writer was fortunate in being able to examine about 100 letters written by emigrants to their people back home. Usually, the village people destroy such letters, and the writer had not expected to find any left in the village. The letters studied cover almost the whole of the emigration period, 1890-1939. The items they contain give first hand information of what was happening to the emigrants and to the village organization under the influence of emigration. The following are illustrative extracts from these letters:

1. From M. E. Deeb to a distant relative, M. Y. Elias; on the way to Argentina, dated June 7th, 1897.

" . . . When we reached Kaferhata (village on way to Beirut) we stopped at the spring. There we met K. Milky, his sons and M. Habib, who were leaving for America too. . . . At Beirut, we were betrayed by these

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Household Head

5.1 Birthplace of head of household, Table 54

166 The schedule included various items which were designed to give some insight into family mobility both intra and inter-state. The question on birthplace of the head of the household revealed that sixty-nine percent of our sample were born in Lebanon. (For purposes of the survey, urban Lebanon was defined as Beirut, Tripoli, Sidon, Zahleh, Baalbeck, Tyre and
167 Aley. All others were considered rural.) The great majority of the remainder came from Syria (7 %), Palestine (5 %) and Turkey (12 %). Since interviewers were instructed to fill in the question in present political units, it is noteworthy that the Turkish figure consists almost entirely of Armenians as can be seen by comparison with the Languages Spoken table.☆ Only about three percent are from western countries.

5.11 Citizenship of head of household, Table 55

162 The permanency of residents is compli-
167 cated by the fact that only eighty-four percent claim to be citizens of the Republic. This is particularly interesting as Lebanon is almost always thought of as a country which sends out emigrants rather than receives them.

Birthplace of Household Members Other than Male Head

5.21 Birthplace of father and mother of head of household, Tables 56, 57

166 The birthplace of fathers of the heads of

☆ See Table 39 & 45

12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

166 households shows a similar pattern of origin with a comparatively larger percentage coming from urban Lebanon. These figures, so far, remain unexplained as do figures indicating that thirty-seven percent of the sample claim mothers' origin in urban Lebanon as compared to thirty percent in rural regions. The trend to the city is there, but it does not seem to be solely a one way process. As in the case of mothers and fathers of heads of households so in heads of households and their spouses. A larger percentage of women seem to be city originated.

5.22 Children and grandchildren of head of household. Tables 58, 59

As might be expected, the percentage of native born Lebanese among the children is considerably higher than for the heads of households and their parents. Among grandchildren the native born figure includes over nine-tenths of the group. Similarly, there is a trend toward urban birth among the children which reaches its peak among grandchildren. A detailed breakdown of the children of the heads of households is shown in the table.

5.23 Female head of household or wife of household head. Table 60

166 167 About the same percent of women as men are Lebanese by birth and approximately the same numbers are urban or rural in origin, the women being slightly more urban. The difference is not statistically significant. Similar proportions hold for origin in other Arab countries and in Turkey. These figures are for women

12: Churchill S-4 (1592) 1954 MEI Lebanon 007

heads of households and wives of household heads.

5.24 **Other members of household, Tables 61, 62, 63, 64, 65**

The birthplaces of other members of the household show no significant difference from the figures for the heads of households except where the sample is inadequate for accurate analysis. The tables are included for father-in-law, mother-in-law, siblings, other family members, and servants.

5.3 **Number of children away from home. Table 66**

The number of children away from home is rather small with less than one quarter of the sample so reporting. Since no qualification as to age was made, these are presumably children who have moved away for occupational reasons or have married and left the family.

5.41 **Length of time at present address, Table 67**

For an urban area, the length of time at which our sample households have resided at their present addresses is rather surprising. About forty-three percent of the sample have not moved for more than ten years. It is believed that the reason for this lack of mobility is the Rent Control Law. This law has been in operation for thirteen years (Dec. 28, 1940) and may have kept people relatively immobile. The Rent Control Law does not allow the raising of rents for a tenant already in residence, but does allow an increase for new tenants. Subsequent rent control laws have also had considerable influence. An indication that this is the proper hypothesis lies in the fact that our next biggest group lies in the interval of those who have been at the same address between one and three years. If it were disinclination to move rather than the Rent Control Law it would appear that the least frequency would have been in the category of less than one year with increasing frequencies as the time lengthened. Once having lost the benefits of rent control, the population of Beirut seems to be fairly mobile.

5.42 Previous location of household, Table 68

591 The largest frequency of locations of previous households is in Beirut with over eighty-one percent of our sample so reporting. The belief that a large part of Beirut citizens have come from rural areas to the city fairly recently does not seem to hold true, with only approximately eight percent of the sample in this category. [167] A good part of the five and eight-tenths percent of the sample from other Arab states probably are accounted for by refugees from Palestine.

5.43 Length of time at previous address, Table 69

Here again the largest group, thirty-two percent were in residence at their previous addresses for more than ten years and the second highest incidence is between one and three years. The no answer category refers to those who had no previous address as well as those who were unable to recall.

5.44 Number of times moved in last ten years, Table 70

Forty-four percent of the sample had not moved at all in the last ten years, which conforms with the roughly forty-three percent who claim to have been in residence in their present household for more than ten years. These comparative figures constitute one of our checks for internal consistency. Of those who had moved, our largest frequency, twenty-eight percent, reported that they had moved only once, while our most mobile group, those who had moved more than six times in the past ten years, constitute slightly over one percent.

5.5 Reasons for moving to Beirut, Table 71

● 166 Of those who had moved to Beirut, the largest group (61 %), had moved for economic reasons, while the second largest category (22 %) moved for political reasons. The two together constituted eighty-three percent. The respondents were asked what their reasons for moving to Beirut were. Their free responses

p. 13(B)

166 were classified into the six categories in the headquarters office. It would be interesting to find out the reasons why they stay in Beirut. It is presumed that the fourth category, namely, they like it better, would be a relatively high category, considering the well-known attractions of metropolitan living as compared to rural living in other countries.

5.61 ✱ Incidence of summer migration to villages, Table 72

528 221 One of the best known phenomena of residents in Beirut is the tendency on the part of those who can afford it to return to the villages during the summer months, particularly mountain villages.

It may be seen in the Table that about one-third of the sample return to villages during the summer. It would be interesting for further study to find out what proportion returns to escape the heat of the coast and what proportion returns for economic reasons, either to reap the benefit of the summer harvest or to engage in service occupations for the summer vacationists.

5.62 Month of migration to village, Table 73

Those who do return to the village in the summer were asked what month they usually returned. It may be seen from the table that the exodus gets under way to the tune of one-third

p. 14(A)

✱ See Table 71 — Reasons for moving to Beirut.

✱✱ See Table 72 — Summer migration to village.

Table 54

Birthplace of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1933	100.00	
United States	511	26.43	
Puerto Rico	828	42.83	
[illegible]	144	7.45	
[illegible]	88	4.57	
[illegible]	11	0.57	
[illegible]	1	0.05	
[illegible]	223	11.80	
[illegible]	3	0.16	
[illegible]	17	0.88	
[illegible]	6	0.31	
[illegible]	17	0.88	
[illegible]	15	0.78	
[illegible]	31	1.60	
[illegible]	8	0.41	
[illegible]	11	0.57	
[illegible]	7	0.36	
[illegible]	6	0.30	

Table 55

Citizenship of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1930	100.00	
[illegible]	1819	83.88	
[illegible]	111	5.76	
[illegible]	87	4.53	
[illegible]	6	0.31	
[illegible]	3	0.16	
[illegible]	9	0.47	
[illegible]	7	0.36	
[illegible]	13	0.68	
[illegible]	5	0.26	
[illegible]	13	0.67	
[illegible]	28	1.50	
[illegible]	19	0.99	
[illegible]	3	0.16	
[illegible]	7	0.36	
[illegible]	3	0.15	
[illegible]	3	0.16	

(1) [illegible]

Table 56

Birthplace of Father of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1922	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	590	30.70	.010
Urban Lebanon	686	35.69	.011
Syria	175	9.11	.006
Palestine	84	4.37	.004
Iraq	17	0.89	
Jordan	2	0.10	
Turkey	258	13.42	.008
Iran	2	0.10	
Egypt	17	0.89	
England	4	0.21	
U.S.A.	14	0.73	
France	14	0.73	
Other Europe	32	1.66	
Other Africa	10	0.52	
Other Asia	12	0.62	
South America	2	0.10	
Other	3	0.16	

Table 57

Birthplace of Mother of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1911	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	568	29.72	.010
Urban Lebanon	709	37.10	.011
Syria	181	9.47	.007
Palestine	76	3.98	.004
Iraq	11	0.58	
Jordan	2	0.11	
Turkey	259	13.55	.008
Iran	1	0.05	
Egypt	10	0.52	
England	4	0.21	
U.S.A.	13	0.68	
France	12	0.63	
Other Europe	36	1.88	
Other Africa	10	0.52	
Other Asia	12	0.63	
South America	2	0.11	
Other	5	0.26	

Table 58

Birthplace of Children of Head of Household

Country	Total	Percent	sp.	1st Child	Percent	2nd Child	Percent	3rd Child	Percent
Total	5071	100.00		1467	100.00	1243	100.00	961	100.00
Rufal Lebanon	491	9.68	.004	149	10.16	121	9.73	90	9.36
Urban Lebanon	4018	79.23	.005	1112	75.80	977	78.60	772	80.33
Other Arab State	431	8.50	.004	147	10.02	110	8.85	78	8.12
Europe	26	0.31		12	0.82	9	0.72	2	0.21
S. America	7	0.14		5	0.34	1	0.08	1	0.10
U.S.A.	4	0.08		3	0.20	1	0.08	—	—
Turkey	61	1.20	.001	31	2.11	14	1.13	12	1.25
Other	26	0.51		7	0.48	9	0.72	6	0.63
No Answer	7	0.14		1	0.07	1	0.08	—	—

19; Churchill S-5 (1963) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

4th Child	Percent	5th Child	Percent	6th Child	Percent	7th Child	Percent	8-12th Child	Percent
621	100.00	380	100.00	214	100.00	107	100.00	78	100.00
60	9.66	38	10.00	23	10.75	9	8.42	1	1.30
502	80.84	318	83.68	177	82.71	88	82.24	72	92.20
47	7.57	21	5.54	14	6.54	10	9.34	4	5.20
2	0.33	1	0.26	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4	0.64	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	0.48	1	0.26	—	—	—	—	—	—
3	0.48	1	0.26	—	—	—	—	1	1.30

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13: Churchill S-5 (1965) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

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Table 59

Birthplace of Grandchildren of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	212	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	[illegible]	4.40	
Urban Lebanon	19[illegible]	86.80	.023
Other Arab State	10	4.40	
Europe	1	1.10	
South America	—	—	
U.S.A.	—	—	
Turkey	1	1.10	
Other	4	2.20	

Table 60

Birthplace of Female Head of Household and Wife of Household Head

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1682	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	407	24.20	.010
Urban Lebanon	749	44.53	.012
Other Arab State	236	14.03	.006
Europe	50	2.97	.004
South America	15	0.89	
U.S.A.	13	0.77	
Turkey	196	11.65	.008
Other	6	0.37	
No Answer	10	0.59	

19: Churchill S-5 (1955) 1994 MEI Lebanon MEI

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Table 61
Birthplace of Father-in-Law of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent
Total	4	100.00
Rural Lebanon	—	—
Urban Lebanon	1	25.00
Other Arab State	2	50.00
Europe	—	—
South America	—	—
U.S.A.	—	—
Turkey	1	25.00
Other	—	—

Table 62
Birthplace of Mother-in-Law of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent
Total	51	100.00
Rural Lebanon	10	19.61
Urban Lebanon	18	35.29
Other Arab State	10	19.61
Europe	1	1.96
South America	—	—
U.S.A.	—	—
Turkey	10	19.61
Other	—	—
No Answer	2	3.92

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12; Churchill S-5 (1982) 1984 MEI Lebanon MEL

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Table 63
Birthplace of Siblings of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	358	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	95	26.53	.023
Urban Lebanon	197	55.03	.026
Other Arab State	49	13.69	.018
Europe	—	—	
South America	1	0.28	
U.S.A.	3	0.84	
Turkey	13	3.63	

Table 64
Birthplace of Other Family Members in Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	288	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	54	18.75	.023
Urban Lebanon	168	58.33	.029
Other Arab State	42	14.58	.021
Europe	1	0.35	
South America	1	0.35	
U.S.A.	2	0.70	
Turkey	10	3.47	
Other	5	1.74	
No Answer	5	1.74	

19: Churchill S-5 (1953) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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Table 65

Birthplace of Servants of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	595	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	347	58.32	.020
Urban Lebanon	95	15.97	.020
Other Arab State	86	14.45	.010
Europe	4	.67	
South America	—	—	
U.S.A.	—	—	
Turkey	15	2.52	
Other	1	.17	
No Answer	47	7.90	

Table 66

Number of Children Away From Home Per Family

Number away	Number	Percent
Total	1903	100.00
One	204	10.71
Two	131	6.88
Three	73	3.84
Four or more	54	2.84
None	1441	75.72

σ_E = .025
v = .050

Table 71
Reasons for Moving to Beirut

Type of reason	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1868	100.00	
Economic reasons	690	36.94	.011
Political reasons	232	12.42	.008
Family reasons	67	3.59	.004
Liked better	6	0.32	
Other reasons	75	4.01	.004
Mixed reasons	6	0.32	
Question does not apply	792	42.40	

18) Churchill 1-6 (1968) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

p. 44 (4)

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Lebanon that it could no longer be absorbed within the country. 369
The village folk had the choice of submitting to a life of poverty 161
or of emigrating abroad, seeking new opportunities and fortunes. The first alternative was incompatible with their cultural heritage. They were mostly independent farm owners, not share croppers; they were awakened by a comparatively high degree of learning; they were exposed to influences of the West; and they had a long history of struggle against great odds, demanding initiative and enterprise on the part of the individual and the group.

Consequently, they resorted to emigration for relief. Some 369
sought opportunities in the urban centers of neighboring Arab 166
countries. They established themselves there as merchants, 167
teachers, publishers, doctors, and as government officials in [163]
various capacities. Most of them, however, turned toward the promising New World, north and south. It is estimated that these emigrants, together with the families they have reared, now exceed in number the population resident in Lebanon itself.

Recent estimates put the population of Lebanon at 1.2 million, 369
of whom about 75 percent are rural. There seems to be no slack- 161
ening in the high rate of increase. The density of population, one of the highest in the world, amounts to about 300 per square mile of total area, and 1,200 per square mile of cultivated area. In the Middle East it is exceeded only by Egypt, which holds the world record with a density of about 2,000 per square mile of cultivated area.

This biological resource of the village community constitutes 369
both a serious problem and a challenge to Lebanon. Emigration 168
possibilities for the surplus population are no longer as readily available as they were prior to a decade or two ago. A realistic, long-range solution lies in the application of an enlightened population policy and developmental program that would result in controlled growth on the one hand, and in the efficient development of the country's natural resources on the other.

The second major contribution of the village community to 369
the country is economic. This is readily apparent and needs little 241
elaboration. Dwellers in the villages are the farming folk of 185
Lebanon. Their agricultural activity is the mainstay of the

In Epstein S-9 (no date) 1948 MEI Lebanon MEI

DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS OF THE LEBANON

By ELIAHU EPSTEIN

[131] 641 153 THE Lebanese Republic covers an area of about 10,000 sq. k.* The population was last assessed in the Order of the President dated June 17, 1943, as the number of citizens registered in the registration records on December 31, 1942. This Order also referred to a number of Lebanese who had emigrated but had retained their Lebanese citizenship.

[166] The Order in question was published in connection with the elections in the Lebanese Parliament. Although the Moslem communities disagreed with the correctness of the number given, the Order remains the official document pending the holding of a general Census which will determine the figures more precisely.

162 167 The following is the table which served as the foundation for fixing the population of the Lebanon as on January 1, 1943:†

Communities.	*Inhabitants.*	*Emigrants.*	*Total.*
Maronites	318,201	91,276	409,477
Sunni	225,594	4,913	230,507
Shi'ah	200,698	9,367	210,065
Greek Orthodox	106,658	33,655	140,313
Druzes	71,711	4,863	76,574
Greek Catholics	61,956	13,272	75,228
Armenian Orthodox (Gregorians)	58,007	66	58,073
Minorities	41,596	2,159	43,755
Total	1,084,421	159,571	1,243,992

166 The following are the estimated figures for the movement of population in the Lebanon, and the estimated natural increase:‡

Communities.	*1932 Census.*	*End 1943.*	*Difference.*	*Percentage.*
Sunni	179,667	225,594	45,927	31·1
Shi'ah	159,133	200,698	41,565	38·5
Druzes ...	56,297	71,711	15,414	38·0
Maronites ...	269,620	318,201	48,581	18·0
Greek Catholics	55,045	61,956	6,911	12·5
Greek Orthodox	92,991	106,658	13,667	13·0

167 641 161 175 The instructive conclusions which can be drawn from these tables are: (a) Most of the emigrants from the Lebanon and those who continue

* Since the demarcation of the Syro-Lebanese Frontier has not been completed, estimates of the areas of the two States vary. The area of the Autonomous Sanjak of the Lebanon (1860-1915) was 5,700 kilometres and its population was 400,000.

† "La Syrie et l'Orient," Beirut. 22-23, 6, 1943.

‡ *Ibid.* The figures in these tables and the statistical calculations should be accepted with extreme caution on account of the backward methods used for demographical statistics in the Lebanon.

to maintain their Lebanese citizenship abroad are Christians, the overwhelming majority of whom are Maronites.

(c) The natural increase among the non-Christian population of the Lebanon, and particularly of the Shi'ah and the Druze, is more than twice as great as that of the Christian population. These facts can serve as a key to explain various developments, the influence of which may be decisive in shaping the social character and political fate of the Lebanon.

Any person reviewing the demographic problems of the Lebanon cannot but observe a number of factors common to the Christian population of the Lebanon and the Yishuv (the Jewish community) in Palestine. The natural increase of the Christians in the Lebanon is roughly equal to that of the Yishuv in Palestine.*

Against this, however, the Yishuv in Palestine has incomparably more potential reserve in the way of immigration from abroad than that which is available to the Lebanese Christians through the return of emigrants. And just as the chief concern of Zionism in Palestine is the creation of possibilities for the absorption of fresh immigrants from abroad, so the Christians of the Lebanon are faced first and foremost with the problem of preventing emigration from the country, and, in consequence, the creation of opportunities for absorbing emigrants who do return and who can return to their homeland, given suitable absorptive conditions. In addition, attention is devoted to the creation of opportunities for absorbing Christians who require a refuge.

The absence of dynamic economic resources in the Lebanon which could increase and expand the sources of livelihood for a progressive population has led to a steady emigration from the country since the middle of the last century. This process has chiefly affected the Christians whose requirements are more developed and whose living standards are higher than those of their Druze and Moslem neighbours; it has created a serious social and political problem which, taken together with their lower rate of natural increase, places the future of the Lebanese Christians in permanent danger.

Robert Widmer described the economic reasons for a migration from the Lebanon in the following passage:†

> "Lebanon is over-populated. As has been stated, the density of population is about 93 people to a square kilometre. In view of the topography of the country, its rocky mountains and its thin soil, its scarcity of mineral wealth, and its undeveloped industries, the land cannot support all its people. Consequently it is to be expected that some of them have to emigrate, leaving many dependent on their remittances."

As long as emigration was temporary, it was in many ways advantageous. To the general broadening of outlook resulting from contact with more advanced countries were added the material benefits of an increase in the country's capital (brought in by returning emigrants), an addi-

* Fourteen per-mille among the Christians of the Lebanon as against fifteen per-mille among the Jews of Palestine.

† S. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 14

Jx Syria 0-0 (no date) 1946 MEI Lebanon MEI

for the surplus population, which kept up the standard of living at home, and, most important, the inflow of a considerable volume of remittances. In 1929, for instance, remittances from abroad were estimated at 45 million Palestine pounds, as compared with a total commodity export of 4 million Palestine pounds.*

Although there has been an unceasing stream of migrants returning home alongside the stream of emigration from the Lebanon, the percentage [illegible] before the war except 1932 to 1933, the period of the economic crisis in America, when the number of emigrants declined and the number of persons returning increased. In 1928, for example, prior to the crisis in America, 14,588 persons emigrated from Syria and the Lebanon and 4,497 returned. In 1932, during the American crisis, 2,426 emigrated and 3,136 returned. In 1933 the emigrants increased again to 2,324, while those returning declined to 1,499.†

According to Widney, there emigrated from Syria and the Lebanon 120,000 persons between 1880 and 1900, and 200,000 persons between 1900 and 1914. According to the annual reports of the French Government to the League of Nations, 95,000 people emigrated from Syria and the Lebanon between 1913 and 1930; about half of these came from the Lebanon. It therefore follows, according to these sources, that the total emigration from Syria and the Lebanon between 1880 and 1930 (excluding the period 1914 to 1913) amounted to 415,000.

E. Thoumin has dealt extensively with the problem of emigration from the Lebanon.‡ He is one of the important investigators of this subject and an expert on the demographics of Syria and the Lebanon.

Emigration from the Lebanon began before 1880, largely for political reasons connected with the persecution of the Christians by the Turks and the unsatisfactory state of security in the country. The increasing stream of emigration during the period of economic in the Lebanon derived chiefly from economic sources, as the resources in the country became too restricted for the increase in population under stable political and social conditions.

The first stream of emigration turned to Egypt, where the Lebanese who had been educated in French schools found various opportunities of establishing themselves in Government offices and private institutions, as merchants, journalists, etc. Many of the emigrants established themselves firmly in Egyptian life, and their participation in the cultural field was particularly noticeable. During the '80's and '90's of the last century a steady stream of immigration of Lebanese began to North and South America, and to Western Africa, while some went to Australia. In the course of time important centers of Lebanese emigration were established in the Argentine, Uruguay and Brazil. In the U.S. the chief centers are New York and Chicago.§

* W. B. Fisk, "The Lebanon," *Geographical Review*, New York, April, 1920.
† I. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 20.
‡ E. Thoumin, *Géographie Humaine de la Syrie Centrale*, Tunis, 1936.
§ After the first World War there was an increase in the number of Lebanese in Detroit, here they were employed in the Ford Works.

Lc Syracuse S-S (no date) 1948 MEI Lebanon MEI

Thoumin, like other investigators, finds it hard to give exact figures of emigration from Syria and the Lebanon, and therefore chooses to give his estimates in percentages by countries, as follows:

United States and Canada	35 per cent.
South America — —	35 " "
Egypt — — —	10 " "
Other countries — —	20 " "

The emigrants who left Syria and the Lebanon between 1920 and 1930 settled as follows:

South America — —	50 per cent.
Africa (excluding Egypt) —	15 " "
Egypt — — —	10 " "
North America — —	10 " "
Other countries — —	15 " "

If the figures given by Widmer and the Reports to the League of Nations quoted above are adapted to the statistical tables of Thoumin, it follows that about 146,000 Syrian and Lebanese are living in North America, about the same number in South America, and about 41,000 in Egypt. The remaining 83,000 are distributed in the other parts of the world.

Although the students mentioned above have never dealt with the question of Lebanese immigration with the necessary completeness, but mostly regarded it, particularly after the first world war, as part of the general emigration from the area of the French Mandate, nevertheless both Widmer and Thoumin stressed the fact that the Lebanon was and has remained the chief centre of migration for the reasons explained by them, particularly by Thoumin. Dr. A. Ruppin* deals explicitly with the distribution of emigration from Syria and the Lebanon by countries and communities. Basing himself on official figures, Ruppin reaches the conclusion that up to 1915, 100,000 people had emigrated from the Autonomous Sanjak of the Lebanon.

What has been said above makes it possible to conclude with reasonable certainty that the majority of the emigrants from Syria and the Lebanon during the period of emigration came from the area which is now included within the boundaries of the Lebanese Republic.

Professor M. Jerusalem† estimates the total number of emigrants from the Lebanon as 250,000, and reckons that 130,000 to 140,000 were Maronites.

The influence of the emigration from the Lebanon on the population can be learnt from Thoumin, who points out that at least a third of the inhabitants of every Lebanese village have travelled abroad. In his journeys through the Lebanon the author found that in every Christian family he met, at least one member had emigrated during the preceding twenty years. The Lebanese who returned to their home lands are a

* Dr. A. Ruppin, *Syrien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1920, p. 22.
† M. Jerusalem, *The Maronites*, Jerusalem, 1942, p. 24 (typed manuscript).

1: Epstein 8-3 (no date) 1946 MEI Lebanon MEI

The Lebanese who returned to their homelands are a problem on their own, but the paucity of reliable material on the Lebanese Diaspora makes it hard to investigate the subject. Yet the large number of Lebanese emigrants who continue to preserve their citizenship shows not only their affection for their homeland but also suggests their intention of returning there under suitable conditions.

Despite the constant emigration from the Lebanon, this country served as a refuge during the interval between the two wars for Christian emigrants from the neighbouring countries, and in particular for Armenians.* More than 60,000 Armenian refugees from Turkey found refuge in the Lebanon, and despite the economic problems which were raised by the entry of these penniless immigrants, they have added considerably to the Christian strength of the Lebanon, where their fellow-Christians, together with the Mandatory Power, have provided for them in various ways and have facilitated their establishment in the country.

The statistical data on the changes in the composition of the population resulting from its differing natural composition shows clearly the danger awaiting the Christian character of the country. The danger of a Moslem majority, to be sure, primarily affects not Mount Lebanon proper, but the State of Lebanon within its existent political frontiers, where the Moslem population constitute a majority in the towns of Beirut, Tripoli, Tyre and Sidon. But the natural increase of the Druzes and Shi'ah in Mount Lebanon, which is twice, or more, as much as that of the Christians, also raises a serious problem for the latter, even in their chief stronghold. Any free-will relinquishment by the Christians of the present boundaries of the Lebanese Republic, and their return to the boundaries of their period of autonomy between 1861 and 1915, would not serve to solve the main problem of preserving the Christian character of their country for any length of time.

This situation faces the Lebanese Christians with a number of grave and urgent problems which require solution in the economic field: the creation of conditions that will first and foremost prevent emigration, which chiefly affects the Christian population and systematically reduces their numbers in the country; and, in addition, the development of possibilities for absorbing returning emigrants and Christian immigrants from the neighbouring countries. In any case of organized population transfer in this part of the world for the sake of territorial concentration in accordance with common religious and communal character, the Lebanon would be more suitable than any other Middle Eastern region for serving as a centre for the Christians.

* Most of these are Orthodox (Gregorians). The Catholics and Protestants among them are included under "minorities" in the tables given above.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

562 462 riage. The most popular occupation, nursing, is, it will be remembered, preferred because it is "safe," among other reasons.

Perhaps it can be said, as Fei concluded from a somewhat analogous situation in China (1939, p. 234), that women have more social individualism than they used to have, but to argue that the status of women has or has not been "improved" would, in the present writer's opinion, be tilting at windmills. Ambiguity of one's status and role in life can be harder to bear than, for example, the lack of the legal right to vote.

EMIGRANTS AND EMIGRATION

167 It is said that there are now as many Lebanese, or persons of Lebanese ancestry, living outside Lebanon as there are inside it (about 1,300,000). However this may be, there are certainly a great many, and the majority are in the United States.

Himadeh (1936, p. 13) points out that emigration from Lebanon started with the Phoenicians, the first Lebanese of whom anything is known, then as now experts in commercial enterprises. Lowdermilk (1944, p. 416) suggests that the primary impetus to the Phoenicians' emigration was the same as that to the twentieth century movement: overpopulation—ninety-three persons per square kilometer in recent times (Himadeh, 1936, p. 14).

It is estimated that between 1860 and 1900, 120,000 persons left Syria and Lebanon. The climax period was between 1900 and 1914 when an estimated 15,000 per year emigrated (Himadeh, 1936, p. 16). There was virtually none during the war when the country was blockaded. The process was resumed after the war, but with less intensity than before. Mass emigration to the United States was effectively halted by the Immigration Act of 1924. Since then, the Lebanese have gone to Central and South America, West Africa, and Australia.

The original purpose of all the emigrants was to make a good amount of money and then return to the old country. A great many did just this, and in Munṣif some cases were reported of men who came and went several times. The [58] majority, however, remained for good in the new country, most never returning, although quite a few came back temporarily to the old village for brides—telling evidence of the force of the principle of local endogamy. A few such cases occurred in Munṣif but none since the 1920's.

[17] It is the writer's private opinion that the emigrants themselves have not contributed a great deal to the process of acculturation in Lebanon, apart from drawing the interest of the stay-at-homes beyond their immediate locality. However, the [45] emigrants have contributed substantially to the welfare of the old country which, in 1938 for example, had an adverse foreign trade balance of 4,000,000 pounds sterling (Hourani, 1946, p. 90). This was off-set by money from tourists, foreign investments, and remittances from emigrants. The last amounted to $19,000,000. in 1924 (Himadeh, 1936, p. 18).

The people of Munṣif have done their share in the process of emigration.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

"There are as many of us there as there are here," it was said. Material evidence of the consequences of emigration have already been observed in the tile-roof houses and the fifty-odd ruined houses in the village.

In terms of reduction of potential population, the following facts should be noted: (1) In Maximal Lineage B, now so small, there were, before emigration, six minimal lineages. Four of these, referred to later as "deceased" lineages, have completely disappeared through emigration. There is one similar case in Maximal Lineage C. (2) Table 7 indicates the number of permanent and long-standing

TABLE 7. PERMANENT EMIGRANTS, MOSTLY SIBLINGS OF HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

	MEN		WOMEN			MEN		WOMEN	
LINEAGE	Alive	Dead	Alive	Dead	LINEAGE	Alive	Dead	Alive	Dead
I	—	—	—	—	XIII	1	—	—	—
II	—	—	—	—	XIV	1	—	—	—
III	3	—	4	—	XV	1	—	1	—
IV	1	—	2	—	XVI	6	2	3	—
V	4	—	1	—	XVII	—	1	—	1
VI	2	—	1	—	XVIII	—	—	—	—
VII	2	—	—	—	XIX	2	2	—	—
VIII	6	2	1	—	XX	—	—	2	—
IX	—	—	—	—	XXI	4	1	1	—
X	8	2	1	—	AF	—	1	2	—
XI	5	—	3	—		—	—	—	—
XII	2	—	1	1	Total	48	11	23	2

emigrants, eighty-four in all, who were recorded. These are merely a sample, selected because they were or are siblings of present heads of households, of the total number who emigrated. Of them thirty-eight departed between 1890 and 1914, sixteen between 1919 and 1926. No one in the village pretends that these people have not gone for good. In this respect, they are rather distinct from the eleven "emigrants" noted in Tables 1 and 2. The latter are nearly all young adults who have left recently (all for Australia). Of them it cannot be stated whether their emigration will be permanent or not.

As far as was learned, five of the present heads of households are returned emigrants, in addition to at least two women of substantial status. The heads of households appear to have re-entered the life of the village without introducing many changes in its culture.

It was not determined to what extent remittances from emigrants contribute to the present income of the village as a whole. Specific examples of it indicated that the process still continues, but various remarks suggested that it is on the decrease.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

"The Americans" as the villagers call their relatives in the United States, are concentrated in and around Vicksburg, Mississippi. There are families, also, in Shreveport, Louisiana, and in Marshall, Texas. There are a few in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Australia. One returnee, in particular, spoke English with a noticeable Southern accent. The remarks of another returnee indicated an identification with the Southern whites as a caste as against the Negroes.

LAND OWNERSHIP, UNEMPLOYMENT, RETIREMENT

Manṣur Jurjis al-Khuuri, the founder of the village, divided the village territory into three equal sections, one for each of his sons. He did this by, as it were, trisecting the triangle at its apex (the eastern extremity of the village, now occupied by the houses). The three triangular strips running down to the sea which were thus created provided the land-property bases for the maximal lineages. To some extent, the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects this division, with Maximal Lineage B concentrated in the north, C in the south, and A in between (see Fig. 5). The corresponding pattern for the village territory as a whole, however, has long since been obliterated by sales and extra-maximal lineage inheritance. The land-holdings are not clustered by minimal lineage either. Most of the land in the village is held in individual private ownership (*mulk*), and nearly all the adult males own property in this manner. Along the shore there are some plots which are *mashā'a* (communal) land to the maximal lineages. "They were never divided because they are worthless; the salt kills the plants." There are four large sections of *waqf* (land which has been put in trust). These will be discussed in the next chapter.

From what has been said before in this chapter, it can be deduced that most of the men do not derive all or even most of their income from the land they own. However as far as could be determined, each landowner, even though he may be a white-collar worker in the city, maintains his plots (*qaṭ'a*), which are usually widely scattered over the village territory, with the assistance of a resident farmer or village worker.

Many of those of whom it was said "he does nothing" (unemployed) or "he no longer works" (retired) actually derive some income by this means, but probably very few in the village could entirely support themselves and their families without money from other sources as well. The young unemployed, as has been mentioned, are from a superficial perspective difficult to distinguish from village workers if they are unmarried and living with members of their family. There are a few cases of heads of households who clearly depend on the help of other members of the family in supporting it. We can say that a man has retired when he does nothing and when no hopes of employment are held. A large number of the men in their sixties and all those over seventy were in this class. Nevertheless, most of these retired men continued to putter about their terraces, pretty actively in some cases.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

counter adults who had been to Beirut or Tripoli not more than once or twice in their entire lives. As another informant said, "Everyone was *fillaḥ*"—meaning, in effect, that everyone was either a farmer or had some part-time or full-time specialty which was directly concerned with rural subsistence. One person guessed that at any given time no more than ten men, and no women, in the village could read and write.

As the population of the village increased and the generations passed, the three original lineages became segmented into sub-lineages. This was evidently a gradual process; the three original lineages did not all become completely subdivided at the same time. Eventually, the three original lineages lost nearly all their significance as in-groups since this function had been taken over by the new, smaller lineages. It has been noted before that while the name of the original lineage now identified as Maximal Lineage A is no longer used by any of the minimal lineages derived from it, the names of Maximal Lineages B and C are preserved as names of two minimal lineages. It may be that a more accurate view of this matter, of which the villagers were aware but could not explain, is as follows: The kin group now identifiable as A became completely subdivided into smaller lineages, and its name was thus obliterated. B and C, however, were never completely subdivided, possibly because of their smaller size. Thus, although several new lineages did develop from or split off from the original B and C, remnants of these latter continued on, retaining the original name. This interpretation, if valid, might explain why Minimal Lineages XII and XVI, which bear the names of B and C, show a greater diversity of patrilines than their fellow minimal lineages. In the view of the Munṣifiin in 1952, however, lineages XII and XVI are regarded in no different light from the other *'ayli*.

At some time around 1880 the outside world began to force itself upon the circumscribed life of the village, in not one way, but several ways. First, American Protestant missionaries brought mass education, with its prospects of prestigeful and possibly lucrative employment, within reach of everyone in the village. Then, America became known as the land where one could go for a few years to work, make more money than one could possibly earn in the village, and then return to the village to live an easier, more comfortable life. Emigration, at first and for a long time conceived of only as a temporary expedient, began about 1890. And, finally, Western manufactured articles began to be imported.

By 1914 profound changes had been wrought in the village. Many of its members had gone to America, some of them never to return. A decline in the price of silk had led many to replace their mulberries with olives, but the financial loss in this respect was overbalanced by the financial gain of money made in America, or sent from America. While the houses of the emigrants stood empty and began to fall into ruins, more and more new houses, with tile roofs glowing proudly in the sun, were being built. Native villagers had taken over the school founded by the missionaries, and others had established their own. Literacy and

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

knowledge of English were becoming commonplace. The village school had become a primary agent of culture change in marked contrast to the situation recently observed in Tangier (cf. Schorger, 1952b, p. 254). With widened horizons and increased financial means, a demand for Western material goods, particularly household furnishings and clothes, was created and satisfied, as far as possible, by the villagers.

The first World War brought an abrupt and temporarily devastating halt to this process of change. Lebanon, though a province of the Turkish Empire, was blockaded by the Turks because of the well-known Allied sympathies of many of its people. During the blockade, both emigration and emigrants' remittances were stopped and many segments of the rural population, including Munṣif, were reduced to near starvation. (See Hourani, 1946, especially pp. 33–49, for a general review of this period.)

When the war ended, the Munṣifiin could neither turn back the clock nor could they quite pick up where they had been forced to leave off in 1914. Silk production never regained its former pre-eminence. Emigration resumed, but in 1924 emigration to the United States was virtually ended. Emigration to other parts of the world correspondingly increased, but never on the same scale as it had been to the United States.

Meanwhile, the French had assumed the League of Nations Mandate over Lebanon (and Syria) and had embarked upon a program of modernization of the country, a policy which was exactly the opposite of their attempts in Morocco at preventing acculturation (cf. Coon, 1949, p. 451). The French established in Lebanon a constitutional form of government which strongly resembled their own, and it included a public school system also modeled on their own. One of the chief purposes of these activities was to disseminate specifically French culture. This was not particularly appreciated by many of the sect groups in the country.

The French were responsible, in another line of endeavor, for the building of a system of paved highways, and the beginning of a network of telephone lines, of airports, and of rural electrification in a few districts. The establishment of rapid communication and transportation systems created a profound change in the entire country. In Munṣif, as in many other villages where economic problems had become acute, the change consisted of the beginning of an intensified drift of villagers to the cities to earn their livelihood. Life in the cities tended to make the villagers more aware than before of foreign artifacts and values and to elevate their notion of what constituted an adequate standard of living (see Bonne, 1948, especially pp. 271–72). For the first time, villagers now had the opportunity of meeting and interacting with outsiders on a large scale, and village exogamy, a rarity before, began to become rather frequent (see Patai, 1947, especially p. 15, for an itemization of the types of change which have occurred in Palestine, but also Lebanon).

457 priate sections. Most of the difficulties in this connection has arisen from the lack of adequate information. Thus there are in Lebanon about 20,000 foreigners, and for many of them it has been impossible to ascertain whether or not they should be considered as 'residents'. Again, many Lebanese nationals live and work in neighbouring countries without being registered as permanent residents there. According to the adopted criterion, their expenditure on a trip to Lebanon should be entered as a credit; there has been no way, however, of isolating that item.

I. Receipts from foreign travel

Receipts from foreign travel (i.e., its credit side) have been divided into the following categories (1) summer resorting, (2) schools, (3) hospitals and (4) tourism, including business.

(1) **Summer resorting.** In most countries, summer resorting (or *estivage*) is part of general tourism, and earnings from it are not isolated. In Lebanon, such an isolation was deemed necessary, for the following reasons:-

529 i) *Estivage* in Lebanon is a clearly defined and separate industry and is so recognized by the Government. It is generally taken to mean the spending of the summer months in the fifty-odd mountain resorts which dot the Lebanese landscape. Although most of these resorts are inhabitated all year round, their population swells up as much as ten to fifteen times during July, August and September of every year. Some resorts are even completely abandoned during the winter months and come to life only in the hot season. During this season, all residential houses and often times schools and other institutions are rented out to the incoming *estiveurs*. Most of the *estiveurs* are from the Lebanese coastal cities, but quite a substantial number come from the neighbouring countries in the Middle East. The Lebanese Government (through its Commissariat of Tourism) is known to have always been anxious to promote *estivage* and to attract as many foreigners as possible during the summer season. In 1951 and 1952 for example, it stood ready to pay part or all of the return passage of all

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8:Fei and Klat S-4 (1951-52)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

of the sample figures on the basis of the number of villages in each district would indicate emigrants' remittances of LL. 53.4 million in 1951 and LL. 66.7 million in 1952. To this should be added remittances received in the cities. For an estimate of these, the figures obtained for Beirut have been doubled on the assumption that all the other cities get an amount equal to Beirut's. Thus emigrants' remittances would be roughly LL. 58.4 million in 1951 and LL. 71.7 million in 1952.[1] The relatively large increase between the two years must be attributed to the emergence of a new type of remittors. In the past most emigrants went to the Americas and, whenever they could afford it, sent back home little sums for the upkeep of their parents and immediate family. Since the end of the war, the Lebanese are emigrating more and more to the neighbouring Arab countries; from there where they intend to stay only temporarily they send, not only assistance money to their relatives, but all they can save. In other words, in the 1952 figure of remittances there is a good deal of concealed capital import.

6. To check on these figures, it was thought advisable to ask the major banks to supply any information they could regarding foreign transfers which might be regarded as remittances. All but three declined to answer, mainly on the ground that in their normal business they do not usually try to identify remittances. The three banks that answered reported annual remittances of about LL. 2.5 million. An extension of this figure to cover the existing 50-odd banks, would indicate total money remittances of about LL. 42 million.[2] If assistance in kind (which is estimated at one-fifth of the money remittances) were added, total remittances would be around LL. 50 million. This figure is lower than those given above; the latter are, however, probably more correct as some remittances are made in cash through intermediaries and not by check through banks. It is re-

1 It is realised that this method of computation is highly arbitrary. Under the circumstances, however, as no extensive study of the problem was possible because of the time it would have required, this method was the best available. It is hoped that a sample survey of villages would soon be undertaken which would make possible a better estimation of remittances in future years.

2 It should be noted here that small banks may be as important as the large ones for cashing foreign checks; one of the small banks reported that discounted checks representing remittances amounted to about one half its total business.

10:Tannous G, S-5 (no date) 1942
ME1 Lebanon ME1

Emigration, A Force of Social Change In An Arab Village

*By Afif I. Tannous**

ABSTRACT

167 Between 1700 and 1890, Bishmizzeen, on the northern slopes of Lebanon, developed into an independent village community, with a population of 1200. 178 Thereafter, the available land could not support any further increase, and, despite a high rate of natural increase, the population remained stationary. Pressure was relieved through intensive emigration. Three other factors seem to have contributed to this emigration trend: (1) The advent into the locality of "cash" as a prestige bearing value. (2) The influence of the American Protestant Mission. (3) Escape from cultural control. Between 1885 and 1939, about 487 people emigrated to foreign countries (mostly North and South America) and 23 to other localities within the country. As a result of this intensive emigration trend the village cultural organization was severely shaken, as evidenced by the following observed facts: (1) Social control broke down. (2) New social institutions arose. (3) Cash became a supreme value. (4) The village woman attained economic independence. (5) The kinship status relationships were disrupted.

Entre 1700 y 1890, Bishmizzeen, en las colinas del norte de Lebanon, se desarrolló en un pueblo independiente, con una poblacion de 1200. Desde entonces, la única tierra arable que había, no podía soportar mayores aumentos y a pesar de más que la norma de aumento natural la población permaneció estacionaria. Se minimó la presión por medio de una emigración intensa. Hay tres factores que parecen haber contribuído más a esta tendencia de emigración: (1) La llegada del dinero a la localidad como señal de prestigio. (2) La influencia de la misión protestante americana. (3) El escapamiento del control cultural. Entre 1885 y 1939, cerca de 487 personas se emigraron a países estranjeros (mayormento a las Americas) y 23 a otras localidades dentro del país. Como resultado de esta intensa tendencia a la emigración, la organización cultural del pueblo se dislocó seriamente, como la prueban las siguientes hechas observadas: (1) El control social se deshizo. (2) Nuevas instituciones sociales nacieron. (3) El dinero asumió un valor supremo. (4) Las mujeres del pueblo obtuvieron independencia económica. (5) Las relaciones del parentesco se alteraron.

p.62 (A)

10:Tannous G,S-5 (no date) 1942.
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311 Meantime, the village
• 167 soil began to show signs of depletion. It could no longer give the same produce as when it was virgin soil; and the old methods of agriculture were not capable of rehabilitating the soil to the desired extent. This further disturbed the land-population balance and made the problem seem more acute. Emigration seemed to be the only solution.

163 165 The following table (I) of births and deaths for a period of 40 years is a fair indication of the rate at

TABLE I. NUMBER OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN THE VILLAGE OF BISHMIZZEEN, NORTH LEBANON, 1870-1909

Period	Births	Deaths	Excess of births over deaths
1870-1874	108	27	81
1875-1879	94	40	54
1880-1884	72	34	38
1885-1889	95	44	51
1890-1894	118	32	86
1895-1899	123	34	89
1900-1904	184	40	144
1905-1909	178	45	133
TOTAL	972	296	676

which the village population was growing. The period covered is 1870-1909. The increase due to immigration may be neglected since only a few families came to settle in the village after 1870. It must be admitted that the writer cannot affirm the perfect accuracy of the table. It was calculated from the village church records and verified, as far as their memories permitted, by some of the village elders. The table shows a very high increase of births over deaths for that period—about 3.3 times.[2]

P. 64(A)

[2] This means an average natural increase of about 12 per 1000 population for the period 1870-1909. Compare this rate with the following rates (1908-12): Austria,

The lure of cash: At the beginning 167 ●
of this period under consideration (1890-1939) cash was becoming more and more significant in value—as a new form of prestige and as a means for the satisfaction of newly arising needs. People became conscious of it and began to search for ways of getting hold of it. America supplied the best answer for the new quest. Stories about that wonderful new country, where gold could be had for the asking, reached the village and stirred the imagination of a few adventurous souls. They sailed away, they sent gold back and then returned home with more gold. The ball started rolling, gathering size and momentum during the past fifty years.

Influence of the American Mission: 167
When the missionaries began their 797
activities in Bishmizzeen and other villages, they had no idea that, in the course of time, their message was going to enhance the emigration movement of the area. They taught the people English, thus making it easier for them to enter the U. S. A. and get hold of its coveted gold. Through the school curriculum and their religious message, they offered the people the elements of a new culture and led them to identify themselves with it. That identification gave additional impetus to the emigration movement. The following extracts from the early mission reports will serve to throw further light upon the emigration movement.

P.65(A) "In the centennial year of 1876, 167
Syria discovered America. Since that time, reports of the wealth and gen-

167 eral gullibility of the American people have been spread through the Maronite region of the Lebanon. In some districts, the excitement may be compared to the gold rush fever period of California and Australia. . . ."

"The American fever has touched us at a few points. In the spring, our teachers at Anfeh and Batroon resigned. After some delay, one of them went to America. The other wished to go, but discovered he could not do so. The leading member of the church . . . also went to America, having shared his cash possessions of 70 "Liras" (gold pound) with his wife, leaving her 3 and taking the rest with him. . . ."[3]

626 167 *Escape from cultural control:* It is obvious that every culture, in order to maintain its specific organization, has to establish and exercise a certain degree of social control over the behavior of the group members. It seems that, no matter how harmoniously integrated that organization may be, as long as social control exists, some of the individuals concerned have to suffer from a certain degree of frustration. This seems to be the inevitable price any cultural group has to pay for the attainment of group solidarity and continuity.

In the case of Bishmizzeen, social control has never assumed an extreme character, and individual frustration has never been an acute problem. Before the American World (the world of free individualism) was discovered by Bishmizzeen, those frus-

R 65 (B)

[3]Reports of the American Presbyterian Mission, Beirut, Lebanon, 1884 and 1889.

L26 trated individuals had to face the
• 167 issue and put up with the stringent situation, in accordance with the dictates of the village culture. When America was "discovered," an outlet, an escape was provided, and many a frustrated individual took up the newly offered chance.

Extent of Emigration

167 *Emigration to foreign countries:*
494 Prior to 1880, not a single individual had ever emigrated from the village to the outside, either within the country or to a foreign country. Bishmizzeen constituted the world of the village group. Even mobility was highly restricted. Visits to neighboring villages were very infrequent. A few used to take occasional trips to the town of Tripoli, and still a fewer number had been to Beirut. Occasionally some adventurous souls would take a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or a cattle trading trip to Egypt. One of the old village songs, aiming at the praise of a husband's valor, begins with the following line: "Your husband, oh beautiful one, has gone to Damascus and come back, alone." Damascus is about 100 miles from Bishmizzeen.

167 In 1884 the first young man from Bishmizzeen emigrated to a foreign country. Others followed, and the number increased, year after year, first to the U. S. A., then to the four corners of the world. The following table (III) shows the geographical distribution of the Bishmizzeen emigrants.

P.66 (A)

167 TABLE III. NUMBER OF EMIGRANTS FROM THE VILLAGE OF BISHMIZZEEN, NORTH LEBANON, TO VARIOUS COUNTRIES, 1880-1939

Country	Number of emigrants
U. S. A.	198
Argentina	125
Australia	54
Brazil	43
Mexico	13
Jamaica	10
Egypt	7
West Africa	7
Paraguay	5
Dominicana	5
Iraq	3
Canada	2
Panama	2
Other	9
TOTAL	487

The following table (IV) shows the trend of emigration from Bishmizzeen to various foreign countries by periods of five years each.

TABLE IV. THE TREND OF EMIGRATION FROM THE VILLAGE OF BISHMIZZEEN, NORTH LEBANON, TO FOREIGN COUNTRIES, BETWEEN 1884 AND 1939 (AVERAGE TOTAL VILLAGE POPULATION FOR THE PERIOD, ABOUT 1270)

	NUMBER		
Period	Male	Female	Total
1700-1880			
1880-1884	1	..	1
1885-1889	6	..	6
1890-1894	9	4	13
1895-1899	23	15	38
1900-1904	49	18	67
1905-1909	45	23	68
1910-1914	38	27	65
1915-1919	8	5	13
1920-1924	58	45	103
1925-1929	37	40	77
1930-1934	8	11	19
1935-1939	12	5	17
TOTAL	294	193	487

It will be observed that for the first ten or fifteen years, emigration moved slowly. The people were not yet sure of the fruits of emigration. After that initial period of hesitation, a rapid increase in the number of emi-

p66 (B)

grants began to take place. During the period 1915-1919, a sharp drop occurred, due to the restrictions of the first World War. A similar drop occurred again during the period 1930-1934, and continued through the last period 1935-1939. The two causes responsible for this last drop were the world depression of 1929 (which led foreign countries to restrict immigration) and the appearance of a new trend of emigration—from the village to other parts of the country—as will be discussed below.

Emigration to other parts of the country: Emigration within the country may be divided into two distinct types—permanent and temporary. The former covers those cases when the emigrants made their permanent residence in other parts of the country. The following table (V) indicates

TABLE V. EMIGRATION FROM THE VILLAGE OF BISHMIZZEEN, NORTH LEBANON TO OTHER PLACES WITHIN THE COUNTRY, 1890-1939 (AVERAGE TOTAL VILLAGE POPULATION FOR THE PERIOD ABOUT 1270)

Year	NUMBER		
	Male	Female	Total
1890	1	1	2
1925	1	1	2
1929	1	1	2
1933	2	6	8
1935	5	4	9
TOTAL	10	13	23

to what extent this type of emigration took place. (It must be pointed out that the figures of this and the previous table include only those emigrants who were born or established in the village and who migrated from it. The figures do not include those who were born and grew up in the adopted countries.)

to lead to the following general conclusions concerning the influence of emigration upon the social organization of the village:

1. *Social control breaks down:* The influence of emigration, as a convenient escape from social control, has been discussed above. It is mentioned again, with a view to emphasizing its significance. At first, social control with its inevitable individual frustrations—was a factor in the enhancement of the emigration movement. However, once that step was taken, emigration began to react upon the social organization of the village and became a strong factor in the breakdown of its social control. The church and the kinship patterns of behavior were no longer adequate for the control of the elements in the new situation. A state of disorganization was the result.

2. *Rise of the village post office as an institution:* Prior to the emigration movement, no regular post office existed in the village, and the people were not conscious of that institution in any significant manner. There was no need for it, as very few letters were received every month or so. With the advent of emigration, the situation was completely changed. Letters exchanged between the village and abroad became very frequent and highly significant. Through those letters, the ties between the emigrants and the folks at home were preserved and the flow of cash money into the village took place. Two concepts became highly significant in the people's vocabulary, as a result of

P. 70(B)

that flow of correspondence, "Maktoob" (letter) and "Maktoob Musowker" (registered letter). A check was always contained in the registered letter, and it became the symbol of joy and festivities for the family group.

Once or twice a week, the mail came to the village. Many hours before the arrival of the mail, people would assemble in the barber shop of Uncle Deeb (for he became the uncle of everybody) who was responsible for the distribution of the mail. For hours, before and after mail distribution, people would loiter there, exchanging the news of their emigrants and having a social time. Usually, Uncle Deeb preferred to put the registered letters aside and then give them in person to the families concerned. That was his reward—to be a messenger of joy to the people. As he went around, he spread the news of the registered letters far and wide, until everybody began to talk about them.

3. *Cash money becomes a supreme value in village life:* Through the silk industry, foreign missions and contact with the city, cash money, as a highly desirable article of value, was introduced into the village organization. In order to obtain more of this new value, emigrants were lured abroad. Through hard or easy work, straight or crooked means, they got hold of the precious cash and sent it back to their people. Without any exception, every single one of those letters mentioned above, referred to cash money that had been sent, was

167 426 459 178 sent or would be sent to the folks at home. Sending the money home had a double significance to the emigrants. It gave them the satisfaction of living up to the obligation to the kinship group and it built for them prestige in the home village. At the same time, prestige and the satisfaction of luxurious needs were the reward of those who received the checks. They could buy new things with the money, lend it for interest or acquire more land with it.

In a word, emigration was the last step with which the village plunged into the Western economic system and became highly "money conscious." Some fifteen years ago, one of the upstart leaders in Bishmizzeen was reminded of the fact that the business he was conducting in Tripoli and Beirut was not considered as honest by the village folks. His answer was "Once I have a substantial amount of cash in my pocket, the people will forget all about the means by which I got the cash."

167 624 4. *Emigrants fail to return to the village:* At first, emigrants left the village, with a view to earning a certain amount of cash within a few years, and then returning to live in the village. The kinship and the communities ties were still strong, and the early emigrants considered the village as their true home. Some of those early emigrants, about 21, succeeded in carrying through the original intention—they came back and settled down permanently. The majority of those who returned, about 93, could not stay in the village more

P71 (B)

167 621 than a few months, a year or a few years, before emigrating again. Their business ties and the new ways of living they had adopted forced them to emigrate again. They began to realize that they had become partly strangers to their original culture.

The great majority of the emigrants, 373, never came back. These may be divided roughly into two classes—those who failed to come back because of their financial failure abroad, and those who emigrated fairly recently after the community ties began to break down. The latter did not feel especially attracted toward the village.

[581] Of those who came back to visit, a great many of them did so with a view to getting married to village girls, before settling permanently abroad.

5. *The village woman attains economic independence:* Cases 10 and 12 of the above quoted letter extracts are clear illustrations of the new tendency. Among the 193 women, who have emigrated, about one-half took that step independently. Some of them were single, some were widows and some left their husbands and children at home. Prior to emigration, village culture assigned to woman a status subordinate to that of man. It seems that farm economy demanded that type of subordination. Emigration by women severely tested that established pattern of behavior. Through emigration, the village woman was suddenly thrown on her own resources. She moved from a status of subordination to one of dominance. She became the economic

167 621 562

P 72 (A)

head of the family, and her cash gave her prestige.

In this respect, the silk industry, the education movement, and emigration were equally influential. They brought about what may be called the "emancipation" of woman. However, it must be clearly stated that that emancipation brought in its wake a great deal of cultural conflict and social disorganization. Until now, people in the village are still confused about how to define a situation in which a woman is involved. Should they define it in terms of the old patterns of behavior, or in terms of the new economic prestige attained by woman? Can S. M. John ask his wife (who earned the money in America and who holds the property in her name) to do something for him, or must he obey her orders? Should the children of C. W. Dusk look up to their father as the head of the family, or to their mother who sends them the cash from abroad?

6. *The parent-child status relationship is broken down:* Not only did the man-woman status relationship undergo a change but also that of the parent and child. Most of those who emigrated were young men, who had always played the role of dependents, subject to the authority of the parent or grandparent. Emigration put these young people on their own, when they had to face new situations as independent individuals. At the same time, they earned that coveted cash and sent it home. The symbol of economic prestige began to shift from the land to cash. With that, a corre-

p.7-2(6)

Household Head

3.3 Birthplace of head of household. Table 34

164 The schedule included various items which were designed to give some insight into family mobility both intra and inter-state. The question on birthplace of the head of the household revealed that sixty-nine percent of our sample were born in Lebanon. (For purposes of the survey, urban Lebanon was defined as Beirut, Tripoli, Sidon, Zahleh, Baalbeck, Tyre and Abey. All others were considered rural.) The great majority of the remainder came from Syria (17%), Palestine (3%) and Turkey (12%). Since interviewers were instructed to fill in the question to present political units, it is noteworthy that the Turkish figure contains almost entirely of Armenians as can be seen by comparison with the Languages Spoken table.* Only about three percent are from western countries.

3.13 Citizenship of head of household. Table 33

162 167 The permanency of residents is complicated by the fact that only eighty-four percent claim to be citizens of the Republic. This is particularly interesting as Lebanon is almost always thought of as a country which sends out emigrants rather than receives them.

Birthplace of Household Members Other than Male Head

3.32 Birthplace of father and mother of head of household. Tables 34, 37

164 The birthplace of fathers of the heads of

* See Table 39 & 40

p. 12(1)

166 households shows a similar pattern of origin with a comparatively larger percentage coming from urban Lebanon. These figures, so far, remain unexplained as do figures indicating that thirty-seven percent of the sample claim mothers' origin in urban Lebanon as compared to thirty percent in rural regions. The trend to the city is there, but it does not seem to be solely a one way process. As in the case of mothers and fathers of heads of households so in heads of households and their spouses. A larger percentage of women seem to be city originated.

3.22 **Children and grandchildren of head of household, Tables 58, 59**

As might be expected, the percentage of native born Lebanese among the children is considerably higher than for the heads of households and their parents. Among grandchildren the native born figure includes over nine-tenths of the group. Similarly, there is a trend toward urban birth among the children which reaches its peak among grandchildren. A detailed breakdown of the children of the heads of households is shown in the table.

3.23 **Female head of household or wife of household head, Table 60**

166 167 About the same percent of women as men are Lebanese by birth and approximately the same numbers are urban or rural in origin, the women being slightly more urban. The differences is not statistically significant. Similar proportions hold for origin in other Arab countries and in Turkey. These figures are for women

12: Churchill 8-5 (1952) 1954 MEI Lebanon MET

146 147 heads of households and wives of household heads.

5.24 **Other members of household. Tables 61, 62, 63, 64, 65**

The birthplaces of other members of the household show no significant difference from the figures for the heads of households except where the sample is inadequate for accurate analysis. The tables are included for father-in-law, mother-in-law, siblings, other family members, and servants.

5.3 **Number of children away from home. Table 66**

146 The number of children away from home is rather small with less than one quarter of the sample so reporting. Since no qualification as to age was made, these are presumably children who have moved away for occupational reasons or have married and left the family.

5.41 **Length of time at present address. Table 67**

591 427 For an urban area, the length of time at which our sample households have resided at their present addresses is rather surprising. About forty-three percent of the sample have not moved for more than ten years. It is believed that the reason for this lack of mobility is the Rent Control Law. This law has been in operation for thirteen years (Dec. 28, 1940) and may have kept people relatively immobile. The Rent Control Law does not allow the raising of rents for a tenant already in residence, but does allow an increase for new tenants. Subsequent rent control laws have also had considerable influence. An indication that this is the proper hypothesis lies in the fact that our next biggest group lies in the interval of those who have been at the same address between one and three years. If it were disinclination to move rather than the Rent Control Law it would appear that the least frequency would have been in the category of less than one year with increasing frequencies as the time lengthened. Once having lost the benefits of rent control, the population of Beirut seems to be fairly mobile.

p. 13 (A)

5.42 **Previous location of household, Table 68**

591 The largest frequency of locations of previous households is in Beirut with over eighty-one percent of our sample so reporting. The belief that a large part of Beirut citizens have come from rural areas to the city fairly recently does not seem to hold true, with only approximately eight percent of the sample in this category. A good part of the five and eight-tenths percent of the sample from other Arab states probably are accounted for by refugees from Palestine.

● [167]

5.43 **Length of time at previous address, Table 69**

Here again the largest group, thirty-two percent were in residence at their previous addresses for more than ten years and the second highest incidence is between one and three years. The no answer category refers to those who had no previous address as well as those who were unable to recall.

5.44 **Number of times moved in last ten years, Table 70**

Forty-four percent of the sample had not moved at all in the last ten years, which conforms with the roughly forty-three percent who claim to have been in residence in their present household for more than ten years. These comparative figures constitute one of our checks for internal consistency. Of those who had moved, our largest frequency, twenty-eight percent, reported that they had moved only once, while our most mobile group, those who had moved more than six times in the past ten years, constitute slightly over one percent.

5.5 **Reasons for moving to Beirut, Table 71**

166 Of those who had moved to Beirut, the largest group (61 %), had moved for economic reasons, while the second largest category (22 %) moved for political reasons. The two together constituted eighty-three percent. The respondents were asked what their reasons for moving to Beirut were. Their free responses

p. 13(a)

Table 54
Birthplace of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1933	100.00	
Urban Lebanon	511	26.43	.010
Rural Lebanon	828	42.85	.011
Syria	144	7.45	.008
Palestine	96	4.97	.005
Iraq	11	0.57	
Jordan	1	0.05	
Turkey	232	12.00	.008
Iran	3	0.16	
Egypt	17	0.88	
England	6	0.31	
U.S.A.	17	0.88	
France	15	0.78	
Other Europe	21	1.09	
Other Africa	8	0.41	
Other Asia	11	0.57	
South America	7	0.36	
Other	5	0.26	

Table 55
Citizenship of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1920	100.00	
Lebanon	1610	83.86	.008
Syria	111	5.78	.005
Palestine	87	4.53	.005
Iraq	6	0.31	
Jordan	3	0.16	
Turkey	9	0.47	
Iran	7	0.36	
Egypt	13	0.68	
England	5	0.26	
U.S.A.	12	0.62	
France	23	1.20	
Other Europe	19	0.99	
Other Africa	3	0.16	
Other Asia	7	0.36	
South America	2	0.10	
Other	3	0.16	

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127

13: Churchill S-5 (1958) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 59

Birthplace of Grandchildren of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	212	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	5	4.40	
Urban Lebanon	191	86.80	.023
Other Arab State	10	4.40	
Europe	1	1.10	
South America	—	—	
U.S.A.	—	—	
Turkey	1	1.10	
Other	4	2.20	

Table 60

Birthplace of Female Head of Household and Wife of Household Head

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1682	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	407	24.20	.010
Urban Lebanon	749	44.53	.012
Other Arab State	236	14.03	.008
Europe	50	2.97	.004
South America	15	0.89	
U.S.A.	13	0.77	
Turkey	196	11.65	.008
Other	6	0.37	
No Answer	10	0.59	

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Table 61

Birthplace of Father-in-Law of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent
Total	4	100.00
Rural Lebanon	—	—
Urban Lebanon	1	25.00
Other Arab State	2	50.00
Europe	—	—
South America	—	—
U.S.A.	—	—
Turkey	1	25.00
Other	—	—

Table 62

Birthplace of Mother-in-Law of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent
Total	51	100.00
Rural Lebanon	10	19.61
Urban Lebanon	18	35.29
Other Arab State	10	19.61
Europe	1	1.96
South America	—	—
U.S.A.	—	—
Turkey	10	19.61
Other	—	—
No Answer	2	3.92

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12; Churchill S-5 (1962) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

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Table 63

Birthplace of Siblings of Head of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	358	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	95	26.53	.023
Urban Lebanon	197	55.03	.026
Other Arab State	49	13.69	.018
Europe	—	—	
South America	1	0.28	
U.S.A.	3	0.84	
Turkey	13	3.63	

Table 64

Birthplace of Other Family Members in Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	288	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	54	18.75	.023
Urban Lebanon	168	58.33	.029
Other Arab State	42	14.58	.021
Europe	1	0.35	
South America	1	0.35	
U.S.A.	2	0.70	
Turkey	10	3.47	
Other	5	1.74	
No Answer	5	1.74	

13: Churchill S-5 (1955) 1964 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Table 65

Birthplace of Servants of Household

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	595	100.00	
Rural Lebanon	347	58.32	.020
Urban Lebanon	95	15.97	.020
Other Arab State	86	14.45	.010
Europe	4	.67	
South America	—	—	
U.S.A.	—	—	
Turkey	15	2.52	
Other	1	.17	
No Answer	47	7.90	

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Table 66

Number of Children Away From Home Per Family

Number away	Number	Percent
Total	1903	100.00
One	204	10.71
Two	131	6.88
Three	73	3.84
Four or more	54	2.84
None	1441	75.72

$\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = .025
v = .050

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Table 67
Length of Time at Present Address

No. of years	Number	Percent
Total	1848	100.00
Less than 1 year	180	9.74
1 - 3 years	492	26.62
4 - 6 years	274	14.83
7 - 10 years	170	9.20
More than 10 years	792	42.86

$\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = .140
v = .018

Table 68
Previous Location of Household

Location	Number	Percent	φ
Total	1780	100.00	
Rural	148	8.20	.006
Beirut	1451	81.52	.009
Other Urban Lebanon	30	1.69	
Other Arab Country	101	5.84	.005
Other Country	48	2.75	.004

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16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

desperate had it not been for the other two new cultural factors which affected village life:

2. The introduction into Lebanon of Western-style educational institutions and curricula. The two main types were American Protestant and French Catholic. It was the former which exerted the stronger influence on al-Munsif. Mission schools were established in the village before the turn of the century, and many village children were sent to the American schools in Tripoli. By 1914, some villagers were themselves teaching school in al-Munsif. Protestantism itself was for the most part resisted, but the quest for secular education—in both Arabic and English—became a major concern in the village. The enthusiasm with which the villagers approached education can be accounted for in several ways. First, the literate individual has always been a person of high prestige in the Arab world. The villagers therefore recognized the fine opportunity for the improvement of personal status which was opened by the new schools. Second, they recognized that through education they would have a better chance of obtaining lucrative jobs and of thus averting the economic disaster which threatened them. Third, the American-sponsored curricula were, in part, a useful introduction to certain aspects of the culture of the West; and this brings us to the third major factor:

3. Emigration, primarily to the United States but also, to a lesser extent, to South America. It is very significant, from the cultural point of view, that the prime motive of the emigrants was not to leave their homeland forever in order to make a new life in a new country, but rather to stay temporarily in America in order to make a fortune and then return to the village to resume the old life under conditions of greater financial security. As it turned out, the majority of emigrants never did return. But the number who did, and the number of those who came and went several times before making up their minds, is often overlooked in general accounts of the emigration phenomenon. Remittances from America helped greatly to make the two decades before 1914 a prosperous time for al-Munsif. It was during this period that the very handsome houses with red tile roofs (imported from France) were built. During this period, also, some of those who did not emigrate took up nonagricultural jobs, such as school teaching, away from the village.

World War I brought a sudden halt to these developments. Owing to the Turkish blockade of Lebanon, emigration became impossible and the flood of remittances was reduced to a trickle. Toward the end of the war there was famine in al-Munsif, and it was reported that 100 persons died as a result of it. After the war, emigration and remittances were resumed. But the large-scale exodus to the United States was effectively ended by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, which allowed only a very small quota for the Levant. Emigration to other areas continued but also on a smaller

McCulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

scale. The drastic decline in the market price of silk led to greatly reduced production with a consequently increased interest in other occupations. Meanwhile, the road-building program of the French Mandatory regime, coupled with the introduction of motor vehicles, reduced the physical isolation of the village, and the interest of villagers in nonagricultural occupations away from the village was greatly augmented.

IV

Consideration can now be given to the effects of these processes of change on the traditional culture as they were observed in 1952. To anticipate for a moment, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the effects of change have not been uniform throughout the entire village culture, some aspects of which have been more altered than others. In other words, there now are striking cultural disparities in the village, whereas before there was a high degree of consistency. The result is conflict in the minds and souls of the villagers. In what follows, we shall expand, in turn, upon the four basic criteria which were used in describing the traditional culture. The problem of conflict will be considered at the end, under the heading of Localism.

Economics. The most far-reaching changes in al-Munsif, without any question, have been in the area of economic behavior. To comprehend this change, attention must be paid to age distribution and residence pattern. The population of the village in 1952 totalled 523: 258 males and 265 females. A relatively weak representation of persons in their 30's (born during and just after World War I) is to be noted. Formerly all members of the village regularly lived in it. In 1952 only 54.6 percent (286) of the people lived in it all year round, while 35.9 percent (188) regularly lived away (in Beirut or Tripoli for the most part), returning to al-Munsif only during the summer and for various special occasions. Of the remainder, 12 persons commuted on a daily or weekly basis between the village and the city, and 26, though still considered to be members of the village, visited it only on rather rare occasions. This group of 26 comprised 17 women who had married complete outsiders and 9 other persons who lived and worked in other parts of the Middle East, mostly in Iraq.

The residence factor can also be looked at in terms of households. There were 87 independent households in al-Munsif. In 22 of them all members were resident in the village all year round. In 16, no members were resident all year round; they returned as groups only in the summer. In 8 cases, the heads commuted on a daily or weekly basis while their wives and children lived in the village. In the remaining 41 cases, the personnel of each household was split; in general the head and his wife remained in the village while most of the children lived regularly in the city. In other words, a majority of the people, heavily weighted by the older age groups and those

17: Tammous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

Lebanon that it could no longer be absorbed within the country. The village folk had the choice of submitting to a life of poverty or of emigrating abroad, seeking new opportunities and fortunes. The first alternative was incompatible with their cultural heritage. They were mostly independent farm owners, not share croppers; they were awakened by a comparatively high degree of learning; they were exposed to influences of the West; and they had a long history of struggle against great odds, demanding initiative and enterprise on the part of the individual and the group.

Consequently, they resorted to emigration for relief. Some sought opportunities in the urban centers of neighboring Arab countries. They established themselves there as merchants, teachers, publishers, doctors, and as government officials in various capacities. Most of them, however, turned toward the promising New World, north and south. It is estimated that these emigrants, together with the families they have reared, now exceed in number the population resident in Lebanon itself.

Recent estimates put the population of Lebanon at 1.2 million, of whom about 75 percent are rural. There seems to be no slackening in the high rate of increase. The density of population, one of the highest in the world, amounts to about 300 per square mile of total area, and 1,200 per square mile of cultivated area. In the Middle East it is exceeded only by Egypt, which holds the world record with a density of about 2,000 per square mile of cultivated area.

This biological resource of the village community constitutes both a serious problem and a challenge to Lebanon. Emigration possibilities for the surplus population are no longer as readily available as they were prior to a decade or two ago. A realistic, long-range solution lies in the application of an enlightened population policy and developmental program that would result in controlled growth on the one hand, and in the efficient development of the country's natural resources on the other.

The second major contribution of the village community to the country is economic. This is readily apparent and needs little elaboration. Dwellers in the villages are the farming folk of Lebanon. Their agricultural activity is the mainstay of the

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)/1949 SEE Lebanon SEE

other business activities with the West; modern technology and means of communication; and, finally, the rise of political consciousness, culminating recently in national emancipation.

Each of these factors for change has been potent, introducing far-reaching influences in the life of the people. The educational movement has brought a rate of literacy, estimated at 70 percent, which is unequalled in any other rural area of the Middle East. The rate is even higher for the more advanced mountain region considered separately from the coastal and urban areas of Lebanon. Here we find a school in practically every village, catering to the needs of both boys and girls. From the elementary schools, village youth has flowed in increasing numbers to high schools and colleges. As a result, the horizons of the village has been widened intellectually and economically, causing the farming folk to question their way of life and to seek greater opportunities in the outside world.

As mentioned before, Lebanese emigrants, mostly from the rural areas, left in relatively large numbers to the Americas and other parts of the world. Practically every farm-family unit has one or more of its members residing abroad. Through correspondence, the press, and literature, through clubs and societies, through visits back home, and by means of the substantial sums of money sent to their families, these emigrants have contributed heavily to the [illegible] ing of its pattern.

Perhaps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities.

The village community of Lebanon is now going through a stage of rapid transition and difficult adjustment. Its traditional organization, with its institutional pillars of family, land, and religion, is being severely challenged. New ways of doing things

held only by Christians; the fourth by many of the Moslems; the fifth by those who have been moved by the nationalist sentiment without trying to make it a substitute for religious belief.

Probably the majority of French missionaries and officials in the last generation have professed the third or fourth views: that is to say, they have regarded Arabism as primarily an Islamic movement in which the Christians can have no place, and thus they have tried to make Lebanon into a place where the Christians can at least be safe and can perhaps even build up a national life of their own. Their attitude is determined partly by religious belief, partly by a sense of France's historic obligations and partly by a certain conception of French interests. As for the third party to the question, the Arab nationalists in Syria and the other Arab countries, they believe that Lebanon is a part of the Arab world and are afraid of its being used as a centre for foreign intrigues against them; but the more reasonable and responsible of them recognize the peculiar traditions and needs of Lebanon and are prepared to make special provision for them.

The problem of the Shi'is is in some ways similar to that of the Christians and Druses of the Mountain, since it arises from distinct religious loyalties complicated by a separate tradition and memories of persecution. But there is also another complicating factor: the backwardness of the Shi'is in social organization and their low standard of living. Their first need is for a reformed social organization and improved economic conditions. Once this need has been satisfied, it is possible that their outlook and feeling will be near enough to that of the Sunnis to make special treatment unnecessary.

There is one community which possesses a special relation to all the rest. The Armenians, whether Gregorians, Catholics or Protestants, have two characteristics which distinguish them from the remainder of the population of Lebanon. First, they are not Arabic-speaking, but have their own language, culture and national consciousness. Secondly, they are mainly of recent settlement there. The majority established themselves in and around Beirut in consequence of the massacres taken against them by the Turkish authorities

during and after the war of 1914-1918; and a large number entered the country even more recently, in 1939 after the cession to Turkey of the Sanjaq of Alexandretta, where many Armenian refugees from Turkey had settled. Most of the Armenians entered penniless and were dependent in the beginning upon international relief organizations, but in the last twenty years their economic situation has greatly improved. They are mainly craftsmen and small traders and almost all are now town-dwellers.

Foreign in language and appearance and socially half-isolated, they have not always been popular with the inhabitants. Some nationalists disapprove of them because they are still unassimilated and because they have added another minority problem to those already existing. Their competitors accuse them, as minorities in their position are often accused, of depressing the level of wages and of monopolizing the trades and crafts to which they have applied themselves.

These Armenians have evolved divergent conceptions of their future as a nation. There are some, mainly those who have made good, who are prepared to live permanently in Lebanon as a minority; in order to make this possible they wish the Armenians to learn Arabic, to prove themselves good citizens and to co-operate with the bulk of the population [illegible] their Armenian characteristics and loyalty. Probably the majority of the Armenians however regard their residence in Lebanon as a temporary exile, and hope sooner or later to return to their own country. Of these, the Tashnak party wish to see their country once more an independent national state, while the Communists and others accept the incorporation of Armenia in the U.S.S.R. and are eager to return and become Soviet citizens. Both these parties recognize that their exile although temporary may be long and that therefore an interim policy is necessary. Some of the Tashnak have tried to follow the example of the Maronites and throw themselves upon a foreign protector; but very many of their party, and all the Communists, desire to reach a modus vivendi with the political forces among the Arabs, either with the Arab nationalists or else with the Arab Socialists and Communists.

increase the productivity per acre and also to expand the cultivated area per head.

In the Lebanon, however, with its steep hillsides under intensive cultivation, there is a definite pressure on land resources. The limits of intensification appear to have been reached, and a large part of the village population supplements its income by work in the towns, and by remittances from abroad. If the land tenure system in Syria were less oppressive, room might be found on the land for settlers from the Lebanon, but as things are, the standard of living and status of the Lebanese peasant is higher; compared with the Syrian peasant he is a free man, and there is no inducement to leave the Mountain for the underpopulated plains of central or northern Syria.

LAND TENURE

Corresponding to these different methods of farming, there are different systems of land tenure.[1] In Lebanon individual small ownership is well established, and the pattern of village life, with its broad class of small peasant owners, few large landowners, and a growing class of landless labourers, resembles that of Europe.

In Syria, the greater part of the land is owned by city notables—the ruling class—and cultivated by small share-tenants. Though individual ownership exists in some districts, for instance [illegible] the most usual form of landownership in the plain districts of Syria is share-tenancy. The villagers bring their corn to the village threshing floor, and when the grain is threshed the landlord or his agent stands by and takes one-half of the grain. Towards this result he has contributed nothing; all labour, equipment, seeds, livestock, have been supplied by the tenant, so that his share is rent purely for the use of the land. The landlord is almost always an absentee, a city notable who only visits the land to collect rent.

The share taken by the landlord varies from district to district, and also varies with the condition of the land. According to an inquiry made by the French authorities, the usual division of the crop for non-irrigated cereals is 40–50 per cent to the

[1] The information which follows is mainly based on A. Latron, *La Vie rurale en Syrie et au Liban* (Beirut, L'Institut Français de Damas, 1936). The brilliant and profound study by Jacques Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, is an indispensable authority which unfortunately was received only after going to press.

Lebanon mEl

II. Lebanon

(Visited 1 - 10 December 1953)

1. The total area of Le ..non is about 4,000 square miles, the population being estimated in 1953 at one and a quarter million, of whom a high proportion live in the principal towns. For many years there has been considerable migration to foreign countries, and it is said that as many Lebanese live abroad as are to be found in their native land. 131 162 169

2. Lebanon is mainly a fruit-growing agricultural country, but pipelines from Middle East oil fields are being laid across the country to connect with newly constructed installations and harbours on the coast. In the course this development may influence the economy of the country. 241 345

3. Great hopes of agricultural expansion - to be accompanied, it is claimed, by schemes of rural community development - are based upon the Litani Dam and irrigation project. At the time of our visit this project was under discussion between the Government and the United States Technical Cooperation Administration (Point IV), but matters had not advanced sufficiently to justify our attempting to follow in detail the intentions with regard to community welfare centres. 241 435 185

4. The agency of the Lebanese Government responsible for social ffairs has only recently (1951) been raised to the status of Ministry. Until ver recently, there had been a change of government and the new Minister of Social A airs also held two other portfolios. The Director-General of the Department also had not been continuously in office over the past years. No reply had been returned by the relevant Department to the Secretary-General's request (at the end of 1951) for information on community welfare centres. Background information was difficult to obtain. A decree which would have permitted the provision of multi-purpose community centres and enabled government support to be given in cash or by way of services, had been promulgated in 1951 (Appendix I). The decree had not, however, been put into operation. The initiative in instituting or developing such multi-purpose activities as we had the opportunity of seeing at Shnaya, Anjar and Jiwaili had come mainly from voluntary agencies. 447 185

5. We visited the Shnaya Demonstration Centre and major project at the Nil and Litt of Zerqaine. The purpose of the original centre was to provide for Armenian refugees from Turkey. The Near East Foundation and the Armenian Cooperative Corporation shared responsibility for the financing and management of settlements in this area. More recently, the Near East Foundation decided to concentrate on activities in Syria and Greece and brought its work at Shnaya to a close. Mr. Feldmann of the Near East Foundation, who had had a long experience between the wars in community organization in Bulgaria before coming to Shnaya, then transferred to the Armenian Corporation. With his wife, he now supervises the various activities in a group of villages located in the Bekaa Valley between Beirut and Damascus. These activities include control of malaria, recreational programmes, organization of marketing, provision of seedlings and plants, poultry breeding, milk co-operatives and educational projects. 361 185

6. At the time of our visit an illustrated lecture by an American veterinary expert (Point IV) was in progress. The co-operative milk marketing scheme appeared to be successful and to make a useful contribution to the milk supply of Beirut. The housing provided for the settlers and the general appearance of the village at Anjar were satisfactory. That of the Arab village of Bekfaiya-Anjar was distinctly less so. In a former disused school house there was a primitive community and child 234 434 600

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Chapter 6

LEBANON

Developments to the End of the Second World War

432 439 471 167

Lebanon's high economic level, compared with other Middle Eastern countries, is largely attributable to certain factors which helped to improve economic and social conditions, 1/ from early modern times. A relatively greater degree of security in Lebanon attracted European merchants, who provided an expanding market for Lebanese raw silk; it also brought in missionaries and educators, who established modern schools. In the second half of the nineteenth century, large-scale emigration began. It is estimated that, between 1860 and 1920, some 330,000 persons emigrated from Lebanon and Syria - an average of 3,000 a year, of whom over half were from Lebanon. In 1920-24, the yearly average rose to 25,000. 2/ A large number of these emigrants returned, bringing back with them capital and skills. There was also a small capital inflow from Europe, which was invested in railways, ports and other public utilities, as well as in banks. By 1920, Beirut had become the main distributing centre for Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, northern Iraq and southern Anatolia. Another important economic item was the export of raw silk.

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During the First World War, Lebanon, which had become a food importer, experienced a large-scale famine. In addition, the silk industry was disorganized, the mulberry trees being cut down for fuel, and the transit trade was disrupted. In the inter-war period, silk suffered further, from the competition of more efficient producers and of rayon, and gradually ceased to play an important part in the economy. A still harder blow was the decline in emigration, following restrictions imposed in most countries of immigration. After reaching a peak of 26,000 in 1925, emigration from Lebanon and Syria fell off rapidly to an annual average of 2,000 in the nineteen-thirties, of whom slightly over half came from Lebanon.

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1/ Net national income in 1950 was estimated at 1,200 million Lebanese pounds (see table 431), giving a per capita figure of 71 811 per annum. [illegible] confirmation of this figure is provided by a survey in North Lebanon which showed that in 1955 per capita income in a group of villages was 12 627. This figure does not include rent, since practically all families own their [illegible] Khalaf A. Ghanem, Household Income and Expenditure in Al Kura, unpublished thesis, American University, Beirut, 1957). Converted at the average free market rate (in 1950 one United States dollar equalled 3.47 Lebanese pounds), which considerably undervalues the purchasing power of the Lebanese pound, this gives a per capita income of $231, a figure well above that prevailing in the region. Some two thirds of the Lebanese population is literate, and over 40 per cent is urban, proportions which are well above the regional level.

2/ G.F. Hourani (editor), The Economic Organization of Syria (Beirut, 1951), page 16.

Other sources of income were developed, however. Although the breakup of the Ottoman Empire and the erection of tariff barriers in the successor states handicapped Lebanon's transit trade, Beirut continued to be an important distributing centre. In this it was helped by the enlargement of its harbour and by the construction of a good network of roads. These improvements, together with the development of public utilities and hotels, attracted to Lebanon an increasing number of Middle Eastern tourists.

In agriculture, the most important development was the expansion in the acreage planted to olive and fruit trees, and the improvement in quality. The tariff protection gradually accorded after 1924 also stimulated industry. At the outbreak of the Second World War, some 20,000 persons were employed in factories and small workshops, including craftsmen engaged in such traditional seasonal occupations as silk reeling. 1/

During the Second World War, the large-scale expenditure of Allied troops raised incomes and prices, 2/ and the reduction of imports further stimulated industrial production. This increase was achieved with existing equipment, since no machinery could be imported.

Another result of the war was the improvement of communications. The forced savings due to inflation and the shift to profits took the form of frozen and sterling balances held by Lebanese individuals and institutions.

Post-war Period, 1945 to 1954

Since 1945, the national income of Lebanon has increased considerably, and available data indicate a rise in consumption. The dissolution in 1950 of the customs union 3/ with Syria, which had constituted Lebanon's most important market, caused a setback, compensated in recent years, it appears, by the over-all growth.

Emigration, which had almost ceased during the war years, recovered in the post-war period. In recent years it has averaged over 5,000 per annum, 4/ compared with an annual natural increase of about 25,000. Emigration was, however, offset by an influx of over 100,000 Palestinian Arab refugees in 1948 and 1949. The maintenance of these refugees by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees has largely shielded the Lebanese economy from their impact, though many have found employment in the country while a few [illegible].

1/ The number of industrial establishments rose from 400 in 1930 to 900 in 1945, according to Murad's Al Mamaly, "Min al hirfa ila al sinaa", in Mahadarat al Nadwa (Beirut, 1955).

2/ From 1941 to 1944 inclusive, Allied expenditure in Lebanon and Syria totalled £75 million (sterling). From 1939 to 1945 inclusive, Lebanon and Syria had a surplus of £27 million Lebanese-Syrian pounds on current account. The wholesale price index in Beirut rose from 100 in June 1939 to a peak of 1,201 in January 1945.

3/ See chapter 7.

4/ Emigration in 1951 totalled 4,077, in 1952 it was 2,725 and in 1953 it was 5,343 (Le Commerce du Levant, 9 October 1954, Beirut). A significant proportion of emigrants went to the Persian Gulf area.

tants and less than 6,000 each of Syrian Catholics, Syrian Orthodox, Chaldean Catholics and other denominations.

In 1948, the Moslem contingent, comprising about 253,000 Sunnites and 224,500 Shiites, represented slightly less than 40 per cent of the population. The Druses, a dissident sect of Islam, dating from the 11th century, numbered around 79,700. They are scattered throughout southern and central Lebanon, but about 80 per cent reside in the province of Mount Lebanon. The diverse religious communities tend to live apart, and the close proximity of villages and towns, Christian or Moslem, is a feature of Lebanese life. In addition, about 6,000 Jews reside in Beirut and other cities; the majority are of Sephardic origin, and have been settled in the country for generations.

With the exception of the Armenians, most of whom fled from Turkish territory during the first quarter of the present century, and a few thousand each of Kurds and Assyrians, there are no linguistic minority groups. Most of the inhabitants speak Arabic or a minor dialectal variation. French and English are widely used, however, by the educated Lebanese. Small foreign communities of French, Polish, Greek, American, British and other nationalities also reside in Beirut and the coastal cities.

During the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948, Lebanon received over 100,000 Arab refugees from Palestine. In a total of 106,390 on the *roster of the United Nations Relief and* Works Agency in 1951, about 34 per cent were housed in 13 camps located in different parts of the country, while the remainder lived in the various towns and villages.

A distinctive feature of the recent history of this region is the large-scale emigration of Lebanese to the Americas, Europe and Africa, which reached a peak in the years preceding World War I. The exact number of emigrants, most of whom sought to escape the impoverishing effects of continuing congestion on the land, is not known, but some authorities estimate that it exceeds that of the resident population. Many

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have retained close contact with their homeland, a factor which has had a profound influence on the social and the economic development of the country. 186 167

Unlike the neighboring Arab states, Lebanon is a compact territory. The density of population in the four administrative provinces, exclusive of Beirut district, averaged over 300 per square mile in 1948. It was 484 per square mile in Mount Lebanon, 356 in North Lebanon, and 291 in South Lebanon, but declined to 101 in the potentially fertile districts of the Bekaa. About 60 per cent of the inhabitants live under rural conditions in some 2,300 large or small villages. Urbanization has increased progressively within recent years, however, and almost one half of the population is now concentrated within easy access of Beirut. The city, which is not only the capital and the industrial metropolis of Lebanon but the principal port for the Levant states, had a population of 300,000 to 400,000 in 1950. Tripoli, the second largest city and the terminus of the pipeline from the oil fields in northern Iraq to the Mediterranean, had a population of roughly 78,000. Numerous towns in the southern and the central portions of the Lebanon range are popular resorts, with an annual influx of summer residents. 161 635 162 369

The fact that Beirut has become one of the leading cultural and educational centers of the Near East has stimulated the spread of education in the rest of the country. The literacy rate is consistently higher among the men than among the women: it probably averages from 75 to 90 per cent in Beirut and the neighboring districts of Mount Lebanon and from 40 to 60 per cent in the other provinces. The expansion of education has been influenced by the activity of French, American and other foreign groups, but the division between the different systems has hindered the development of a unified national program. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory, although the facilities are inadequate, especially in the rural areas of the south. 171 542 171 648 182 172 369

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165 369 evade punishment by concealing the death of unregistered infants detract from the validity of the merger data available. Local pediatricians believe that the mortality rate in children up to 2 years of age averages from 25 to 30 per cent for the country as a whole. It ranges from 10 to 15 per cent, or more, in Beirut proper to from 30 to 45 per cent in Tripoli, Sidon and the towns of the interior. In the more remote villages of South Lebanon, the standards of living are uniformly low, and the mortality in children under 2 years of age probably reaches 50 to 70 per cent. Intestinal diseases are foremost among the causes of death in infancy and early childhood.

165 571

Social Economy

241 994 167 The economy of Lebanon is based upon agriculture, but the country is in a more favorable position than the neighboring Arab states, in that the national income is augmented by an increasing tourist traffic and by remittances to their families from emigrants living abroad. Although the coastal plain and the Bekaa valley support a variety of crops, a large part of the territory is mountainous and unsuitable for cultivation. The coastal region is cultivated intensively, with a series of narrow terraces extending along the seaward slopes of the Lebanon range up to an elevation of about 3,000 feet. Little more than 20 per cent of the total land area is now under production, while less than one fifth of that is irrigated. *Considerable disparity exists between* recent estimates of the amount of arable land, but all agree that it can be increased materially by a greater utilization of the available water resources and by improved methods of cultivation. Programs have already been initiated for the further development of irrigation facilities, notably in the southern Bekaa, and in the 'Akkar plain, a triangular sector between the coast and the northern frontier with Syria. The tradition of private ownership is strong in the mountainous districts of the north, and most of the land is cultivated by independent farmers.

249 301

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residual spraying of the village houses with insecticides, the treatment of breeding pices with larvicides, the stocking of permanent bodies of water with Gambusia fish, ad the airplane spraying of otherwise inaccessible swamps with DDT preparations. Te villages protected in this manner in 151 had an aggregate population of about 6300.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees conducts DDT residual spraying programs in camps ad villages occupied by refugees under its jrisdiction, especially in the highly endmic coastal areas in the south and in the 'Akkar plain near the Syrian border. In September, 1951, demonstration projects we initiated by the World Health Orgnization, in conjunction with the Ministry f Public Health. The program will include ystematic surveys in partially controlled nd uncontrolled malarious areas, as the Akkar plain, the northern and the southern sections of the Bekaa, the littoral around Tyre and the more remote villages in the coastal river valleys.

Flies. Flies of the family MUSCIDAE are bundant in all parts of the country, and undoubtedly play a significant role in the spread of intestinal and eye diseases. Several species of *Musca* occur, among which *M. domestica vicina* and *M. sorbens* are most prominent. The stable fly, *Stomoxys calcitrans*, and the nonbiting variety, *Musca stabulans*, are also plentiful. Species of TABANIDAE are numerous. The myiasis-producing flies, which are serious pests for ve livestock and occasionally attack man, include *Cuterebra*, *Gasterophilus*, *Chrysomya erythrocephala* and various species of *Sarcophaga* and *Hypoderma*. The flies most frequently implicated in human myiasis are probably *Lucilia sericata* and *Wohlfahrtia magnifica*.

Several species of sandflies have been identified, including *Phlebotomus papatasi* and *P. sergenti*, vectors of cutaneous leishmaniasis in wasteland foci, and *P. chinensis* and *P. major*, suspected of being vectors in

p. IIC (8)

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1964
M1 Middle East
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tina, V. labetina xanthina and *V. palestina*, are encountered in some localities. 136 752

Rodents. The brown rat, *Rattus norvegicus*, is prevalent throughout the coastal area. *R. rattus alexandrinus* is present in small numbers in Beirut and the coast towns, but predominates in the inland villages. *R. rattus rattus* is also present. Mice are abundant under both urban and rural conditions. 136 369

Mollusks.* The fresh-water snail, *Bulinus truncatus* (— *B. contortus*), is found in a few localized areas—in the vicinity of Sidon, in the Nahr el Sanser and the irrigation ditches connected with the springs of Ras el 'Ain, near Tyre, and in the Litany River, around the Qaraoun bridge in the Bekaa. It is the intermediate host of *Schistosoma haematobium*, and, although the infection apparently is not endemic in the indigenous population, it has recently been observed among Palestinian refugees in the Tyre region. 136 164 [K-7]

Plants. Little scientific information is available, but many of the trees, the grasses and the weeds which are known to produce allergic manifestations in susceptible individuals in other countries flourish in Lebanon. 137 752

The stocks of wheat sometimes contain seeds of *Corydalis cyrtocarpa* or *Lolium temulentum*. Occasional cases of poisoning are traceable to the consumption of breads or *burghul* prepared from wheat flours thus contaminated.

The broad bean, *Vicia faba*, is widely used as a food, but it may cause toxic symptoms when eaten raw. Serious illness are relatively rare, but fatalities are reported almost annually among young children. In some cases, the chick-pea, *Lathyrus sativus*, a common fodder crop, is responsible for poisoning when it is used as a food. [K-5]

Food Establishments

The sanitary inspection of restaurants and premises where food is prepared or sold is the responsibility of the municipal health 764

* See footnote, page 10.

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vention of tuberculosis, assists in the hospitalization of needy cases and administers a sanatorium at Dahr el Bashek. The Armenian Charitable Society furnishes treatment facilities for the care of Armenian patients. The Young Women's Moslem Association was established for the promotion of education among Moslem women, and since 1946 it has maintained a training school for nurses in Beirut. The Mouassat Society, an organization of Moslem women interested in infant welfare work, finances a small maternity hospital in Beirut.

The medical schools of the American University of Beirut and the Université Saint-Joseph have affiliated medical care and preventive services. The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in America supports a medical mission in Tripoli. The Near East Foundation directed a general health and rural improvement program in the Anjar villages in the Bekaa valley from 1944 to 1951, when it retired from Lebanon. It also instituted an extensive malaria control project in the Anjar and the Aramik swamp areas. The Kazgharian Corporation, in America, contributed substantially to the work of the Foundation in the Armenian villages, and provides for the maintenance of child welfare centers in Anjar and Beirut.

The Lebanese Public Health Association is prominent among the professional societies. It is concerned with the promotion of public health in Lebanon and with the dissemination of educational materials. The Lebanese Medical Association is likewise active, and publishes a journal for its membership.

Two industries maintain medical facilities for the benefit of their employees—the Iraq Petroleum Company, at Tripoli, and the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company, at Beirut and Sidon. The Iraq Petroleum Company also subsidizes a medical insurance scheme for the families of its employees. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees carries on public health programs in the various camps

and conducts malaria control operations in the vicinity of refugee centers.

Medical Institutions

Hospitals and Dispensaries. According to the official statistics for 1948, there were 73 hospitals, including sanatoria, in Lebanon. These institutions had an aggregate capacity of about 5,182 beds, or slightly less than 4.2 beds per 1,000 population. Fifty-six hospitals with a total of 2,274 beds were under private management, and 9 hospitals with a total of 2,130 beds were operated by foreign agencies. Eight hospitals, with a total of about 777 beds, were listed by the Ministry of Public Health. They consisted of provincial hospitals of approximately 120 beds each at Ba'albek (Mount Lebanon), Zahle (Bekaa), Tripoli (North Lebanon) and Sidon (South Lebanon), and 4 hospitals in Beirut; a general hospital of 320 beds, a contagious disease hospital of 50 beds, a venereal disease hospital of 45 beds and a quarantine hospital of 80 beds. The provincial hospitals at Tripoli and Sidon were not completed, however, in 1952. In addition, the government contracted for the use of 1,200 beds in private or foreign-operated institutions, so that roughly 2,000 beds were available through the Ministry.

Special facilities included with the above hospitals were a tuberculosis sanatorium of 500 beds at Khanzah, three smaller tuberculosis sanatoria of 130 to 190 beds each, a mental hospital with 300 beds at Ashrafiyeh and a chronic disease hospital and home with about 1,000 beds at Deir el Salib. All are conducted by religious or philanthropic organizations, Lebanese or foreign. The Ministry does not operate tuberculosis or mental hospitals, but subsidizes about 370 beds in private institutions for the care of tuberculous patients and 180 beds for mental cases. Within the last few years an ophthalmic hospital of 30 beds has been constructed by the government at Tebnin, in South Lebanon.

The hospitals affiliated with the medical schools of the two universities in Beirut are

p. 128(A)

62 Simmons et al G-6 (1941-1951) 1964
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in the Bekaa they averaged less than 1 per cent.

SCHISTOSOMIASIS. Schistosomiasis apparently is not endemic, but the infection has been demonstrated among Palestinian refugees living in camps near Tyre. In the examination of urine specimens from 15 boys, from 6 to 12 years of age, in a school at Tyre in 1950,[6] the eggs of *Schistosoma haematobium* were found in 47 per cent. A second series of urine samples, taken a few months later from 25 refugee boys, from 7 to 14 years of age, revealed eggs in 16 per cent. All the boys came originally from the Haifa and the Acre regions in Palestine. The infection was still localized in 1951, as shown by the fact that urine specimens from 1,000 boys enrolled in different schools in the the same camp were completely negative for *S. haematobium*.[10] No evidence of infection has been found in the course of limited surveys among Lebanese children in the vicinity of Tyre, and the disease was formerly unknown in the local population.

The intermediate snail host, *Bulinus truncatus*, inhabits streams and irrigation canals near Tyre and Sidon, and has been collected from one focus in the middle reaches of the Litany River. It is feared that the disease may become established and spread in the irrigated districts of the coastal plain between Tyre and Sidon.

TRICHINOSIS. Three outbreaks of trichinosis have been recorded—in 1936, 1939-40 and 1941. The second outbreak occurred in Beirut district, where most of the pig farms are concentrated. The number of recognized human cases was small, but in the examination of about 1,000 pigs on several farms in the neighborhood of the slaughterhouse, 15 to 20 per cent were found to be infected with *Trichinella spiralis*. A high rate of infection was also discovered among rats trapped in the area. The mass slaughter of the pigs on the affected farms and the incineration of infected carcasses were ordered by the health authorities. In the 1941 outbreak, 34 human cases, with 3 deaths, were reported, all traceable to infected meat from

demic occurred in 1942 which, according to the official statistics, involved 482 cases, with a fatality rate of 21 percent. The incidence and the severity of the disease declined the following year—41 cases were reported in 1943, with a fatality of 16 per cent. Subsequently, the prevalence was sporadic until 1948, when localized outbreaks were again observed. From 12 to 175 cases a year were reported in 1944-49, but in 1950 the incidence dropped to its normal low level. Two cases were recorded in 1950, none in 1951.

Diphtheria. Diphtheria is increased in prevalence within the last few years. The reported incidence averaged 9 cases a year in the period 1942-47, but since 1948 it has approximated 150 to 200 cases. Many local authorities attribute the sudden rise in the number of recognized cases part to the recent influx of refugees as tourists from other countries. The presence of a high rate of subclinical infection, with a correspondingly high degree of immunity in the indigenous population, is opposed by the large number of children to give a negative reaction to the Shicknest at an early age. In a series of tests performed in 1949 on 1,277 children, 4 to 10 years of age, attending schools in Beirut or the immediate vicinity, 91 per cent responded with a negative reaction. Starting at 5 years of age, the proportion of positive reacts averaged 9 per cent up to 10 years of age and 7 per cent from 10 through 14 years of age. Nineteen children from 15 to 16 yrs of age were included in the series; all are negative reactions. In 1950, a program was started for the immunization against diphtheria of all children under 10 years age.

Meningitis. Small localized outbreaks of meningococcus meningitis are reported almost every year. The records, though normally low in number, but waves of increased prevalence are noted at irregular intervals. In the 12 years 1939-50, the incidence ranged from 12 to 32 cases a year, except in the 2 years 1944 and 1945, when it reached 353 and 331 cases, respectively.

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to maintain their Lebanese citizenship abroad are Christians, the overwhelming majority of whom are Maronites.

(b) The natural increase among the non-Christian population of the Lebanon, and particularly of the Shi'ah and the Druze, is more than twice as great as that of the Christian population. These facts can serve as a key to explain various developments, the influence of which may be decisive in shaping the social character and political fate of the Lebanon.

Any person reviewing the demographic problems of the Lebanon cannot but observe a number of factors common to the Christian population of the Lebanon and the Yishuv (the Jewish community) in Palestine. The natural increase of the Christians in the Lebanon is roughly equal to that of the Yishuv in Palestine.*

Against this, however, the Yishuv in Palestine has incomparably more potential reserve in the way of immigration from abroad than that which is available to the Lebanese Christians through the return of emigrants. And just as the chief concern of Zionism in Palestine is the creation of possibilities for the absorption of Jewish immigrants from abroad, so the Christians of the Lebanon are faced first and foremost with the problem of preventing emigration from the country, and, in consequence, the creation of opportunities for absorbing emigrants who do return and who can return to their homeland, given suitable absorptive conditions. In addition, attention is devoted to the creation of opportunities for absorbing Christians who require a refuge.

The absence of dynamic economic resources in the Lebanon which could increase and expand the sources of livelihood for a progressive population has led to a steady emigration from the country since the middle of the last century. This process has chiefly affected the Christians whose requirements are more developed and whose living standards are higher than those of their Druze and Moslem neighbours; it has created a serious social and political problem which, when together with their lower rate of natural increase, places the future of the Lebanese Christians in permanent danger.

Robert Widmer described the economic reasons for a migration from the Lebanon in the following passage:†

> "Lebanon is over-populated. As has been stated, the density of population is about 55 people to a square kilometre. In view of the topography of the country, its rocky mountains and its thin soil, its scarcity of mineral wealth, and its undeveloped industries, the land cannot support all its people. Consequently it is to be expected that some of them have to emigrate, leaving many dependents on their remittances."

As long as emigration was temporary, it was in many ways advantageous. To the general broadening of outlook resulting from contact with more advanced countries were added the material benefits of an influx of money in the country's capital (brought in by returning emigrants), an addition

* Practices prevailing among the Christians of the Lebanon as against those prevailing among the Jews of Palestine.

† R. Widmer, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 14.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947–48)/349 MEI Lebanon MEI

Lebanon that it could no longer be absorbed within the country. The village folk had the choice of submitting to a life of poverty or of emigrating abroad, seeking new opportunities and fortunes. The first alternative was incompatible with their cultural heritage. They were mostly independent farm owners, not share croppers; they were awakened by a comparatively high degree of learning; they were exposed to influences of the West; and they had a long history of struggle against great odds, demanding initiative and enterprise on the part of the individual and the group.

Consequently, they resorted to emigration for relief. Some sought opportunities in the urban centers of neighboring Arab countries. They established themselves there as merchants, teachers, publishers, doctors, and as government officials in various capacities. Most of them, however, turned toward the promising New World, north and south. It is estimated that these emigrants, together with the families they have reared, now exceed in number the population resident in Lebanon itself.

Recent estimates put the population of Lebanon at 1.2 million, of whom about 75 percent are rural. There seems to be no slackening in the high rate of increase. The density of population, one of the highest in the world, amounts to about 300 per square mile of total area, and 1,200 per square mile of cultivated area. In the Middle East it is exceeded only by Egypt, which holds the world record with a density of about 2,000 per square mile of cultivated area.

This biological resource of the village community constitutes both a serious problem and a challenge to Lebanon. Emigration possibilities for the surplus population are no longer as readily available as they were prior to a decade or two ago. A realistic, long-range solution lies in the application of an enlightened population policy and developmental program that would result in controlled growth on the one hand, and in the efficient development of the country's natural resources on the other.

The second major contribution of the village community to the country is economic. This is readily apparent and needs little elaboration. Dwellers in the villages are the farming folk of Lebanon. Their agricultural activity is the mainstay of the

The Lebanese, who returned to their homeland, are a problem on their own, but the gravity of whole essential on the Lebanese Diaspora makes it hard to investigate the subject. Yet the large number of Lebanese emigrants who continue to preserve their citizenship shows not only their affection for their homeland but also suggests their intention of returning there under suitable conditions.

Despite the constant emigration from the Lebanon, this country served as a refuge during the interval between the two wars for Christians emigrants from the neighbouring countries, and in particular for Armenians.* More than 50,000 Armenian refugees from Turkey found refuge in the Lebanon, and despite the economic problems which were raised by the entry of these penniless immigrants, they have added considerably to the Christian strength of the Lebanon, where their fellow-Christians, together with the Mandatory Power, have provided for them in various ways and have facilitated their establishment in the country.

The statistical data on the changes in the composition of the population resulting from its differing natural composition shows clearly the danger awaiting the Christian character of the country. The danger of a Moslem majority, to be sure, primarily affects not Mount Lebanon proper, but the State of Lebanon within its extreme political frontiers, where the Moslem population constitutes a majority in the towns of Beirut, Tripoli, Tyre and Sidon. But the natural increase of the Druzes and Shi'ah in Mount Lebanon, which is twice, or more, as much as that of the Christians, also raises a serious problem for the latter, even in their chief strong hold. Any free-will relinquishment by the Christians of the present boundaries of the Lebanese Republic, and their return to the boundaries of their period of autonomy between 1861 and 1915, would not serve to solve the main problem of preserving the Christian character of their country for any length of time.

This situation faces the Lebanese Christians with a number of grave and urgent problems which require solution in the economic field: the creation of conditions that will free and hamper private emigration, which chiefly affects the Christian population and systematically reduces their numbers in the country; and, in addition, the development of possibilities for absorbing returning emigrants and Christian immigrants from the neighbouring countries. In any case of organized population transfer in this part of the world for the sake of territorial consideration in accordance with economic, religious and communal character, the Lebanon would be more suitable than any other Middle Eastern region for serving as a centre for the Christians.

* Most of them are Orthodox (Gregorians). The Catholics and Protestants among them are included under "minorities" in the tables given above.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Finally, we come to the town of Jbeyl whose population was estimated in 1932 to be 5000, (Hitzenbih, 1936, p. 9). It is now probably considerably more. It is surrounded by banana plantations and is currently enjoying a period of prosperity and growth largely because of the recently installed irrigation system. The highway runs right through the commercial center of the town, and though we must be careful to avoid collision with heavily laden donkeys, sheep, fowl, oxen, honking taxis, trucks and buses, we are aware that the street is lined with small shops of all kinds. On our left we pass the local courthouse, a neat modernistic structure from which the national flag flies, and around which stand or sit a few members of the national gendarmerie, in khaki uniforms, with rifles slung over their shoulders. If our eyes are sharp, we will notice also, a small sign which reads "Fouilles de Byblos," with an arrow pointing towards the sea. And in this direction we can hardly fail to miss seeing the crownless vault which is all that remains of the upper levels of a castle built by the Crusaders. If we have prepared ourselves properly, we will know that this ruin is surrounded by others of much greater age which attest to the fact that the hustle through which we are passing is but the current phase in the life of one of the oldest continuously inhabited sites in the world. Later we will learn that Jbeyl is the primary marketing center of Mamjil.

Shortly after leaving Jbeyl, we pass the unpaved road which leads to the large village of 'Amshit built on a small rise in the land at some distance from the highway. We must deduce its identity from our map, for there is, as usual, no sign. After the rather sharp turn near al-Burj, the road dips downward and our view to the north is suddenly blocked completely by the ridge to which some reference has already been made. The ridge appears to plunge, at a moderately steep angle, directly into the sea, but we notice that the highway continues on around it. We, however, turn sharply to the right on a side road which we can see winds up the ridge. We stop, athwart the railroad tracks, to allow a man, whose head is swathed in a *kefiyah* and crowned by an *agal*, to drive his herd of fat-tailed sheep across the road. He pays no particular attention to us, for he is a stranger here himself, though he has probably come this way for years. However, after we have wound our way upwards for a few minutes we pass a group of men who are lounging in the shade of a carob tree, eating lunch. They stare hard and fixedly at us, and one of them gets to his feet to have a better look. Our major ascent is finished when we reach the crest of the ridge, and we find on each side of the road the neat terraces of figs and olives which belong to Jiddayil. Some the houses close in tightly, but briefly, on both sides. As we pass through, a rooster flaps across the road, just missing our wheels. A few human figures step out of doorways to see who is coming and stand staring at us. Off to the right of the straight road from Jiddayil to Shaykhan we see smoke pouring from the open top of a limekiln. To the left, still at some distance, we see, at last, the houses of Mamjil, ranging in color from white to tawny to grey. They are perched, seemingly on top

[illegible] no indications that it will. Yet there are possible signs of division in XII and XIII. Two men in these lineages are using rather than their father's name as a second name, one his grandfather's, and the other his great-grandfather's, names. The children are following this pattern, which may be the beginning of two new lineages. No explanation was available.

Both Table 6 and Figure 7 show that the lineages are of very unequal generational depth. In some cases this is because some lineages are older, genealogically, than others. In other cases, it is because some lineages have reproduced faster than others. These two factors combine to give a range of depth of from four to ten generations, if we follow Figure 5. The study is six generations, the average is seven, even then six.

It will be observed that the eponymous ancestors of lineages XII and XVI are placed in the fifth generation of descent from Mongor Jorjo of Kinani in Table 6, whereas they appear in the third generation in Figure 5. The reason for this discrepancy is this: in both cases there are on the original genealogy men with the appropriate name and in the proper position in both generations. In each case, either man, the first or a grandson, could have been the eponymous ancestor, and no one knows which. The remaining lineage names, represented by the letters A, B, and C, are all eponymous, being Abi Yiwala, Abi Ibrowal, and Abi Maja, respectively. Their sons were Yiwala, Ibrowal, and Maja, respectively. Ibrowal and Maja are represented as XIII and XVII, respectively, because these two men (or two grandsons who were their namesakes), were the ancestors of present minimal lineages which bear their names. Figure 7 places the eponymous ancestors of these lineages in the center of the alternative generations to emphasize the following fact. The names of Maximal Lineages B and C are retained in the names of present minimal lineages, whereas the name of Maximal Lineage A, the largest, has been eliminated. This fact was recognized by the villagers, but they could not see any reason for it, or significance in it.

Figure 7 suggests that there are three patterns of formation of minimal lineages: (1) derivation from sets of brothers, (2) derivation of one lineage from a father, of others from his younger sons; (3) derivation of one minimal lineage from another, e.g., the derivation of a lineage from one man, of another from his grandson.

This entire argument has been severely handicapped by the fact that we must either accept the genealogy on which Table 6 and Figure 7 were based at its face value, or we give it any detailed consideration at all. The former course has been followed, but the possibility must be kept in mind that the genealogy may be very inaccurate. The Arabs, and other Semites, have always been fond of explaining history in genealogical terms, with great distortion as a result. Daghestani (1952, pp. 176-78) warns explicitly against taking Arab genealogies of any size at their face value.

[illegible] The genetic basis for lineage which is used in Mongol is not (properly)

[illegible]

[illegible] tation, but he continues loyalty to the community followups and modes which have been acquired mainly by the rules of the church." (Tannous, 1946, p. 140.) We can safely assume that prior to about seventy-five years ago al-Qaraq, Mtaniqil and the Mtaniqilis conformed to all these traditional patterns. Many of them still continue to live.

[illegible] Our purpose now is to sort out the old and the new in the present culture as it has been described in Part One, to indicate the differential effects of change on the three major themes of village life as they have been outlined by Tannous, and, in the two following chapters, to put these differential effects into theoretical perspective.

Before we move upon this three-part analysis, we must say something about the origins of the village and the sequence of events in its development.

THE FOUNDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF AL-QARAQ

[illegible] Of the founding of the village we have only the rather vague beliefs of the present villagers for information, namely, that the founder was an emigrant from Syria, and that there were apparently no other inhabitants in the present territory of the village when he arrived. We have seen that a maximum of twelve generations (or 1, according to the genealogy, descended from the founder. If we allow thirty years for each generation, we set the founder's birth date at approximately 1700, and believe that he must have come to the village site sometime during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. This reasoning is based on some arbitrary assumptions, and it would be absurd to insist on too detailed a reconstruction or for an dates are meaningful.

However, there are two related sets of evidence at hand which lend credence to the notion that the village was founded sometime in the early part of the seventeenth century. Rizeq (1930, p. 374), in discussing the origins of the town of Ras al-Matn, which is somewhat north of and related from Beirut, says that the ancestors of several of the Orthodox families there came from Damascus in the seventeenth century to escape the religious persecution in Syria. From 1708 to 1635, Lebanon was ruled efficiently and justly by a Druze Amir, Fakhr al-Din II, and during this period, which is considered one of the golden ages in Lebanese history, Sfeir (1916, p. 422) says, "According to Volney, Christian families migrated to Lebanon 'daily' from Syria to escape Turkish rule." It is reasonable to assume that Mansour Jurjis al-Khazen and his family were among this throng.

Why did they settle in al-Qaraq? This no one knows. It may be that they had been persuaded there by relatives. At the present time there are two large, prominent Orthodox families in Beirut all of which "return to" a common ancestor named Sakkis who supposedly came from Mtaniqil on to site. It is thought that Sakkis must have been either a brother or a cousin of Mansour Jurjis. Whatever the real circumstances were, there is a plausible explanation for the settlement of

a particularly advanced district in the physical sense—most favored districts had already been occupied by others.

We have seen that the village territory was subsequently divided into three equal parts, each of which came in time to be dominated by a particular lineage, each descended from a son of the founder. The main house cluster was said to have been first located somewhat below the church, in a cove. This location made the community completely invisible from the coastal highway, and this was described by one informant as a necessary defensive measure. He added that he had heard that in the old days, when men went down to Sidon to work their fields, they went in armed groups to protect themselves against marauding bands of Muslims. This was presumably during the century and more of virtual anarchy which followed the reign of Fakhr ad-Din II. As the village grew in population, the house cluster was extended up and along the crest of the ridge, Lineage A occupying the upper part, Lineage C the lower part. Lineage B members lived mostly at Ta'ifeh, surrounding the shrine of Mar-Mikhael, and only very recently moved entirely into the eastern and upper portions of the main house cluster.

We have seen that at present the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects the clustering of the houses by survival lineage. Some of the exceptions to this patterning, especially in the highest part of the village, are due to very recent purchases of land and new construction. Those in the cove, however, were explained by one informant as follows: "Maybe a hundred years ago many people were very poor. They sold their land to people in 'Arnabeh. Then later some others bought it again. We don't know who they all were. People went to America to make money and then they came back."

There is at hand what might well be external evidence of this episode. Churchill (1972, vol. I, pp. 72–73), writer of the spectacular tale of one Michael Tarbox, a Maronite from 'Arnabeh, "Making his native village of Arnabeh the centre of his operations, he conceived a system which soon brought him into intimate relations with the entire neighboring population—that of lending advances of money on the silk crops. . . . Tarbox has become an extensive landed proprietor, and as a landlord his character is unimpeachable."

Until about seventy-five years ago, Mtein was a very nearly self-sufficient and self-contained community. We can assume that a good proportion of its wheat always had to be imported. As a matter of fact, Sidon used to serve as a point of entry for imported goods which were brought to it by boat; this mode of transportation being cheaper, safer, and easier than overland transport. It was also, apparently, a regular practice for a number of men to do seasonal wage labor in other districts. One specialty of this type, which was heretofore but profitable, was forage-cutting.

But these activities do not seem to have essentially lessened the village's subsistence isolation. It was common in those days, according to one informant, to re-

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to the town, is impossible under present circumstances. The most important crops are olives, figs, and grapes, none of which requires irrigation in the growing season. The orchards and vineyards grow on terraced land which is situated generally on the lower parts of the ridge slopes and at the heads of the wadis. Some vegetables and a few small orchards of mulberries (remnants of the once predominant cash crop—silk) grow immediately adjacent to the houses.

Al-Mansūf can be seen from a distance quite some time before the traveler enters it. The houses, varying in color from white to gray to tawny, are perched, one directly above another, it seems, on the southern slope of the ridge — a few are on the crest itself, or its highest point. They number about 90 and are typical of the Lebanese countryside. About one-quarter of them have the pitched roofs of red tile and other architectural features which are reminders of the decades before World War I. The majority, however, are of a much more ancient style, with few windows and a flat roof made of timbers and a thick layer of packed earth. In some cases, the old earth roofs have been entirely replaced by cement ones. A few houses have been built completely anew in recent years, but with two exceptions they are not particularly different in general style from the older ones. Household furnishings and equipment show the considerable influence of industrialized Europe and America — mostly the former. Kerosene pressure lanterns and stoves have almost completely replaced older forms. Bedsteads, wardrobes, tables, and chairs — all of European manufacture and/or design — are used in every house. However, the village has no electricity and no system of running water.

From the observation of physical materials, one may easily deduce that al-Mansūf partakes both of the traditional and of the recently imported (that is, since the late 19th century). It therefore reflects the transitional culture change which at present colors life in Lebanon and in the Middle East generally. But material aspects of culture are only fragmentary indications of behavior. In themselves, they reveal little of a specific nature concerning motivations, loyalties, hopes, fears, and expectations. How did al-Mansūf, as a community of people, come into being? What are its traditional foundations of life? How, and to what extent, have its traditions been altered by the far-reaching cultural changes of the late 19th and 20th centuries? What problems face its people as a result of these changes?

II

According to tradition, al-Mansūf was established by a man who came to the site from Jabal Shaʿrūra in Syria, after a sojourn in Baalbek. All the 275 members of the village are believed to be direct descendants of the founder, a belief which is indicated in a genealogy which is in the possession of the priest. There is some disagreement among the villagers as details

in the genealogy, but there is no disagreement on their ultimate origin in the same man, often referred to as "our forefather." On the basis of the number of generations accounted for in the chart, it appears that the founder was probably born sometime late in the 18th century. Historical material is available which gives a clue to the reason for the founding of the village and at the same time supports the estimate of the date suggested by the genealogy. The reign of the Amir Fakhr al-Din II (1590–1635) is known to have been a period in which many Syrian Christians sought refuge in Lebanon to escape Turkish persecution. It is reasonable to suppose that the founder of al-Munsif, a Greek Orthodox Christian, was one of them. The probable date of the establishment of the village suggests, further, the reason for the selection of a site which is far from ideal for agricultural purposes: the better-favored areas in Lebanon had already been occupied by other groups.

Once established, what manner of village was al-Munsif? Everything that can be learned about "the old days" indicates that it must have been typical of the traditional pattern of village life in the Middle East, which in turn fits the criteria of the "folk community," as understood by sociologists in general.[1] Life in al-Munsif, then, prior to the last quarter of the 19th century when the great cultural changes began, was focused on four major themes:

1. *Direction in the Land.* Agriculture was the economic base of the community, the occupation of all its members except for a few specialists who also were often part-time farmers.

2. *Religious orientation.* Religious attitudes permeated all aspects of life; religious behavior was integrated with economic and family behavior. The religious affiliation of the village was sharply defined.

3. *Predominance of kinship contacts* in the patterning and regulation of interpersonal affairs, for example in mutual aid arrangements. The kinship group was a locus of intense loyalty for its members, so much so that members of the same lineage were often preferred in marriage.

4. *Extreme localism of knowledge, interests, and loyalties.* This was reflected in the prevalence of near-village feuds and in the clear preference for the marriage of an individual to a member of his or her own village rather than to an outsider. ("Village endogamy.")

In the case of al-Munsif, there were a few variations on this normal structure. On the economic side, first, a certain element of fishing has always been done right from the village itself. Second, the necessity of importing wheat has always made some money income imperative. It was therefore common for village men to do wage labor in other communities to obtain this income. Sponge diving was one such seasonal occupation, profitable but dangerous.

[1] See, for example, Thomas Ashanin in the Village Community of Lebanon," American Journal of Sociology, vol. 41 (1936), pp. 191–96; "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution (for 1936), pp. 425–42.

Moslems in Mesopotamia represent the original population, while the Christians mostly represent a more recent immigration, probably from regions near the coast. The inhabitants of Beeriji, and the inhabitants of Beyrouth tested by Parr ('31) show a per cent of group B somewhat in excess of that in the Moslems of Mesopotamia. It is somewhat difficult to test for the significance of this difference since Parr's results themselves do not seem to be altogether internally consistent. In any case, throughout the Near East, sharp local differences in racial characters can be observed, and are not surprising, in view of the intense conservatism of the local cultures.

Our A,B results for the Druse, doubtless because of the small size of the sample, do not agree well with those of Parr ('31); no significance can be attributed to this.

The results reported by Shanklin ('39) for the Dinka and Almiras, whom he lists as mountain dwelling groups, are also different from each other, but perhaps not on the whole too different from our own.

The frequencies for the M,N types, the first to be reported for settled inhabitants of Syria, do not seem to present anything unusual. The M,N frequencies in Syrians and Armenians apparently do not differ notably from those in Europe, but do seem to differ from those in the only two tribes of Syrian Bedouin tested for M and N, where significantly low values of N were found (Boyd and Boyd, '39). We are inclined to consider this another example of the evolutionary effects of isolation (compare Boyd, '40). In M and N frequencies the Druse may resemble the Bedouin, for the χ^2 test indicates that the difference between the M,N frequencies of the Druse and the inhabitants of Beeriji, for instance, is significant, in spite of the smallness of the samples. Of course, if the samples had been larger the difference might have been much less marked.

The taste reactions to phenylthiocarbamide show in every case the higher proportion of tasters among the females previously reported (Fisher and Ikeuchi, '37; Boyd and Boyd, '37). The per cent of tasters is probably not significantly different in any of these villages from the results obtained for

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DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS OF THE LEBANON

By ELIASH EPSTEIN

[3] [4] [5] THE Lebanese Republic covers an area of about 10,000 sq. k.* The population was last assessed in the Order of the President dated July 15, 1945, on the number of citizens registered in the registration records on December 31, 1942. This Order also referred to a number of Lebanese who had emigrated but had retained their Lebanese citizenship.

[14] The Order in question was published in connection with the elections to the Lebanese Parliament. Although the Muslim communities disagreed with the correctness of the number given, the Order remains the official document guiding the holding of a general Census which will determine the figures more precisely.

[1, 2, 16] The following is the table which served as the foundation for fixing the population of the Lebanon as on January 1, 1945:†

Communities	Inhabitants	Emigrants	Total
Maronites	376,000	91,000	467,000
Sunni	175,000	6,000	181,000
Shi'ah	100,000	5,000	105,000
Greek Orthodox	148,000	22,000	170,000
Druze	71,000	4,000	75,000
Greek Catholics	61,000	13,000	74,000
Armenian Orthodox (Gregorians)	58,000	60	58,000
Minorities	61,000	6,000	67,000
Total	1,050,000	150,000	1,200,000

[6, 7] The following are the estimated figures for the movements of population in the Lebanon, and the estimated natural increase:‡

Communities	1939 Census	End 1945	Difference	Percentage
Sunni	170,000	181,000	11,000	7.1
Shi'ah	100,000	105,000	5,000	5.0
Druze	68,000	75,000	7,000	10.0
Maronites ...	406,000	467,000	61,000	15.0
Greek Catholics	70,000	74,000	4,000	5.7
Greek Orthodox	160,000	170,000	10,000	6.3

[6, 7] [16] [17] The conservative conclusions which can be drawn from these tables are:
(a) Most of the emigrants from the Lebanon and those who continue

* Since the demarcation of the Syro-Lebanese Frontier has not been completed, estimates of the area of the two States vary. The area of the Autonomous Sanjak of the Lebanon (Mutasarrifiyah) was 6,000 kilometres and its population was 400,000.

† "The Races of Palestine," Bulletin, survey 8, 1945.

‡ *Ibid.* The figures in these tables and the statistical calculations should be compared with similar surveys as answers of the mathematical methods used for demographical statistics in the Lebanon.

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shown in the table above are found in other parts of the Middle East but three religions were used mention here: the Druses, who are a mountain people professing a religion which derived from Islam in the eleventh century A.D., but became independent; the Alawis of the mountains behind Latakia, whose religion appears to be a dogmatic form of Shii Islam with some survivals of Christian ritual; and the Maronites, who are a Christian sect, living mainly in the north of Lebanon.

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The religion of the majority of Syrians and of the head of the Syrian state is Sunni Islam; in the Lebanon, Muslims and Christians are fairly evenly divided and the President of the Republic is a Maronite Christian and the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim. The Christians of the Arab Levant have provided the Middle East with great leaders in journalism, letters, politics, and science, but in present-day Syria the Christians are mainly prominent in commerce and industry. There is hardly any dangerous animosity between the sects, but sectarian bonds are a very real force in the lives of people who for so long lived under the Turkish *millet* system whereby each sect was an administrative unit, the head of which exercised considerable authority.

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So mixed a population living in a variety of environments naturally does not constitute one physical type, but some generalizations are haunted for the sake of a fuller picture. Dark hair is almost universal but the skin of the town dweller is no darker than that of a Mediterranean European; the Syrians and Lebanese are not often as tall or as heavy as the average Englishman but they mature at an earlier age. The poorer normal eats mainly bread, with milk and fruit and vegetables as less frequent additions and meat as an event, but in the towns and villages most people eat a full diet with rather more oil and spice than is used in Britain. The cultivator and the nomad wear local costumes but most townspeople wear European clothes; the turban or the head-cloth are usual but not universal headgear for men. Most Muslim women wear the veil, but in the towns the richer women are becoming more and more emancipated and, particularly in Beirut, many lead the same lives as Christian women. In Lebanon and in Damascus and Aleppo the way of life is very like that in southern Europe, and both countries make a pleasant home for a European.

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History

Semitic-speaking people have inhabited for four or five millennia the area which is known historically as Syria, or yet for much of this period the rulers of what is now Syria or

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Lebanon were foreigners. Today it is still possible to see near Beirut the traces of the successive conquerors—Egyptians, Hittites, Assyrians, Persians, Alexander the Great, and, in the first century B.C., Rome. The Eastern Roman (Byzantine) Empire was supplanted by the Arab Muslim conquest which took Damascus in A.D. 635. The Arab invaders gave the people of Syria their name, their religion, and their language, but the rulers also learned much from their new subjects, and it was from Damascus that the Umayyad Caliphs ruled Islam from 661 to 750. Many of the chief servants of the Umayyads were Syrian-born and, of these, many were Christians, so that this period might be considered one of Syrian independence; but in 750 the Caliphate passed to the Abbasids who made their capital in Iraq. Syria fell under different foreign rulers as the power passed successively to Abbasids, Fatimids, Ayyubids, Crusaders, and Mamelukes (with Mongol incursions) until, in 1516, the Ottoman Empire took possession of the land.

The Ottoman Empire

Under the rule of the Turks, Syria produced little save taxes for the Porte and emoluments for the pashas. The corrupt rule of most of these governors aimed at personal enrichment and made little attempt to control the land beyond gunshot of the citadels or to advance the social or economic state of those they governed. From the sixteenth to the eighteenth century what local prosperity there was occurred when some local leader succeeded in making himself autonomous in defiance of the remote authority of the Ottoman Sultan; the classic case is the reign of the Druze Amir Fakhr ad-Din al-Maani (1558–1635) who encouraged agriculture and trade with Europe. Such autonomy was naturally more easily achieved in the Christian and Druze fastnesses of the Lebanese mountains than in the cities of inner Syria; there the Ottomans maintained their authority by exploiting the rivalry of sects and clans, and so contributed to the impermanence and lack of solidarity which persist as a feature of contemporary public life. This fragmentation of society is even more characteristic of Lebanon, since in the mid-nineteenth century a social conflict between the emergent Maronite peasantry and their Druze overlords was not only exploited by the Ottoman authorities but also became a factor in the struggle between France and Britain to control the Levant. The conflict culminated in a civil war which led the Powers in 1861 to detach from the Ottoman Sultan the establishment of the autonomous Sanjaq of Lebanon (including the then predominantly Muslim cities of Beirut, Tripoli, and Sidon)

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under a Christian governor. Already for one generation, after the interruption caused by the Napoleonic Wars, missionaries from Western Christendom had been laying the foundations of an intellectual revival—chiefly among the Lebanese Christians, but also in the Syrian cities; and the foundation in 1866 of the Syrian Protestant College (renamed in 1920 the American University of Beirut) is a landmark in the early history of Arab nationalism. Religious minorities thus acquired the habit of looking to some Western patron for material support and for protection against the majority of their neighbours and their government; thus the Maronites depended on France, the Orthodox on Imperial Russia, the local Jews on the Alliance Israélite and on Britain, the Protestants on the United States, Britain, or Germany. Emigrations to the Americas or Europe further opened the cultural windows of Christian Lebanese and emigrants to Egypt founded there a modern Arabic literature, while the granting of public utility concessions, especially for railways, to French companies and others increased the Western interest in the country.

In the first decade of the twentieth century, the Young Turks, who were at first supported by the leaders of the early Arab nationalists, rose to power; but it soon became apparent that the Young Turk was to be a much a danger as the Sultan. The Arab intelligentsia of Beirut and Damascus chose, therefore, to look to the Western Powers for support[1]—a decision which they may well now be regretting. The Ottoman Governor of Syria, Jemal Pasha, carried out a drastic 'purge' of the urban nationalist leaders in 1916, but the nationalist cause had been taken up at a safer distance by the Sharif Hussein of Mecca and his sons Faisal and Abdullah, who had been in correspondence with the British authorities in Egypt since before the outbreak of the First World War.[2] Their Arab Revolt was a response to Jemal Pasha's purge and the prospect of similar measures in the Hejaz. Brilliantly organized by Colonel T. E. Lawrence, it effectively harassed the left wing of the Ottoman front on the desert margin while Allenby was breaking the main resistance in the Palestine campaign. When the Ottomans were collapsed after the British victory at Megiddo, a small body of Arabs from the Amir Faisal's army were the first to reach Damascus. Faisal was given authority by General Allenby over all territory east of the Jordan, down to Aqaba, but by the Arabs he was regarded rather as an independent ally on the throne of the Umayyads. However, Faisal had scarcely appointed

[1] See George Antonius, *The Arab Awakening* (London, Hamilton, 1938).
[2] See also section (a) above, pp. 11–18.

ed a governor for Lebanon, before the latter was displaced by the French (whose historic interest in Lebanon had been recognized by the British Government in the correspondence with the Sharif Hussein). While Faisal and Lawrence were presenting the Arab case to the Paris Peace Conference, the French were consolidating their military hold on the Levant. Eventually Faisal and Clemenceau came to a provisional agreement for an autonomous Syrian state under the tutelage of France (as envisaged by Britain in the secret Sykes–Picot Agreement of 1916, which had not been communicated at the time to the Sharif and his sons); but French tutelage was not acceptable to the Damascus politicians who in March 1920 proclaimed Faisal King of an independent Syrian state. In the following month, however, the French obtained Britain's agreement, at the San Remo Conference, to their exercising a Mandate over Syria as well as Lebanon; the new Mandatory defeated Faisal's little army at Maisalun on 25 July 1920 and entered into possession of Damascus, from which Faisal fled into exile.

The French Mandate, 1920–45

Since Crusader times, France had been interested in protecting the Christians of the Levant, and the twentieth century gave her the added incentive of creating a counter-balance to Britain's growing influence in the Middle East. The Maronites welcomed the French, and the latter accordingly expanded the small area of the Sanjaq of Lebanon to include the cities of Beirut, Tripoli, and Sidon, as well as the Biqa, so as to give this 'Greater Lebanon' the largest possible area in which there would be no danger of a Muslim majority. The French applied to Syria the principle of *divide et impera* and four separate states were set up: that of the Alawis (Jebel Ansariya, including Latakia), that of the Jebel Druze, and Damascus and Aleppo (in 1925 combined into a single state of Syria). The French further encouraged separatism in the Jezira, and fragmented the area of Antioch and Alexandretta (in which the largest linguistic community was the Turkish) as an autonomous sanjaq.

The majority of Syrians never readily accepted French rule and risings occurred (the Ansariya, near Aleppo, and near Deir ez-Zor); these were soon put down but a greater rebellion began in the Jebel Druze in 1925 and spread to Damascus and to Hama. The French bombarded Damascus in October 1925 and in May 1926 but did not succeed in completely quelling the revolt until August 1927. Thereafter negotiations for a treaty stumbled through the years, punctuated by disturbances, broken off from time to time and marked throughout by inter-

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PALESTINE

● 175, 648, 177, 186 Lebanon MEI

[For a survey of the political history of Lebanon before and during the French mandate, and information on westernization, sectarianism, and nationalism in Lebanon, see Al Hourani, MEI Syria, category 126, entire source.]

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family by giving birth to children" (1955, p. 100). This impression, it would seem, may be instructively contrasted with the opinions of a young married woman of Munşif who, although she put the mahbiy over the door and performed other traditional acts at her wedding, said that she thought such customs were ridiculous. She had conformed only on the insistence of others, apparently, and she seemed frankly contemptuous of those who took such things seriously.

6. The rapt, almost respectful, attention which was paid to the recitation of the Classical Arabic poem was significant behavior—not as much in regard to the wedding itself, but to the values which are attached to Classical Arabic, a matter which is discussed elsewhere in this work.

FUNERALS

General evidence indicates that in Munşif the younger generation is more willing to practice innovations than the older, and less prone to cling to the old. And it is true in Munşif as it is elsewhere that the wedding is a rite which evokes, largely in the younger people, hopeful thoughts about the future. On the other hand, the funeral evokes, mostly in older people, wistful thoughts of the past. If these surmises are founded in fact, they would help to explain why it is that attitudinal and formal changes are quite evident in the rite of marriage; and why the funeral, dominated ordinarily by older people, appears to maintain its old forms and significance. Furthermore, to a greater degree than the wedding, the Lebanese village funeral always has been, and still is, more than a rite of passage. It is also a rite of intensification which serves as a focus for the solidarity of the entire village, and, to some extent, the district. It is of great significance that the vigor of this second function of the funeral appears to persist unabated among the younger people as well as the older.

One funeral service was attended during the period of study. It took place in the afternoon, somewhat more than twenty-four hours after the death had occurred. The deceased was an elderly widow who had very few close relatives. For these reasons, someone said, "There will not be many people there."

The body was immediately taken care of by neighboring women. They laid it out in the family house and kept vigil over it until the time of the service. During the evening before the service, a large number of women paid their respects at the house, and at least twenty men at a time gathered solemnly in a neighboring house owned by a cousin of the deceased's late husband. They sat in a large circle in the *maq'ad*, conversing very quietly.

On the day of the funeral, the priest was in attendance at the house, making arrangements during the morning. At about two thirty the men, certainly about fifty of them, gathered at one house while the women were with the body. At about three the men went outside and gathered in groups outside the house of the deceased. There was considerable shaking of hands with men from other Qurni villages. Within the deceased's house there was some wailing.

to maintain their Lebanese citizenship abroad are Christians, the overwhelming majority of whom are Maronites.

(3) The natural increase among the non-Christian population of the Lebanon, and particularly of the Shi'ah and the Druze, is more than twice as great as that of the Christian population. These facts can serve as a key to explain various developments, the influence of which may be decisive in shaping the social character and political fate of the Lebanon.

Any person reviewing the demographic problems of the Lebanon cannot but observe a number of factors common to the Christian population of the Lebanon and the Yishuv (the Jewish community) in Palestine. The natural increase of the Christians in the Lebanon is roughly equal to that of the Yishuv in Palestine.*

Against this, however, the Yishuv in Palestine has incomparably more powerful reserves in the way of immigration from abroad than that which is available to the Lebanese Christians through the means of emigration. And just as the chief concern of Zionism in Palestine is the creation of possibilities for the absorption of Jewish immigrants from abroad, so the Christians of the Lebanon are faced face to face with the problem of preventing emigration from the country, and, in consequence, the creation of opportunities for absorbing emigrants who do return and who can return to their homeland, given suitable absorptive conditions. In addition, attention is devoted to the creation of opportunities for absorbing Christians who require a refuge.

The absence of dynamic economic resources in the Lebanon which could increase and expand the sources of livelihood for a progressive population has led to a steady emigration from the country since the middle of the last century. This process has chiefly affected the Christians whose requirements are more developed and whose living standards are higher than those of their Druze and Moslem neighbours; it has created a serious social and political problem which, taken together with their lower rate of natural increase, places the future of the Lebanese Christians in permanent danger.

Robert Widmer described the economic reasons for a migration from the Lebanon in the following passage:†

> "Lebanon is over-populated. As has been stated, the density of population is about 55 people to a square kilometre. In view of the topography of the country, its rocky mountains and its thin soil, its scarcity of mineral wealth, and its undeveloped industries, the land cannot support all its people. Consequently it is to be expected that some of them have to emigrate, leaving many dependents on their remittances."

As long as emigration was temporary, it was in many ways advantageous. To the general broadening of outlook resulting from contact with more advanced countries were added the material benefits of an increase in the country's capital (brought in by returning emigrants), an ever-

* Fourteen per-mille among the Christians of the Lebanon as against fifteen per-mille among the Jews of Palestine.

† E. Hlimdich, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 14.

INTRODUCTION

THE Middle East is the overseas land which lies at the junction of Africa, Asia, and Europe. To the extent that Western known knows it at all, their "knowledge" of it all too often consists largely of conventional half-truths, exaggerations born either of day-dreams or of over-emphasis on certain aspects of life, and out-and-out fables. The Middle East has long been a fabulous place to Westerners, and it will probably remain so, but there are good reasons why it and the life of its people should not remain "mysterious" or "inscrutable." They need not remain so if answers can found to properly formulated questions. This is easier said than done, but it is not impossible.

The history of the area is too long and eventful, and its culture is too complex, to be reviewed here. Information on these topics is readily available in such sources as Bevilacqua (1967), Hitti (1948, 1951), and Cook (1951). One fact, however, needs to be pointed out. During the past hundred and fifty years, European and American political, economic, religious, and philanthropic interests have set in motion in the Middle East a process of culture change which has gathered considerable momentum in recent years. Some of the lines of change—for example, in education and new orientations in health, hygiene, and economics—have been the conscious goals and direct results of one or more of the foreign interests. Others, such as nationalism and the rise of political parties, have been indirect and unforeseen reactions to the activities of these interests.

Since the first World War, and ever increasing in intensity since then, the processes of culture change already set in motion have been complicated and augmented by two additional factors. (1) Nearly all the effective techniques of communication and communication which have been developed in the West have been introduced into the Middle East. As a result, the region is being flooded with many varieties of western ideas and artifacts, often regardless of their quality and torn from their cultural matrix. The confusion which this causes can be either painful to experience and to observe. (2) This confusion is compounded by the fact that among the western ideas which reach the Middle East are those which closely reveal the confusion which the West itself is undergoing as a result of the tremendous changes which its culture has not yet assimilated. Many of these ideas arrive in the form of emotionally charged propaganda.

Large numbers of people in the Middle East do not attempt to analyze objectively the nature of these alien culture elements (many of which are confusing them with demands for their allegiance), but they are, nevertheless, vitally

interested in them. However, since they usually lack anything but a very superficial knowledge of Western culture, they grossly oversimplify them, and they interpret, accept, or reject them in accordance with their various positions and interests. In the meantime, there is a generalized and widespread distrust of all Westerners, but there are forces both inside and outside the Middle East which will not rest until at least a significant portion of it has made a definite choice between conflicting forces in the West. In the meantime, the Middle East is subject to the position of a man in a risky seat, whose predecessor has handed him the reins but continues to run along beside him, first telling him to run in one direction and then in another.

Though the traditional culture of the Middle East persists in many significant ways which cannot be ignored, the present culture as a whole can fully be comprehended only in the light of the acculturative process to which it is being subjected. This process, as we have seen, is an exceedingly complicated phenomenon. Because it is complicated and in full course, it is rather difficult to analyze. Furthermore, it is often difficult for Westerners to free themselves from subjective judgments in the matter since they themselves are involved in it. Consequently, there is a bewildering array of widely varied impressions and opinions. Here are four of them, arranged in pairs. Change in the Middle East is only skin deep; it involves only the superficial, material aspects of life. Life nowadays in a city like Beirut or Cairo is just like life in a modern European city. Again, great improvements have been made in education, public health, and farming techniques. The Middle East is oppressed by ignorance, disease, and antiquated subsistence techniques. Many others could be noted, but these will do.

One has only to look in the appropriate places and talk to the appropriate people to find apparently convincing evidence of the truth of all these propositions. As a reality, they possess some contradictions. Three are, of course, accentuated by faulty logic and the injection of emotional bias, but the fact remains that when the Middle East as a whole is considered, genuine contradictions are bound to be encountered. Its culture is complex, and, like all cultures, it is composed of many interlocking parts. The culture change process which is working upon it is multilateral, it has affected different regions in different ways, and different parts of culture in different ways.

No matter how many problems stand in the way of a systematic approach to the study of Middle East culture-in-change, such an approach is, nevertheless, feasible, provided it is begun intensively and on a limited scale, and a small village is an excellent place to begin.

Anthropological research could be initiated in any one of the three basic types of ecological niches which characterize the Middle East: the nomadic group, the village, and the urban center. The village is to be found in every country of the Middle East. Nomadic groups and urban centers are not quite so extensively distributed. Lebanon was chosen for this study because of the writer's interest in

cooking. There is a violent love-cult (*majdalieni*), but this is not considered to be very lusty. However, dark grey, washed, are mixed with *zibibi* to form a very popular and filling "sweet" called *jbeney bajjiini*. This is served as a celebration dish, or in addition to, bites.

Foreign foods are very rare. The most important is spaghetti, whose eating requires the use of a fork. Sometimes canned fruits, also, supplement the local fruit supply which is rather meagre, although in summers, are seldom are consumed in large quantities, or with-in spoils and crisps.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that diet is one of the most conservative and best-acculturated aspects of the material culture. Cooking and serving utensils, it is true, have been heavily influenced, but this has been a process of substitution, for purposes of efficiency, rather than of innovation.

(Continued)

To some degree, the clothing worn by the villagers varies in style according to the age of the wearer. Among males, the elderly are definitely conservative, the middle-aged vary, the young men and boys wear European-style clothes almost without exception. A similar gradation among the females is a little less obvious, probably primarily because the women's traditional costume, unlike the men's, is not particularly distinctive in Western eyes.

Men. The second oldest man in the village is the only one who wears the *ghombaz*, a long, long-sleeved, tubular gown, of white, striped cotton-backed silk. This costume is frequently seen in the heterogeneous city populations, often on younger men. Winstone (1946, p. 101) says that it is of Beda origin.

More typical of the older men is the traditional *shroual* (unmistakably baggy trousers with short, tight legs), open-necked, or collarless shirt, and European jacket. *Gendgour* is the cylindrical *yatmeh*, common felt with a black tassel. Especially in winter, a cloth or scarf may be wrapped around the *yatmeh*. One man in the village wears a tall conical brown felt cap, called *tikhweh*, which is often worn elsewhere.

A few middle-aged men wear the complete traditional costume, but most of them have adopted European (*frenji*) clothes. For work, they wear coveralls, but European trousers, shirt, sweater if needed, socks and shoes. On more or less formal occasions, however, a complete suit, with tie, is worn. This tendency is even more pronounced among the young men. No one ordinarily goes naked except small boys and girls in summer. Ipod shirts—preferably plain white—are worn in summer.

Those working in the fields frequently wear gilik helmets and pullover-like sweaters which bear a superficial resemblance to the *shroual* which most are observed on any men under about fifty. Quite a number of middle-aged men who have given up the *shroual*, nevertheless retain the *yatmeh* which, however, is not

[illegible]

[illegible] stage. The most popular occupation, naturally, is, it will be remembered, preferred because it is "safe," among other reasons.

Perhaps it may be said, as Sir Archibald Geikie once remarked concerning the Celtic [illegible], that women have more social individualism than they used to have, but to argue that the social status of women has or has not been "improved" would, in the present writer's opinion, be taking an intolerable analogue of man's status and role in life on too familiar a basis than, for example, the lack of the legal right to vote.

EMIGRANTS AND EMIGRATION

[illegible] It is said that there are now as many Lebanese, or persons of Lebanese ancestry, living outside Lebanon as there are inside it (about 1,200,000). However this may be, there are certainly a great many, and the majority are in the United States.

Khuri-Hatab (1956, p. 11) points out that emigration from Lebanon started with the Phoenicians, the first Lebanese of whom anything is known, then as now experts in commercial enterprise. Lombardo (1948, p. 414) suggests that the primary impetus to the Phoenicians' emigration was the same as that to the twentieth century movement: overpopulation—ninety-three persons per square kilometre in recent times (Khuri-Hatab, 1956, p. 11).

It is estimated that between 1860 and 1960, 330,000 persons left Syria and Lebanon. The richest period was between 1900 and 1914 when an estimated 31,000 per year emigrated (Khuri-Hatab, 1956, p. 12). There was virtually none during the two wars the country was blockaded. The process was resumed after the war, but with less intensity than before. Most emigration to the United States was effectively halted by the Immigration Act of 1924. Since then, the Lebanese have gone to Central and South America, West Africa, and Australia.

The original purpose of all the emigrants was to make a good amount of money and then return to the old country. A great many did just this, and in Khuri-Hatab some men were reported of men who came and went several times. The majority, however, remained for good in the new country, most never returning, although quite a few came back temporarily to the old village for holidays—striking evidence of the force of the principle of kin[illegible]. A few such men remained in Khuri but none since the 1930's.

It is the writer's private opinion that the emigrants themselves have not contributed a great deal to the process of acculturation in Lebanon, apart from [illegible] the interest of the stay-at-homes beyond their immediate locality. However, the emigrants have contributed substantially to the welfare of the old country which, in 1938 for example, had an adverse foreign trade balance of 4,000,000 pounds sterling (Hanauer, 1940, p. 99). This was offset by money from tourists, foreign investments, and remittances from emigrants. The last amounted to [illegible] in 1938 (Khuri-Hatab, 1956, p. 18).

The people of Khuri have done their share in the process of emigration.

to validity as a generalization was confirmed, although different individuals and societies seemed to vary somewhat in their emphasis of it. The efforts and work that was made by the Mongolian to the pursuit of education are truly admirable, yet modern education has caused problems as well as opened new opportunities.

The desirability of learning and the prestige of the learned are ancient traits in Arab culture, but the opportunity for the attainment of learning is far limited in many few individuals. Hence, the foreign educators who invaded the Middle East in the nineteenth century met no resistance to education as such, although they did meet resistance to some of their course material, particularly that which bore upon religious beliefs (cf. Tibawi, 1963a, p. 339). The American educators, by and large, before long demonstrated an admirable perception of cultural reality in setting two basic goals for their schools: (1) religious education as such (i.e. missionizing) to be minimized, (2) full coverage of Classical Arabic grammar and literature to be provided—in fact required—in addition to all the new subjects and lines of thought introduced from the West.

One result was the tremendous enthusiasm and hunger, as Kohn puts it (1956, p. 94), for education which is characteristic of the Arabs, and of which the Mongolian are a very good example. Hays Beals gives some perspective on the matter as follows:

> The Arabs' passion for education is, I think, one of the most interesting things about them. To it we owe much classic culture that has been saved and handed down.
>
> The Turkish occupation threw a blight on this love of learning. . . . But now for the beautiful language remained intact, and in the first half of the nineteenth century two great leaders of culture, Rifa'i Tahtawi and Ahmad Fariyah, both Christian Arabs of the Lebanon, inspired and helped by the early American teachers, once again brought it into the open. (1945, pp. 139-40.)

It should be apparent that although the new education in the Middle East has created serious acculturative problems, it is a rather different phenomenon from the introduction of Western education into previously non-literate cultures (cf. Beals[illegible], 1956, pp. 170-73).

The other side of the educational coin is not quite so pretty as that drawn us by Beals. It is fairly obvious that Western-style and Western-inspired education, while aiming to broaden all the students' horizons and to train some of them in Western techniques like medicine and engineering, has also led to confusion, to superficial understanding of the West, and to conflicts in values. In general, as instruction on technological matters has been great, but understanding of the spiritual elements of the West has lagged so far behind that it is often believed that they do not exist. Kohn feels that the process of transition is full of disruption to which morality declines, vain dissipations, and only the externals of European culture—often undesirable ones—are assumed, without possessing the nature of that culture (1956, p. 95).

[illegible]

[illegible] has [illegible] among other things, very definitely an [illegible] element, and it is most frequently expressed in terms of opposition to foreign powers. This opposition is not entirely unjustified, but it very often exceeds reason, and becomes pretty emotional hatred. There is much truth in Schuyler's contention that this xenophobia is a general reaction to the many frustrations inherent in the underdeveloped situation, that it is, in many cases, a scapegoat mechanism (ibid., pp. 97–98).

Lebanese Christians, such as the Maronites, appear to have especially painful ambivalent feelings in this matter. Much of the xenophobia at present has particular reference to the United States because of its role in the establishment of Israel. But since World War II, the United States and its citizens enjoyed a considerably less opposition among the Lebanese, which could not be completely erased by subsequent events. Many villagers attempt to resolve the conflict by trying to persuade themselves and each other that all the things of the Americans are, in some way or other, motivated by hostility towards them. This unrequited persuasion does not appear to have been entirely successful, and the process continues.

THE MEETING OF EAST AND WEST

Charles Malik, the distinguished Lebanese philosopher and statesman, has recently written that the reader with Northrop's book, *The Meeting of East and West*, is that it does not take into consideration the meeting of the two, namely the Middle East (Malik, 1957, p. 6). Malik, whose own career is an outstanding example of the accommodative process, is deeply troubled, as everyone concerned is, by the disruption which accidentally has ensued in the Middle East, and he wants to find, as you do, much into anthropological terms, that mutual understanding and the reduction of tensions will only be achieved when and if the salient premises of the West are perceived and appreciated by the East. We hope that he is not implying that these salient premises should be imposed on the East, but in any case, he is correct in pointing out that Western influence has so far been disproportionately on the material side. The Arabs appreciate the practical advantages of the products of Western investments, but in general they have been given little opportunity to learn that the West has anything more to offer than tools, techniques and money. Consequently, one hears frequently the bitter remark that while they, the Arabs, are a spiritual people, the Westerners are mere materialists. Though many have been exposed to segments of Western thought in school and college, few have been able to achieve a genuine rapport with the commonly disembodied material.

And so, the meeting of East and West in the Middle East at the present time can be viewed as a conflict of values. According to Kunen (1971, p. 137), there are a few who would resolve the conflict by having the Middle East break away completely from its own culture (which they themselves have done). This view

(1) [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 1. The change is not in conflict, functionally or symbolically, with other, [illegible]
closely correlated or overlapping norms.

The second condition provides the adequate motivation essential to learning, and, as Malinowski (1945, pp. 162-63) has pointed out, "learning is the psychological crux of acculturation." Using Bascom's terms (Bascom, 1948, p. 11), we can say that if the practice of the new item is apprehended and appreciated by the villagers, they will adopt it, provided that it does not involve too much expense, does not necessitate elaborate readjustments to otherwise stable systems, and that its meaning is within values (for example, a part of foreign acculturation) not in conflict with the meanings of other, stable traits.

Perhaps this analysis will be clearer when we consider two areas of "material culture" which have remained almost wholly unchanged. One of these is that which has remained unchanged because any fundamental alteration in it would meet with situations which would be contrary to any or all of the three conditions which are necessary to successful change. It would be enough to say that change in that would involve some expense and a major alteration in eating habits and cooking methods (violations of conditions 1 and 2). But besides this, the villagers see no purpose in changing their basic diet. It satisfies them physically and gratifies socially (violations of conditions 2 and 3). It is probable also that they desire on [illegible] subsistence to being able to maintain old patterns in the area of [illegible] where no change is forced upon them.

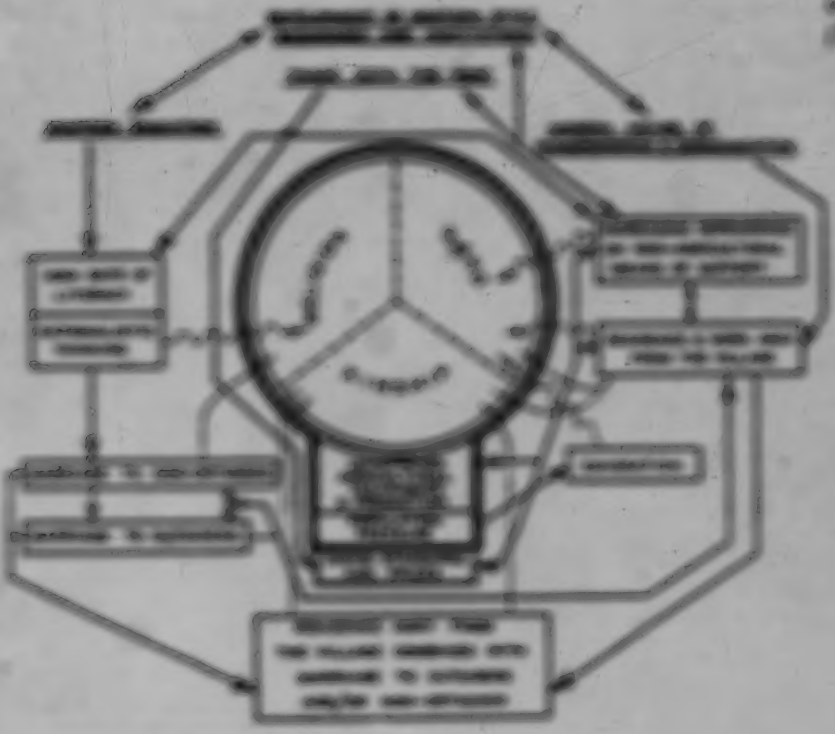
The other area of material conservatism is in farming techniques. Although [illegible] farming itself has [illegible] modality in terms of the number of men who practice it (a negative sort of change), farming techniques remain the same. This is largely because conditions 1 and 2 do not obtain. To introduce, for example, tractors and modern plows and harrows, into a remote village like Mowgli, would not only involve great expense, it would also be rather absurd from a practical point of view. There would be the problem of moving the equipment from one terrace to another, and most of the terraces are so small and irregular in shape that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to use what it was in place. Chemical fertilizers have been adopted to some extent, probably limited by expense. Certainly the villagers are most eager to obtain an irrigation system, but here their desires are thwarted by external conditions.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

In the economic or subsistence sphere, the village has obviously undergone [illegible] profound change. A number of local specialties, such as weaving and shoemaking, have completely gone out of existence. Farming, formerly the primary occupation, now occupies a very small number of men. A large proportion, if not most, of the village income is now derived from other occupations.

[illegible]

[illegible]



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[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

We can say, in summary, that the traditional theme of religion has in one aspect been weakened by acculturation, but that in another aspect it retains its traditional vigor.

Kinship. In the values surrounding kin groups, and by logical extension, the entire village group, *there have been almost no changes whatever.* In saying this, we arrive at the fundamental of this work. The family and the lineage maintain their function of serving as a link between the individual and the village as a whole, which is, itself, a kin group toward which feelings of utmost loyalty and unity are directed.

The only suggestion of a weakening of the village as an in-group is the recent and increasing tendency toward village exogamy mostly on the part of women. This seems to be accompanied, however, by no diminution of feelings of village loyalty on the part of most of these women. Potentially, this tendency is a threat to the strength of the village because the children of these marriages will have no more than a sentimental attachment to it through their mothers. What effects this will have, or whether any counter-effects will be developed—these matters lie in the future.

Thus, that aspect of religion which has remained the most vigorous is precisely that aspect which, along with kinship, serves to define and identify loyalty groups. The remainder of this work will be devoted to an analysis of the question of why these in-groups, exemplified in multiple fashion by the village of Mansūf, have maintained their strength in a period of momentous cultural changes.

621 it the beginning of a movement that may be
794 termed "progressive." On the other hand, one can see the dangers it implied for village solidarity.
621 A third significant point to observe is that a new
578 type of conflict arose in the village, as a result of the school incident. It was conflict between two new groups—those who wanted to have a Protestant school in the village and those who opposed the idea. It was a division that cut across the family and church groups. It was also conflict between a traditional value and a new one—between the need for the preservation of church integrity and the need for education. All of this tended to shake the village organization; all of it demanded new adjustments on the part of the people.

III

871 After the first Mission teacher left the village,
• 177 his students, and the village people in general, were
191 not alive by the desire for further education.
621 Other mission teachers came to the village and gave additional impetus to that desire. At the same time the first emigrants began to return to the village and tell the people about the wonders of education in that "marvellous country of America." English was the language through which they could attain some status with the American people and reap some of the gold in that country. They wanted their children to learn English and get an American type of education. The Syrian Protestant College at Beirut was beginning to flourish, and the road was now open for a village boy to become a doctor or a college teacher. All of this meant more cash income, and cash was becoming more and more the significant symbol of comfort and new forms of prestige. Village boys and girls began to come back from Tripoli with American high school certificates in their hands. They were "fully" educated and they could share in the establishment and running of an independent village school.

871 All of these factors combined to bring about the
621 creation of the village school idea. In 1904, under
975 the leadership of the Mission's early students and some influential emigrants who had returned to the village, a fully representative society, the first in the history of the village, was formed and given the name of "Rajaa-el-Watan"—the hope of the country—the country here meaning nothing more than the village. The sole aim of the society was to establish and run a school for the whole village community.

P-349(2)

871 From the beginning the village people agreed to the idea of having their girls get the same education as boys, and in the same school house. The move was a departure from the commonly held belief of the area that the girl should be kept at home. However, Bishmizzeen had been prepared for that. The American girls' school at Tripoli was the first strong influence. A few of the progressive leaders sent their girls to the Tripoli school. When these returned they were anxious to give the same chance to all village girls. Aside from that, the two sects in Bishmizzeen had always mixed freely—as groups, not as individuals. To have both sects at the same school was not altogether outside the scope of the village tradition. At the same time returned emigrants had their influence, too. Also it must be noted that the silk factory had already paved the way for the mixing of the two sects in one institution. If the villagers had accepted that, it was not so difficult for them to see their girls and boys studying together under the supervision of men and women teachers. Consequently, the idea was accepted, and the coeducational school began to function smoothly and normally.

362
871

621 Within a few years the school became the focus
871 of village life. It seems that the more physical
517 existence of the school building—a building that belonged to the community as a whole—made it possible for various new community activities to take place. The school society began to find it more logical and more convenient to hold its meetings in the school building. General village meetings, also began to take place there. From this, the next step was to hold receptions at the school and invite people from neighboring villages. At first only village talent was used at these receptions; then talent from the city, in the form of lecturers, poets and singers, was brought in. This added to the impetus of the educational movement in the village. The villagers became proud of their school and highly conscious of their community—Bishmizzeen, the village of education.

536 One more vital activity began to take place at
517 the school, involving the whole of the village community and other villages, too. That was the
[177] ting of plays. Several factors contributed to the creation of this activity—returned emigrants, contact with the educational circles of Tripoli and Beirut, and the early mission school teachers. The desire had been there for some time, but it could not be satisfied, due to the lack of a suitable building. Shortly after the school building was

P 341 (a)

536 621 On such occasions, a huge crowd, from Rishmiyeen and neighboring villages would attend. An admission was charged, but no regular fee was assigned. Each paid what his "generosity" allowed. That was one more example of how the village fitted a new item of behavior into its established folkways. The income of the play was used for the school.

From the above description, it can be readily observed how play acting, centering in the village school, helped to bring about active village cooperation, a heightened consciousness of community identity, and an active inter-village association.

536 621 184 However, one must not neglect to mention a highly significant point, one more indication of what was going to happen to the village in its newly chosen trend. Not a single one of the plays that have been acted in the village had any relationship to village and farm life. The language used was always the higher literary form of Arabic, which had little connection with the local forms of expression. The theme of the play was either copied from Western novels or referred to old Biblical or historical events. Keeping in mind the tremendous influence of the play, by playing upon the emotions of the village people and creating in them a dynamic for new modes of behavior, one can realize to what extent it was influential in carrying the people away from the village. It widened the horizon of village life, as did the school, emigration, and the silk industry; but the horizon was widened to an extent that was conducive to the destruction of the community integrity.

IV

871 199 When the modern educational movement began in the country some fifty years ago, several educational systems appeared in the field and competed with each other in their effort to influence the people. These systems had a variety of cultural backgrounds—English, Russian, German, Italian, French, American, Turkish, and native. None of these systems had a purely educational character. Their educational message was combined either with religious, or political aims, or both.

In the course of time, each of these systems came to concentrate its influence upon one area of the country or one section of the population. In the case of Rishmiyeen, as was indicated above, the American Protestant system has been the most

p. 842 (A)

87/177 influential. This has been due to several factors, as was shwn in the previous discussion—the early start of the Protestant mission in the village, the leadingpersonality of Anis Salhun, the failure of the Russian mission to establish a school in Bishmizzine, and emigration by the village people to the United States.

The following figures show to what extent the Bishmizzine people have been educated at American, Frenchand native schools, outside the village. No other return of education has been able to reach that community. The figures cover a period of fifty years, from 1890 to 1939, and show the number of men or women who have been educated at high schols or colleges. A total of 140 people have attended American high schools or colleges, for one or mre years. Of these, 78 are men and 62 women. To shave of the high schools is 90 (48 men and 5 women). The shave of the college is 41 (30 men ad 11 women).

It shouldbe observed that men and women have been reache equally by the high school, as regards the numbereducated and the starting period in the history of the village. However, with reference to college roberts, there are almost three times as many me as women. Also, men started to go to college such earlier. A possible explanatiih for the discrepancy is that a high school education was as far a the village traditions would go in the case of girls. After all, the status of woman has always beenthat of a housewife and mother. A more plausie explanation is that the American Protestant mission in those early days did not encourage ciege education for girls. Before 1919, the missionhad no provision for girls' college education.

Coming to French high schools and colleges, we find that oly 16 people have been touched by that system of education—11 men and 5 women. Of these 1 (6 men and 5 women) went to high school whi only 5 (men) went to college.

The following figures on native education cover only high chool, for no native college education has ever ben established in Lebanon. A total of 56 people(16 men and 40 women) have been educated i native high schools. The great excess of womenover men in this case is due to the presence on good sectarian school (Greek Orthodox) for gis in addition to the state school for both sexes. Native education is a new movement in the country, and it has not yet had the time to assume a sble and distinctive character.

P-342 (2)

871 In all, there are some 212 people (105 men and
•177 107 women) who have had one or more years of
654 education at high schools and colleges outside the village. Of these, 66 percent have been educated by the American system, 27 percent by the native system, and 7 percent by the French system. These figures ought to indicate, in a concise and clear manner, the great extent to which American culture, behind the Protestant system of education, has been influential in the life of Bishmizzeen. The extent of this influence becomes still more impressive, when we remember that these educated men and women represent the "cream" of the village population and have become, in the majority of cases, the recognized leaders of the community. (remembering that 24 of them completed college and 72 completed high school). Their leadership was inspired by a foreign culture that had no ties with village life, and they led the village according to the influence of that culture.

871 Behind each educated man and woman is a story
177 of supreme effort and sacrifice on the part of his
554 family group. It meant, in many cases, that the
178 family group had to sell their land in order to provide for the higher education of their boy or girl. Taking such a drastic step was symbolic of their decision to sever their ties with the old way of living and look towards the new course taken by their children. Through their educated children, the old folk identified themselves with the new patterns of the invading American culture.

621 A strong combination of factors—the rising silk
178 industry, money as a coveted value, play acting,
871 and emigration to America, got hold of the village

P-343 (cl)

McGulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

to the term, is impossible under present circumstances. The most important crops are olives, figs, and grapes, none of which requires irrigation in the growing season. The orchards and vineyards grow on terraced land which is situated generally on the lower parts of the ridge slopes and at the heads of the wadis. Some vegetables and a few small orchards of mulberries (remnants of the once predominant cash crop—silk) grow immediately adjacent to the houses.

Al-Munsif can be seen from a distance quite some time before the traveler enters it. The houses, varying in color from white to gray to tawny, are perched, one directly above another, it seems, on the southern slope of the ridge — a few are on the crest itself, at its highest point. They number about 90 and are typical of the Lebanese countryside. About one-quarter of them have the pitched roofs of red tile and other architectural features which are reminders of the decades before World War I. The majority, however, are of a much more ancient style, with few windows and a flat roof made of timbers and a thick layer of packed earth. In some cases, the old earth roofs have been recently replaced by cement ones. A few houses have been built completely anew in recent years, but with two exceptions they are not particularly different in general style from the older ones. Household furnishings and equipment show the unmistakable influence of industrialized Europe and America — mostly the former. Kerosene pressure lanterns and stoves have almost completely replaced older forms. Bedsteads, wardrobes, tables, and chairs — all of European manufacture and/or design — are used in every house. However, the village has no electricity and no system of running water.

From the observation of physical externals, one may easily deduce that al-Munsif partakes both of the traditional and of the recently imported (that is, since the late 19th century). It therefore reflects the tumultuous culture change which at present colors life in Lebanon and in the Middle East generally. But material aspects of culture are only fragmentary indications of behavior. In themselves, they reveal little of a specific nature concerning motivations, loyalties, hopes, fears, and expectations. How did al-Munsif, as a community of people, come into being? What are its traditional foundations of life? How, and to what extent, have its traditions been altered by the far-reaching cultural changes of the late 19th and 20th centuries? What problems face its people as a result of these changes?

II

According to tradition, al-Munsif was established by a man who came to the site from Jabal Hawran in Syria, after a sojourn in Baalbek. All the 523 members of the village are believed to be direct descendants of the founder, a belief which is indicated in a genealogy which is in the possession of the priest. There is some disagreement among the villagers on details

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
LEBANON MEI
SYRIA MDI

S L 142 795

shown in the table above are found in other parts of the Middle East but three indigenous sects need mention here: the Druzes, who are a mountain people professing a religion which derived from Islam in the eleventh century A.D., but became independent; the Alawis of the mountains behind Latakia, whose religion appears to be a dogmatic form of Shii Islam with some survivals of Christian ritual; and the Maronites, who are a Christian sect, living mainly in the north of Lebanon.

S L 643

The religion of the majority of Syrians and of the head of the Syrian state is Sunni Islam; in the Lebanon, Muslims and Christians are fairly evenly divided and the President of the Republic is a Maronite Christian and the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim. The Christians of the Arab Levant have provided the Middle East with great leaders in journalism, letters, politics, and science, but in present-day Syria the Christians are mainly prominent in commerce and industry. There is hardly any dangerous animosity between the sects, but sectarian bonds are a very real force in the lives of people who for so long lived under the Turkish *millet* system whereby each sect was an administrative unit, the head of which exercised considerable authority.

S L 142 262 291 177

So mixed a population living in a variety of environments naturally does not constitute one physical type, but some generalizations are hazarded for the sake of a fuller picture. Dark hair is almost universal but the skin of the town dweller is no darker than that of a Mediterranean European; the Syrians and Lebanese are not often as tall or as heavy as the average Englishman but they mature at an earlier age. The poorer nomad eats mainly bread, with milk and fruit and vegetables as less frequent additions and meat as an event, but in the towns and villages most people eat a full diet with rather more oil and spice than is used in Britain. The cultivator and the nomad wear local costumes but most townspeople wear European clothes; the tarbush or the head-cloth are usual but not universal headgear for men. Most Muslim women wear the veil, but in the towns the richer women are becoming more and more emancipated and, particularly in Beirut, many lead the same lives as Christian women. In Lebanon and in Damascus and Aleppo the way of life is very like that in southern Europe, and both countries make a pleasant home for a European.

History

S L 175

Semitic-speaking people have inhabited for four or five millennia the area which is known historically as Syria, and yet for much of this period the rulers of what is now Syria an

44:Matthews and Akrawi 3,C-3 (1943-1949)1949 ME Middle East
Lebanon ME1

cultural work abroad. This was still the situation at the time of the visit of the American Council Commission to Lebanon.

It was not possible for the Commission to visit even one example from each type of French schools in Lebanon. Aside from the schools of the Mission Laïque and the Collège Protestant Français, however, the pattern of the French missionary schools is substantially the same. The success of their work is shown by the large number of Lebanese men and women, especially Catholics, who speak French fluently, and some of whom think, speak, and write in French even more easily than they do in their native Arabic.

The large French schools usually have primary and secondary departments combined on the same premises so that the primary grades are actually preparatory to the secondary, or *lycée*, sections, in much the same way as is the general practice in France. They are usually fee-charging institutions, the fees ranging from £L100 ($45) to £L350 ($160) for tuition, on an ascending scale from the lowest primary to the highest secondary grade. Boarding fees may range between £L600 and £L750 ($275 to $344). Some of the orders, however, maintain special primary schools for poor children where instruction is free. This separation of the poor children from those who can pay seems to be a fairly prevalent practice.

The staffs of the schools are usually both French and Lebanese, the proportion varying. The number of Frenchmen may constitute as many as one-half and sometimes as low as one-third. A large part of the staff of missionary schools consists of monks or nuns who receive no pay for their services and cost only their maintenance. The rest are laymen, usually Lebanese. In spite of this, fees are usually higher than those charged in native schools. Some of the money seems to be spent on the schools for poor children, as well as on maintaining the work of the mission. Some missions have been known to save some money for future expansion of, and building programs for, the schools. At one time the Jesuits had their own normal school for the training of teachers for their village schools. This, however, has been discontinued.

The schools visited by the Commission were housed, on the whole, in good buildings, with spacious quarters, usually large classrooms, and more or less adequate yard-space for recreation periods, though not enough provision had been made for playgrounds for athletic activities. The better schools were usually well equipped with libraries, and some of them had laboratories and natural history museums. Boarding facilities

44 Matthews and Akrawi 5, G-3 (1945–194)1949 ME Middle East

Lebanon MEI

873 institutions of the Arab peoples, Islamic sociology, and history of Arabic philosophy. In some years, courses i the Aramaic languages (biblical Aramaic, ancient Aramaic epigraphy),and Syriac language and history are given; (2) archeology and history of yria and Phoenicia; (3) Armenian language and culture. Completion of tudies ends in an examination for certificates comparable to the certificas of the *Licence ès Lettres* in a French Faculty of Letters. The Univrsité, however, is not entitled to grant this degree, and those student who receive four certificates are granted a Diploma of Oriental Studis of the Université.

[814] The Institute publishes an Arabic rview, *el-Machriq*, first published in 1898, and a series of monographs known as *Les Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* which are studies in Semitics, archeology, history, and philology of the Near East.

●177 French ducation and French cultre have deep and long-established roots in Lebanon. They have exertd a tremendous influence on the thoughts, attitudes, and habits of the .ebanese, particularly the Catholics. When Lebanon attained its indepenence in 1943, the French government attempted to insure the ascendnce of French cultural influence by proposing a cultural treaty which would have given it almost a monopoly on cultural and educational influencein Lebanon. This was, with slight modifications, the same treaty which was offered to Syria and rejected by it. It proved to be also unacceptableto the Lebanese government. The French, having lost Lebanon, are stil exerting great efforts through the Œuvres Françaises and through thei schools to maintain their cultural influence. There is no doubt that in ths they have the support of a section of the Christian population which hasbeen brought up along French lines and is loath to see that influence weaen. Already, however, a perceptible shift toward English and a demand fr it are noticeable. Nevertheless, if what has happened in Egypt in the last century is any measure, French cultural influence will probably remain strong for a long time to come.

44:Matthews and Akrawi 8, G-3 (1945–1948)1949 ME Middle East
Lebanon MEI

873 795 Christians as well. Forty-five Christians were in the secondary section, which enrolled a total of 154 students. It is staffed by a principal, an assistant, and twenty-six teachers, not including nine women kindergarten teachers. Fees range from £L40 to £L325 ($18 to $148) with an addition of another £L500 ($228) for boarding students. The College is almost self-supporting and is said to charge the highest fees in Sidon. Children of teachers are accepted gratis in the primary school and on half-fees in the secondary school. Income from property is spent mostly on the other free schools.

The College has a library of about 2,000 books in Arabic and in French, a small chemical laboratory, and some maps in French and Arabic. It fosters a number of student activities including a literary and dramatic society, a lecture program, two library committees (one each for Arabic and for French books), a Boy Scout troop, and various athletic teams. A school magazine, edited largely by students, is published in Arabic.

The College is now preparing for first and second *baccalauréat*, as well as for the primary-school certificate and the *brevet*. Its diploma has been recognized by the universities in Egypt, and 4 students are already studying at Egyptian universities. At the time of the Commission's visit, English was started in the seventh grade, but it was planned to form a special English section by agreement with the American University of Beirut. In this section English would begin in the kindergarten and continue through the secondary school.

[81] The leaders of the Muslim Charitable Purposes movement may be said to represent in their outlook the opposite pole of the ideology represented by the al-Hikmah College and the Cultural League of Free Education. To them there is nothing that can be called Lebanese culture, but there is an Arab culture, or rather a world culture. They believe that Arabic should be the language of instruction and of expression. They attack the idea of French as a language of expression for Lebanese and Arabs: foreign languages should be taught for purposes of opening the gateways for acquisition of Western thought, but the expression of thought, whether Western or Eastern, should be in Arabic.

C162 177 They concede that the foreign-language situation in Lebanon is different from the rest of the Arab countries in that the Lebanese population is more urban, and a large part of the Lebanese villages are summer resorts frequented by people from abroad. The Lebanese, therefore, take more easily to the teaching of foreign languages because their environment fosters acquisition of languages. This, however, should not mean in any way the neglect of the Arabic language, and the use of a foreign language

LEBANON ME1

Chapter 6

LEBANON

Developments to the End of the Second World War

433 439 471 [167] [17] 439 [79] 733 167

Lebanon's high economic level, compared with other Middle Eastern countries, is largely attributable to certain factors which helped to improve economic and social conditions, 1/ from early modern times. A relatively greater degree of security in Lebanon attracted European merchants, who provided an expanding market for Lebanese raw silk; it also brought in missionaries and educators, who established modern schools. In the second half of the nineteenth century, large-scale emigration began. It is estimated that, between 1860 and 1900, some 120,000 persons emigrated from Lebanon and Syria - an average of 3,000 a year, of which over half were from Lebanon. In 1900-14, the yearly average rose to 15,000. 2/ A large number of these emigrants returned, bringing back with them capital and skills. There was also a small capital inflow from Europe, which was invested in railways, ports and other public utilities, as well as in banks. By 1900, Beirut had become the main distributing centre for Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, northern Iraq and southern Anatolia. Another important economic item was the export of raw silk.

During the First World War, Lebanon, which had become a food importer, experienced a large-scale famine. In addition, its silk industry was disorganized, the mulberry trees being cut down for fuel, and its transit trade was disrupted. In the inter-war period, silk suffered further, from the competition of more efficient producers and of rayon, and gradually ceased to play an important part in the economy. A still harder blow was the decline in emigration, following restrictions imposed in most countries of immigration. After reaching a peak of 16,300 in 1925, emigration from Lebanon and Syria fell off rapidly to an annual average of 2,000 in the nineteen-thirties, of which slightly over half came from Lebanon.

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434 1/ Net national income in 1950 was estimated at 1,000 million Lebanese pounds (see table 43), giving a per capita figure of 1 800 per annum. (Some confirmation of this figure is provided by a survey in North Lebanon which showed that in 1953 per capita income in a group of villages was 1 687. This figure does not include rent, since practically all families own their own houses (Salah H. Sawaya, Household Income and Expenditure in Al Hery, unpublished thesis, American University, Beirut, 1953)). Converted at the average free market rate (in 1950 one United States dollar equalled 3.47 Lebanese pounds), which considerably undervalues the purchasing power of the Lebanese pound, this gives a per capita income of $250, a figure well above that prevailing in the region. Some two thirds of the Lebanese population is literate, and over 40 per cent is urban, proportions which are well above the regional level.

2/ S.H. Riesman (editor), The Economic Organization of Syria (Beirut, 1936), page 16.

11: Houran 3-4 (no date) 1948 MD1 Syria Lebanon ref:

Again, there was the traditional attachment of the Maronites to France. This is dealt with elsewhere,[1] and its effects upon French sentiment are discussed. It had equally great effects upon Maronite sentiment. It affected the modern form of their political consciousness; it also gave them the assurance that Western Christendom had not forgotten them, and thus helped them to resist better than other Eastern Christian sects the temptations to despair and to Islamization to which their position laid them open. Some of them went so far as to adopt French as their native language; in Beirut to-day there are a number of interesting Lebanese Christian writers who use French as their medium of expression.

In the last few generations certain new factors have arisen to add their weight to that of tradition. The first of them is the rapid advance which the Lebanese have made in the assimilation of Western culture: Western schools were established earlier in Lebanon than in the interior of Syria, more Lebanese than Syrians emigrated to the New World, and Christians were in general more eager and able to understand the West and to become part of it than the Moslems. In many ways, although perhaps not in all, the Lebanese are the most Westernized of the Arabic-speaking peoples.

The growth of Arab nationalism has also affected Lebanese political thought. There were Lebanese, both Christians and Druses, among the founders of the nationalist movement, and still are among its most enthusiastic supporters. But very many Lebanese, even those who favour Arab unity and independence in principle, cannot help doubting whether Lebanon will gain anything from becoming part of a larger unit, the other parts of which are less advanced. Others, while conscious of themselves as in some sense Arabs and Orientals, also believe that the Lebanese tradition, different from although not necessarily exclusive of the Arab tradition, is worth preserving.

In addition to these developments, the revival of Christian thought which was mentioned in Chapter IV has influenced certain elements among the Lebanese. It has led them to regard Lebanon not primarily as the western frontier of the Arab world but as the eastern frontier of Christendom; and to ask, as the first and most profound of the political questions which face them, what are the conditions which will make

[1] See Chapter VIII.

175, 648, 177, 186

[For a survey of the political history of Leb
the French mandate, and information on wes
and nationalism in Lebanon, see Al Hourani,
entire source.]

Lebanon MEl

non before and during
ernization, sectarianism,
MDl Syria, category 116,

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/For an account of the political regime, social stratific
administration under the British and French Mandates
War, see 66: Bonné, M1 Middle East, category 116.

Syria	MD1
Israel	MF1
Jordan	MG1
Iraq	MH1
Lebanon	ME1

ation, and Westernizing of
llowing the First World
p. 88-101./

177.10 ---177.88

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955, ME: Lebanon ME:1

207 taxi season, which is still used a great deal—shooting from one section of the village to another. The horse and the donkey have given way to the automobile, 479 the bus, the truck, and the paved roads which they require. Two automobiles are stationed in the village, and a number of them are owned by villagers who live in the city. Those in the village are at least fifteen years old. One of the owners operates a regular (about three times a day) taxi service to Jbeyl. The Beirut-Tripoli buses regularly stop at Hilwi, but the railroad trains never do. No one in the village owns a truck, but it is not difficult to hire one from Jbeyl if necessary.

286 In terms of message communication, there are two new elements in the village. One is the public telephone at Hilwi. This does not seem to play a very important part in the life of the community. It is simply one appendage in the network of telephones which the French Mandatory Government installed along the main highways. The other is the radio. There is one at Hilwi and one in the 287 village proper, both in private houses. A third, portable one was purchased during the period of study. There would doubtless be more if it were not necessary to run them on batteries. However, the villagers keep up to date on the news very efficiently. Every day several people go to and return from Jbeyl in whose shops radios blare away constantly.

● 1712.0 In the field of communication, foreign influence has been of profound importance.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

label no identification with its urban surroundings nor to have established any strong ties with non-Mazrajiin. These people are, of course, by no means cut off from the village. People come and go from the village constantly for brief visits. The evening gatherings of this group are similar in form to those in the village proper.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The majority of men and women smoke cigarettes, and the rate of consumption appears to be high. European briar pipes are not smoked at all, but the old-fashioned water pipe is still enjoyed both by men and women.

It has been mentioned before that foreign influence has been particularly strong in the field of communication. Communication and means of entertainment overlap in such things as radio, the movies, books, magazines, and newspapers. Owing to its lack of electricity, Mazrajiin has only three battery-run radios, and this instrument is not particularly important in the village as a means of entertainment. The available programs are limited in scope, consisting mostly of news and "disk-jockey" broadcasts. From his limited observation, the writer was impressed with the esthetic appeal of the spoken word (radio broadcasts are in Classical Arabic) to the listeners.

Cities like Beirut are over-equipped, if anything, with movie houses which show Egyptian, European, and American pictures indiscriminately. There is no question but that they provide welcome diversion and enlarge the villagers' horizons, although the American movies have spread some very erroneous impressions of life in America. To some degree there is a cult of movie-star worship, but this is far less pronounced than it is in America, and it appears to be limited to the leading lights of the Egyptian screen.

Illustrated weeklies and paper-bound novels are very numerous and widely distributed. Their format seems crude to eyes which are accustomed to slick periodicals. The novels, for example, tend to have garish illustrated covers which are reminiscent of "pulps." However, this impression is deceptive, for most appear to be serious works by Arab authors or translations of Western best-sellers and classics. For example, Wilder's *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* and Maugham's *Of Human Bondage* were two which were being read in the village. In addition, there is in Mazrajiin some distribution of imported American paperbacks. No generalizations can be made here about the effect of this literature on the villagers. It can be said, however, that it seemed clear that Classical Arabic, spoken, retains a great deal of affective force which transcends the actual content of what is being said or recited. Western literature, on the other hand, is read merely out of intellectual curiosity or for sheer diversion, but it carries no emotional or esthetic charge.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621 671 remembered that genealogically and conceptually (the villagers' concept), Munşif is a single kinship unit.[1]

[178] This structure of in-groups is traditional, and it appears to have maintained its vitality in the face of great culture change, to which a limited amount of local exogamy seems to be the only major concession. When, however, we turn to the other areas of behavior which are reviewed in this chapter, we find that none of them can be discussed at all without reference to the problems of acculturation.

MONEY

454 The villagers' need for, and great concern about, money is very clear indeed. This is entirely understandable since the expense of education and manufactured products, alone, require much of it.

Money as it is known in the Western world is very ancient in the Middle East, in fact it apparently originated there. However, before about seventy-five years ago its use in most villages was limited, since for most needs barter and mutual help in a regime of local self-sufficiency were ordinarily enough to motivate exchange of goods and services.

[457] Money began to come in large quantities into villages like Munşif from emigrants in America. At the same time, Lebanon began to receive foreign manufactured articles which could only be obtained through payment of cash. Today, money is the only means of exchange in the village, and prices are an incessant topic [435 455] of conversation among the villagers. This is, of course, due in part to the fact that the country has suffered severe inflationary trends during the past ten years, in part, according to Murray, to "a natural speculative proclivity on the part of most of the people" (1947, p. 15).

However, there are some indications that this recent emphasis on money as a [180] thing in itself has set up disturbing conflicts in many people. For example, it is often heard that the Western powers are obviously bent upon buying the friendship of the Arabs, but that true friends cannot be bought. Such an attitude might either be a projection of attitudes and behavior prevalent among the speakers themselves, or it might be an expression of sincere and objective distaste for one of the unpleasant consequences of overemphasis on money. In any case, a conflict in values relating to money is consciously recognized.

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

191 871 555 "In Munşif you will find many people who live in poor houses but have much education. This is because we would rather, if we must choose, use our money for a fine education than for a fine house." This was one of the first remarks that was made to the writer about the culture of the village, and, as time went on,

[1] For additional perspectives on the structure of the village see Gulick (1955, pp. 370-71).

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

494 counter adults who had been to Beirut or Tripoli not more than once or twice in their entire lives. As another informant said, "Everyone was *fillah*"—meaning, in effect, that everyone was either a farmer or had some part-time or full-time specialty which was directly concerned with rural subsistence. One person guessed that at [242] any given time no more than ten men, and no women, in the village could read and write.

613 As the population of the village increased and the generations passed, the 601 three original lineages became segmented into sub-lineages. This was evidently a gradual process; the three original lineages did not all become completely subdivided at the same time. Eventually, the three original lineages lost nearly all their significance as in-groups since this function had been taken over by the new, smaller lineages. It has been noted before that while the name of the original lineage now identified as Maximal Lineage A is no longer used by any of the minimal lineages derived from it, the names of Maximal Lineages B and C are preserved as names of two minimal lineages. It may be that a more accurate view of this matter, of which the villagers were aware but could not explain, is as follows: The kin group now identifiable as A became completely subdivided into smaller lineages, and its name was thus obliterated. B and C, however, were never completely subdivided, possibly because of their smaller size. Thus, although several new lineages did develop from or split off from the original B and C, remnants of these latter continued on, retaining the original name. This interpretation, if valid, might explain why Minimal Lineages XII and XVI, which bear the names of B and C, show a greater diversity of patrilines than their fellow minimal lineages. In the view of the Munsifin in 1952, however, lineages XII and XVI are regarded in no different light from the other *'ayli*.

177 At some time around 1880 the outside world began to force itself upon the circumscribed life of the village, in not one way, but several ways. First, American Protestant missionaries brought mass education, with its prospects of prestigeful and possibly lucrative employment, within reach of everyone in the village. Then, America became known as the land where one could go for a few years to work, make more money than one could possibly earn in the village, and then return to [167] the village to live an easier, more comfortable life. Emigration, at first and for a long time conceived of only as a temporary expedient, began about 1890. And, finally, Western manufactured articles began to be imported.

● 178 By 1914 profound changes had been wrought in the village. Many of its 621 members had gone to America, some of them never to return. A decline in the price of silk had led many to replace their mulberries with olives, but the financial loss in this respect was overbalanced by the financial gain of money made in America, or sent from America. While the houses of the emigrants stood empty and began to fall into ruins, more and more new houses, with tile roofs glowing proudly in the sun, were being built. Native villagers had taken over the school founded by the missionaries, and others had established their own. Literacy and

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

knowledge of English were becoming commonplace. The village school had become a primary agent of culture change in marked contrast to the situation recently observed in Tangier (cf. Schorger, 1952b, p. 254). With widened horizons and increased financial means, a demand for Western material goods, particularly household furnishings and clothes, was created and satisfied, as far as possible, by the villagers.

The first World War brought an abrupt and temporarily devastating halt to this process of change. Lebanon, though a province of the Turkish Empire, was blockaded by the Turks because of the well-known Allied sympathies of many of its people. During the blockade, both emigration and emigrants' remittances were stopped and many segments of the rural population, including Munşif, were reduced to near starvation. (See Hourani, 1946, especially pp. 33–49, for a general review of this period.)

When the war ended, the Munşifiin could neither turn back the clock nor could they quite pick up where they had been forced to leave off in 1914. Silk production never regained its former pre-eminence. Emigration resumed, but in 1924 emigration to the United States was virtually ended. Emigration to other parts of the world correspondingly increased, but never on the same scale as it had been to the United States.

Meanwhile, the French had assumed the League of Nations Mandate over Lebanon (and Syria) and had embarked upon a program of modernization of the country, a policy which was exactly the opposite of their attempts in Morocco at preventing acculturation (cf. Coon, 1949, p. 451). The French established in Lebanon a constitutional form of government which strongly resembled their own, and it included a public school system also modeled on their own. One of the chief purposes of these activities was to disseminate specifically French culture. This was not particularly appreciated by many of the sect groups in the country.

The French were responsible, in another line of endeavor, for the building of a system of paved highways, and the beginning of a network of telephone lines, of airports, and of rural electrification in a few districts. The establishment of rapid communication and transportation systems created a profound change in the entire country. In Munşif, as in many other villages where economic problems had become acute, the change consisted of the beginning of an intensified drift of villagers to the cities to earn their livelihood. Life in the cities tended to make the villagers more aware than before of foreign artifacts and values and to elevate their notion of what constituted an adequate standard of living (see Bonne, 1948, especially pp. 271–72). For the first time, villagers now had the opportunity of meeting and interacting with outsiders on a large scale, and village exogamy, a rarity before, began to become rather frequent (see Patai, 1947, especially p. 15, for an itemization of the types of change which have occurred in Palestine, but also Lebanon).

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

THE PRESENT

George Haddad has recently summarized in some detail the changes which have occurred in Lebanon (and Syria) in the past half century. His emphasis is on material and institutional changes: "Syria and Lebanon have known a real revolution in transport in the last 30 years with the appearance of automobiles (3 in 1914, about 12,000 in 1945). . . . In less than half a century, the urban centers of Syria and Lebanon have changed from medieval towns to modern cities." (Haddad, 1950, pp. 140, 146.)

It is unfortunate that Haddad does not deal at all with the problems, psychological and otherwise, which these revolutionary changes have created. Implicitly, however, he recognizes that change has not directly affected all aspects of life in equal measure: "The traits for which the Syrian Arab and the oriental in general has been known: sense of honor, strict morals, manliness, courage, loyalty, hospitality, reverence of old age, strength of family ties, have not changed much" (*ibid.*, pp. 186–87.) Gibb has phrased the matter somewhat differently: "But in the Near East the changes have not been homogeneous; they have often followed from a violent breach in the continuity of economic and intellectual life and the interference of an external system; they have seldom and only exceptionally embraced even a majority of the population; *and therefore old and new have frequently gone on existing, and still go on existing side by side* [our italics]." (Gibb, 1942a, p. 35.) Let us see how these generalizations can be applied to Munsif.

MATERIAL CHANGES

As we observed, Westernization in clothes has been very noticeable, though not complete. In this respect, Munsif appears to be more acculturated than the Egyptian community partially reported upon recently by Lichtenstadter (1952, p. 382), in which the people wear traditional clothes in the village and at all times except when in a wholly acculturative situation such as, for example, working in a modern office. Those Munsifin who have adopted Western clothes wear them at all times. In the younger people who are city workers, there is even a tendency to look down on those who wear all or part of the traditional costume because of its connotation of peasant status. But their tendency to reject *both* traditional and European headgear, also noted in Palestine by Patai (1947, p. 22), can be taken as a symbol of the culture conflict which they are undergoing. Also very noticeable is the Westernization of household and personal equipment—furniture, cooking utensils, wristwatches, flashlights, and so on.

These types of material acculturation seem to have taken place under the following conditions:

1. The change does not involve excessive expense.
2. The change is clearly conducive to greater comfort and convenience.

7: Gulick 2-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

3. The change is not in conflict, functionally or symbolically, with other, firmly established or unchanging norms.

The second condition provides the adequate motivation essential to learning, and, as Hallowell (1945, pp. 182–83) has pointed out, "learning is the psychological crux of acculturation." Using Barnett's terms (Barnett, 1940, p. 31), we can say that if the *function* of the new item is apprehended and appreciated by the villagers, they will accept it, provided that it does not involve too much expense, does not necessitate elaborate readjustments in otherwise stable systems, and that its *meaning* is neither odious (for example, a part of foreign imperialism) nor in conflict with the meanings of other, stable traits.

Perhaps this analysis will be clearer when we consider two areas of "material culture" which have remained almost wholly unchanged. One of these is diet which has remained unchanged because any fundamental alteration in it would meet with situations which would be contrary to any or all of the three conditions which are necessary to successful change. It would be enough to say that change in diet would involve extra expense and a major alteration in eating habits and cooking methods (violation of conditions 1 and 3). But besides this, the villagers see no purpose in changing their basic diet. It satisfies them physically and gustatorially (violation of conditions 2 and 3). It is probable also that they derive no little spiritual satisfaction in being able to maintain old patterns in this area of behavior where no change is forced upon them.

The other area of material conservatism is in farming techniques. Although farming itself has deteriorated markedly in terms of the number of men who practice it (a negative sort of change), farming techniques remain the same. This is largely because conditions 1 and 2 do not obtain. To introduce, for example, tractors and modern plows and harrows, into a terrace village like Munşif, would not only involve great expense, it would also be rather absurd from a practical point of view. There would be the problem of moving the equipment from one terrace to another, and most of the terraces are so small and irregular in shape that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to use when it was in place. Chemical fertilizers have been adopted to some extent, probably limited by expense. Certainly the villagers are most eager to obtain an irrigation system, but here their desires are thwarted by external conditions.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

In the economic or subsistence sphere, the village has obviously undergone a profound change. A number of rural specialties, such as weaving and shoemaking, have completely gone out of existence. Farming, formerly *the* primary occupation, now occupies a very small number of men. A large proportion, if not most, of the village income is now derived from urban occupations.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types, economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the importation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

3. The drift of villagers *en masse* to the city for employment—in part in consequence of factors 1 and 2.

4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

The intellectual factors in the economic change in Munṣif were brought about by the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In this connection, three consequences must be noted:

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village and urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied *both* with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well-recognized by many. Malinowski (1945, pp. 67–68) has remarked on its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Wenlerse (1946, p. 268) refers to education as unfitting people for village life. Keen (1946, p. 43) speaks of a prevailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Richardson and Batal say:

> Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The technical backwardness, the contrast of enormous wealth and extreme poverty, the group hatreds, nepotism, the apathy of peasant millions and overlords alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West form small listless "middle-class" groups talking progress, but either powerless, unwilling, or thwarted in their attempts to change a millennia-entrenched system. (1949, pp. 489–90.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts in values among the Munṣifiin, as among other Middle Easterners. The various changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of traditional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Munṣifiin are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a means of sub-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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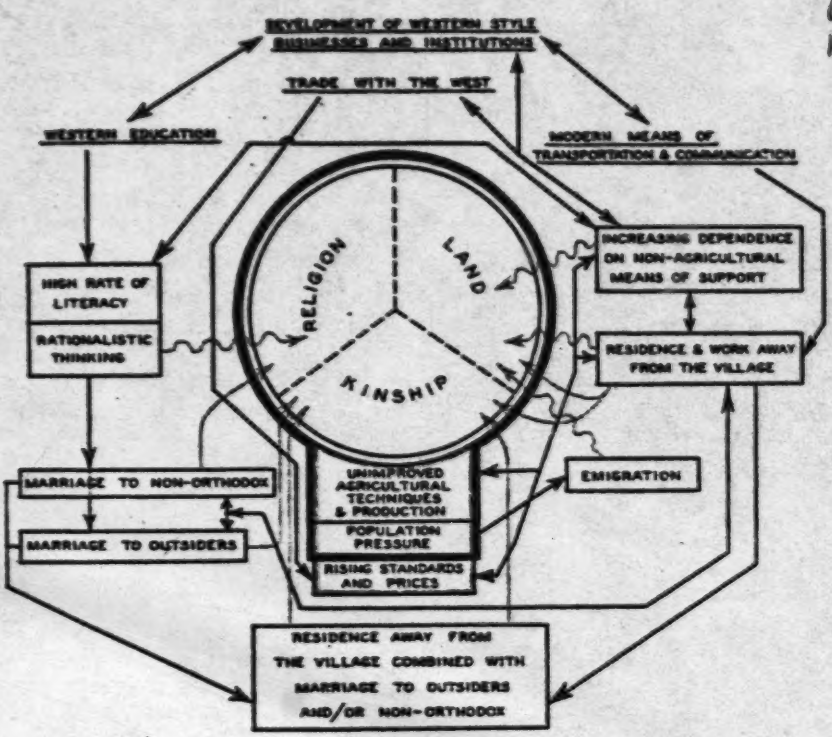
PATTERNS OF ACCULTURATION IN AL-MUNSIF



LEGEND

- CULTURE ELEMENTS BEFORE WESTERNIZATION
- SOCIO-ECONOMIC PROBLEMS
- CHANGES EXTERNAL TO VILLAGE
- NEW FACTORS IN THE VILLAGE CULTURE
- DIRECTIONS OF INFLUENCE
- POTENTIALLY DISRUPTIVE FORCES
- ACTUALLY DISRUPTIVE FORCES

FIG. 7

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

sistence. We have also seen that the villagers' opinions vary considerably on the question of the desirability of village life—which is necessarily centered around agriculture—as a "way of life," in the abstract sense. Some people, mostly older people, cling to the belief that it is desirable. Many more are undecided, and their expressed attitudes and behavior tend to be inconsistent with each other, as a result. Still others, mostly young people on whom the future of the village depends, seem to be convinced that village life is *not* the ideal way of life, but they are experiencing considerable difficulty in finding a satisfactory substitute.

Despite these qualifications, it is safe to say that in Munṣif the principle of devotion to the land has been very seriously undermined.

Religion. It is necessary to distinguish two aspects of religion as it affects the Lebanese village. One aspect is that of religion as a system of theology which gives rationale to ritual behavior. The other aspect is that of religion as a focus of group loyalty. In the traditional culture both aspects are strong, and to some extent they interpenetrate each other.

What appears to have happened in Munṣif is that religion as a system of belief has been weakened. We have seen that rituals per se tend to be viewed rather casually by many, and religious techniques for the prevention and cure of disease have largely, though not entirely, given way to modern medical practices. One certainly cannot say that religion permeates every aspect of daily life, as it should according to Tannous's view of traditional patterns.

Several writers on the Middle East have remarked on a growing tendency towards secularism there. What they seem to mean is secularization of the type indicated above, secularization which is primarily due to the influence of science in education. Among these writers, Fisher has made the following statement which seems to confuse the two aspects of religion: "Religious feeling, once the mainspring of most forms of cultural and political activity is now in eclipse; instead, a spirit of materialist nationalism is taking its place, not always with advantage" (1950, p. 7).

The truth, in the present writer's view, is that religion *retains* its potency in the political (i.e., group loyalty) sphere, both in Lebanon in general, and certainly without any question in Munṣif. We have seen that the Munṣifiin clearly identify their village and their district as Orthodox, that periodic rituals serve in the most obvious fashion to unite the village, and we have seen that actions which threaten religious solidarity elicit strong punitive responses.

The mild attitude toward Protestants is not inconsistent with these patterns. The few villagers who have become Protestants have done violence to religion only in the theological sphere which is not a matter of serious concern to the average villager, but they have scrupulously carried out all their other obligations as members of the in-group. Another point worth mentioning is that there has never been a direct association in the villager's minds of Protestantism and progress (i.e., disruptive change). (Cf. Redfield, 1950, p. 90.)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

We can say, in summary, that the traditional theme of religion has in one aspect been weakened by acculturation, but that in another aspect it retains its traditional vigor.

Kinship. In the values surrounding kin groups, and by logical extension, the entire village group, *there have been almost no changes whatever.* In saying this, we arrive at the denouement of this work. The family and the lineage maintain their function of serving as a link between the individual and the village as a whole, which is, itself, a kin group toward which feelings of utmost loyalty and unity are directed.

The only suggestion of a weakening of the village as an in-group is the recent and increasing tendency toward village exogamy mostly on the part of women. This seems to be accompanied, however, by no diminution of feelings of village loyalty on the part of most of these women. Potentially, this tendency is a threat to the strength of the village because the children of these marriages will have no more than a sentimental attachment to it through their mothers. What effects this will have, or whether any counter-effects will be developed—these matters lie in the future.

Thus, that aspect of religion which has remained the most vigorous is precisely that aspect which, along with kinship, serves to define and identify loyalty groups. The remainder of this work will be devoted to an analysis of the question of why these in-groups, exemplified in multiple fashion by the village of Munṣif, have maintained their strength in a period of momentous cultural changes.

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

SOME THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS

IN-GROUPS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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WE have seen that Munṣif has preserved its integrity as a social unit at the same time that other aspects of its traditional culture have been greatly altered in the process of acculturation. Before we develop a theoretical approach to this rather striking example of persistence, we must put the village in cultural perspective. We must see it not as a single, unique group of people, but as just one example of numberless units of the same general sort which constitute an essential part of Middle East culture.

Of all these units in the Middle East the same basic fact holds true: each one is an in-group. An in-group is a well-defined unit of people which has a very high degree of esprit de corps. This esprit is maintained by the constant operation *within* the unit of behavior and values which can generally be described as altruistic. But toward persons or groups who do not belong to it, any particular in-group (or individual member thereof), entertains essentially negative attitudes which range from reserve to hateful hostility. Murdock (1949, p. 83) thinks that this characteristic out-group behavior is due to the fact that since the frustrations of daily life cannot be relieved by aggressive actions directly within the group without destroying esprit de corps, they are therefore relieved by aggressive actions *outward*, resulting in intergroup antagonisms. The writer believes that this generalization is valid—though it is not very encouraging to anyone who tries to maintain a sanguine view of "human nature."[1]

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One might expect that an in-group might be effective as such *only* if it is small, and if it is the sole focus of loyalty and identification of its members. Perhaps the in-group is *most* effective under such conditions, but, as the Middle East plainly demonstrates, they are not essential to the operation of the in-group principle. As we shall see, the average Middle Easterner belongs to not one, but to a multiplicity of in-groups.

Lest the reader gain the notion that the importance of in-groups in the Middle East is a chimera, a figment of the obsessed mind of a social structuralist, he is invited to peruse the following quotations. First, for historical perspective, it appears likely that the final victory, in the Hellenistic Period, of non-anthropo-

[1] For a lucid discussion of the types of in-group frustrations, and their possible genesis, which have been observed in another Middle East village, see Ammar (1954; especially chap. 6).

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2. Probably more significant, however, is the fact that the lack of preference for lineage endogamy is but one point of evidence for the general tendency in the village toward de-emphasis of the individual minimal lineages as formal institutions. The other points of evidence on this matter are: (a) a minimum of lineage *mash'a* (communal) landholdings; (b) clique-groups cross-cutting lineage lines; (c) rarity, and perhaps absence, of lineage feuds; (d) lack of apparent interest in lineage names; (e) marriage prohibition crosscuts lineage lines in Sphere 1; (f) emphasis on bilateral connections in Sphere 1.

This de-emphasis of individual minimal lineages does not indicate that there is a weakness in the adherence of the Munṣifiin to lineage (Sphere 2) values. Rather, it is a consequence of the fact that these values have been applied to the Core Group (i.e. the village) as a whole, and that this unit is, for the most part, a relatively stronger focus of identification than individual lineages are.

We have seen that structurally (whether by reason of actual development or of fictionalized conceptualization) the village is a single super-lineage, and that behavior in regard to it conforms to this structural status, even in small details. (1) It is ideally, and still, for the most part, actually, endogamous. (2) When exogamous marriages do occur, outsider husbands are referred to by the term essentially reserved for a man who takes a wife from ego's lineage. (3) Individuals who are uncertain of all the maximal and minimal lineage affiliations are very certain of the over-all common descent. (4) Feuds are not only rare (as they must be within a lineage), but the villagers are proud of the fact. In terms of the concept of spheres, Munṣif as a whole can be looked upon as an expanded segment of Sphere 2 (Lineage).

STABILITY AND CHANGE. CONCLUSION

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During the course of this work, we have seen that acculturation has wrought severely disruptive changes in the village economy and significant changes in "material culture." In addition, it has created disconcerting conflicts in certain values, conflicts which remain unresolved. Yet it has had very little effect on the values and behavior associated with the community itself as an institution and as an in-group.

In seeking an explanation of this phenomenon of cultural persistence we have not chosen simply to dismiss it as an example of the "negative response" (Hallowell, 1945, p. 180) which is frequently encountered in culture contact situations. Rather, starting with the assumption that no particular cultural trait as such necessarily shows a peculiar resistance to change (Ogburn, 1930, p. 156), we have proceeded to the assumption that pre-existing *configurations* of traits may indeed prove to be barriers to change (Herskovits, 1945, p. 154).

We have presented a conceptual scheme of the basic social structure of the Middle East, an elaborate structure of in-groups within in-groups. This is a con-

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figuration of very far-reaching significance. We have found that while for the area as a whole, certain disruptions in these patterns have occurred and more are threatening, they have remained remarkably vigorous in Munṣif. Why?

We can now, at last, propose an answer to this question: In-group values and behavior in Munṣif have remained forceful and alive because the village itself represents not just one of the structural spheres of the Middle East, but three of them, interlocking, and mutually supporting. In Munṣif, Spheres 2 (Lineage) and 3 (Local Group) are coterminous, and these two are virtually coterminous with Sphere 5 (Sect). Each one of these spheres involves some of the most deep-seated and cherished values of Arab culture. The integration of three of them creates a cultural configuration which is highly resistant to change.

Such a structure cannot easily be undermined by direct attack. The increasing trend of village exogamy, for example—a violation of a well-established rule—does not seem to be associated with any devaluation of the village as an in-group, and so this behavior *in itself* is not, or has not so far been, a direct threat to the integrity of the village. However, if a new generation developed under urban acculturative influences, in which a large number of individuals were cut off from the affective ties and the values of the village and also prevented from developing new ties and values—if, in other words, a large number of village members developed anomic personalities—then the integrity of the village would very definitely be weakened because the values which now give, and always have given, rationale to its structure, would have ceased to be effective.

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Knowledge is gained by asking questions and then seeking the answers to them. We began with a question. We have concluded with an answer; but this is an answer which is neither perfect in itself, nor is it complete, for it leads to a further question which we cannot answer here, but with which it is fitting that this work be ended:

In Hourani's words (1946, p. 59), how will it be possible for the villagers "by preserving or modifying the old and accepting what is new, once more to form a unified world of thought and life which they can call their own?"

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Emigration, A Force of Social Change In An Arab Village

*By Afif I. Tannous**

Abstract

167 Between 1700 and 1890, Bishmizzeen, on the northern slopes of Lebanon, developed into an independent village community, with a population of 1200. 178 Thereafter, the available land could not support any further increase, and, despite a high rate of natural increase, the population remained stationary. Pressure was relieved through intensive emigration. Three other factors seem to have contributed to this emigration trend: (1) The advent into the locality of "cash" as a prestige bearing value. (2) The influence of the American Protestant Mission. (3) Escape from cultural control. Between 1885 and 1939, about 487 people emigrated to foreign countries (mostly North and South America) and 23 to other localities within the country. As a result of this intensive emigration trend the village cultural organization was severely shaken, as evidenced by the following observed facts: (1) Social control broke down. (2) New social institutions arose. (3) Cash became a supreme value. (4) The village woman attained economic independence. (5) The kinship status relationships were disrupted.

Entre 1700 y 1890, Bishmizzeen, en las colinas del norte de Lebanon, se desarrolló en un pueblo independiente, con una poblacion de 1200. Desde entonces, la única tierra arable que había, no podía soportar mayores aumentos y a pesar de más que la norma de aumento natural la población permaneció estacionaria. Se minimó la presión por medio de una emigración intensa. Hay tres factores que parecen haber contribuído más a esta tendencia de emigración: (1) La llegada del dinero a la localidad como señal de prestigio. (2) La influencia de la misión protestante americana. (3) El escapamiento del control cultural. Entre 1885 y 1939, cerca de 487 personas se emigraron a países estranjeros (mayormento a las Americas) y 23 a otras localidades dentro del país. Como resultado de esta intensa tendencia a la emigración, la organización cultural del pueblo se dislocó seriamente, como la prueban las siguientes hechas observadas: (1) El control social se deshizo. (2) Nuevas instituciones sociales nacieron. (3) El dinero asumió un valor supremo. (4) Las mujeres del pueblo obtuvieron independencia económica. (5) Las relaciones del parentesco se alteraron.

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but adequate for its needs and problems. Relationship with the central government was remote and did not go much beyond the payment of taxes and tithes. Loyalty to the kinship group struck a harmonious balance with loyalty to the village community. The church was one and the same for all.[1] Its authority was recognized and respected. The priest was always a member of the community and was elected by the people. Economic life was a mixture of private ownership of land requiring individual effort on the one hand and co-operation in various agricultural activities on the other. Education was simple, adapted to the needs of the community, and the teacher was a farmer, a member of the group. It was a type of education that emanated from and catered to the needs of community life.

After 1890, new factors, which were to a large extent beyond the expectation and control of the people, began to operate within the community, leading to a marked disruption in its harmonious organization. The most important among these factors or forces were the Protestant missions of the U. S., the silk factory, the educational movement, emigration and the new political-national spirit of the Arab World. The present article will deal with one of these—the emigration movement.

Why Did They Emigrate?

Disturbance of the land-population balance: Since the village began its

[1] The Greek Orthodox Church predominates in Bishmizzeen and the whole of the Kura district.

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that flow of correspondence, "Maktoob" (letter) and "Maktoob Musowker" (registered letter). A check was always contained in the registered letter, and it became the symbol of joy and festivities for the family group.

Once or twice a week, the mail came to the village. Many hours before the arrival of the mail, people would assemble in the barber shop of Uncle Deeb (for he became the uncle of everybody) who was responsible for the distribution of the mail. For hours, before and after mail distribution, people would loiter there, exchanging the news of their emigrants and having a social time. Usually, Uncle Deeb preferred to put the registered letters aside and then give them in person to the families concerned. That was his reward—to be a messenger of joy to the people. As he went around, he spread the news of the registered letters far and wide, until everybody began to talk about them.

3. *Cash money becomes a supreme value in village life:* Through the silk industry, foreign missions and contact with the city, cash money, as a highly desirable article of value, was introduced into the village organization. In order to obtain more of this new value, emigrants were lured abroad. Through hard or easy work, straight or crooked means, they got hold of the precious cash and sent it back to their people. Without any exception, every single one of those letters mentioned above, referred to cash money that had been sent, was

sent or would be sent to the folks at home. Sending the money home had a double significance to the emigrants. It gave them the satisfaction of living up to the obligation to the kinship group and it built for them prestige in the home village. At the same time, prestige and the satisfaction of luxurious needs were the reward of those who received the checks. They could buy new things with the money, lend it for interest or acquire more land with it.

In a word, emigration was the last step with which the village plunged into the Western economic system and became highly "money conscious." Some fifteen years ago, one of the upstart leaders in Bishmizeen was reminded of the fact that the business he was conducting in Tripoli and Beirut was not considered as honest by the village folks. His answer was "Once I have a substantial amount of cash in my pocket, the people will forget all about the means by which I got the cash."

4. *Emigrants fail to return to the village:* At first, emigrants left the village, with a view to earning a certain amount of cash within a few years, and then returning to live in the village. The kinship and the communities ties were still strong, and the early emigrants considered the village as their true home. Some of those early emigrants, about 21, succeeded in carrying through the original intention—they came back and settled down permanently. The majority of those who returned, about 93, could not stay in the village more

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head of the family, and her cash gave her prestige.

In this respect, the silk industry, the education movement, and emigration were equally influential. They brought about what may be called the "emancipation" of woman. However, it must be clearly stated that that emancipation brought in its wake a great deal of cultural conflict and social disorganization. Until now, people in the village are still confused about how to define a situation in which a woman is involved. Should they define it in terms of the old pattern of behavior, or in terms of the new economic prestige attained by woman? Can S. M. Jeha ask his wife (who earned the money in America and who holds the property in her name) to do something for him, or must he obey her orders? Should the children of C. W. Deek look up to their father as the head of the family, or to their mother who sends them the cash from abroad?

6. *The parent-child status relationship is broken down:* Not only did the man-woman status relationship undergo a change but also that of the parent and child. Most of those who emigrated were young men, who had always played the role of dependents, subject to the authority of the parent or grandparent. Emigration put these young people on their own, when they had to face new situations as independent individuals. At the same time, they earned that coveted cash and sent it home. The symbol of economic prestige began to shift from the land to cash. With that, a corres-

p.72(B)

corresponding shift in the parent-child status relationship took place. Again, confusion in behavior was the inevitable result.

In case 3 above, the young emigrant sends his mother much money; but at the same time he scolds her and orders her to tell him the truth about her financial situation.

In case 6, we see the young man still living up to the old standards by consulting his father about the girl he intends to marry. However, some twenty years later, that same young man deserted and completely neglected his parents and kinship group.

Case 7 is another illuminating illustration. The three young men are bewildered by the new status assumed by their father! They urge him to continue playing the role of the family head and master, while he insists on giving that to them, because of their financial prestige!

7. *Other indications of disorganization:* Case 1 shows how the cooperative background of the five or six emigrants was shattered by the elements of the new situation. Some of them were able to get tickets at the rate of five pounds a ticket, while the others had to pay seven and a half for a ticket. The latter felt betrayed by and estranged from their companions.

Case 2 shows how the emigrant became indignant over the fact that a friend at home wrote the emigrant insisting that he should pay back his debt. The emigrant cannot reconcile this attitude with his conception of village friendship.

p. 73(4)

Case 5 clearly shows the conflict between the role of a village friend or a kinship member and that of a profit-seeking man. The older emigrant is torn between the two roles. Should he share his business with the son of his friend and relative as they used to share back home, or should he keep the boy in the store as a simple worker? At home, the son's father is bewildered, and his faith in people and life is shaken.

Case 8 shows the confusion and conflict in the behavior of the emigrant. His sister had instigated him against their relative, accusing him of mishandling the money that had been sent by the brother. The emigrant writes a scolding letter to the relative, then sends an apology, turning his wrath against his sister.

Case 9 shows the conflict between two cultures, the culture of the new country and the one imported by the emigrants. N. borrows money from H. and fails to pay it back. H. strikes back according to the pattern of the new culture—debts must be paid. He sends a telegram to a relative of both urging foreclosure of N's land. (The reader may imagine the influence of such a telegram descending upon the little quiet village of Bishmizzeen.) N. strikes back by accusing H. of assaulting his (N's) wife and taking the case to the court, demanding financial indemnity. That was the most extreme departure from the village mores. It meant that N. was selling his wife's honor for money.

62/ This and several similar scandals
178 engaged the attention and gossip of the village for years. They went far in shaping the foreground of the village patterns of behavior.

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871 In all, there are some 212 people (105 men and
177 107 women) who have had one or more years of
654 education at high schools and colleges outside the village. Of these, 66 percent have been educated by the American system, 27 percent by the native system, and 7 percent by the French system. These figures ought to indicate, in a concise and clear manner, the great extent to which American culture, behind the Protestant system of education, has been influential in the life of Bishmizzeen. The extent of this influence becomes still more impressive, when we remember that these educated men and women represent the "cream" of the village population and have become, in the majority of cases, the recognized leaders of the community, (remembering that 24 of them completed college and 72 completed high school). Their leadership was inspired by a foreign culture that had no ties with village life, and they led the village according to the influence of that culture.

871 Behind each educated man and woman is a story
177 of supreme effort and sacrifice on the part of his
554 family group. It meant, in many cases, that the
178 family group had to sell their land in order to provide for the higher education of their boy or girl. Taking such a drastic step was symbolic of their decision to sever their ties with the old way of living and look towards the new course taken by their children. Through their educated children, the old folk identified themselves with the new patterns of the invading American culture.

621 A strong combination of factors—the rising silk
178 industry, money as a coveted value, play acting,
871 and emigration to America, got hold of the village

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community and forced it to turn its face toward the outside and embark upon a new course. One more such alienating factor has been the school curriculum. In Rishmieneen, the children studied English, French, Literary Arabic, Geography, History—to the end of the 1st, even algebra! Not a single one of these subjects was related to the immediate needs of village life. The school curriculum prepared the child for a life that was vastly different from his village life. Later at high school and college, the curriculum finished up the process of alienation begun in the village school.

A glance at the following figures will give us an impressive picture of what has happened to the 212 educated members of the little community. Of them, 31 are still going through the process, following new paths of education. Only 30 live in the village and work on farms, and these are not satisfied with their lot. An additional 27 live in the village but do not work on the farm. There are 59 who belong to the village in a nominal way. Their work is established in Tripoli and Beirut, and they come back to the village for a few weeks during the summer. The remaining 65 (one-third) have left the village for good; they are migrants living mostly in foreign countries.

Perhaps that old village priest had a vision of what was going to happen to the village in the far future, when he prevented the writer's grandfather from sending his son to school in Beirut. "Don't send the boy there," he warned, "for he will never go back to the farm." Most of the educated village youths never did, and many a farm is now deserted.

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hazardous. The principal source of this cash income used to be the silkworm cocoon, supplemented by wage labor. Third, in regard to kinship groups, there appears always to have been a tendency to minimize (in comparison to other villages) the distinctiveness of the various lineages. Since, however, all village members recognized the same common ancestor, and were therefore all related, this tendency does not necessarily indicate that the principle of kinship grouping, in itself, was unimportant in the village.

Finally, extreme localism was to some degree modified in al-Munsif. Some of the seasonal wage laborers brought back brides from the communities in which they worked — a violation of the principle of village endogamy. However, these cases were rare, and in every one the outsider was at least a coreligionary of her husband. Al-Munsif also had, and still has, a sort of second line of defense, or buffer, between it and the outside world. This is the group of villages, seven of them including al-Munsif, which has been alluded to earlier. This cluster of villages has a name which is used by its inhabitants, symbolizing its unity. Visiting has always been common among the villages, and ties of friendship are many. Furthermore, there has always been a certain amount of intermarriage among the villages. Each case of this was, technically speaking, a violation of village endogamy, but it was a very different matter, in the villagers' eyes, from marrying "a stranger." The unity of the seven villages can be ascribed largely to the fact that the same sect affiliation — Greek Orthodox — is predominant in all of them while the surrounding region is predominantly Maronite. But all these modifications do not detract very much from the picture of the al-Munsif of former times as being a typical "folk" community: predominantly agricultural, inward-oriented, consistent and self-contained in its system of values.

III

The changes which have occurred in al-Munsif began about 1880. By 1914 all the trends were apparently set which have since gathered momentum and wrought considerable modifications in the traditional patterns of life in the village.

In the latter part of the 19th century, three new factors came to bear on the culture of Lebanon which had profound effects. These can be analyzed specifically in the case of al-Munsif, but were certainly felt in many other Lebanese villages.

1. Factory-made articles from Europe began to be imported, with two consequences: first, the lessening in importance (and eventual extinction) of village handicrafts; and second, a newly developed demand for European articles, such as furniture, obtainable only on payment of cash. Thus, an already tight economic balance in the village threatened to become an extremely serious squeeze. Doubtless the situation would have become really

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desperate had it not been for the other two new cultural factors which affected village life:

2. The introduction into Lebanon of Western-style educational institutions and curricula. The two main types were American Protestant and French Catholic. It was the former which exerted the stronger influence on al-Munsif. Mission schools were established in the village before the turn of the century, and many village children were sent to the American schools in Tripoli. By 1914, some villagers were themselves teaching school in al-Munsif. Protestantism itself was for the most part resisted, but the quest for secular education—in both Arabic and English—became a major concern in the village. The enthusiasm with which the villagers approached education can be accounted for in several ways. First, the literate individual has always been a person of high prestige in the Arab world. The villagers therefore recognized the fine opportunity for the improvement of personal status which was opened by the new schools. Second, they recognized that through education they would have a better chance of obtaining lucrative jobs and of thus averting the economic disaster which threatened them. Third, the American-sponsored curricula were, in part, a useful introduction to certain aspects of the culture of the West; and this brings us to the third major factor:

3. Emigration, primarily to the United States but also, to a lesser extent, to South America. It is very significant, from the cultural point of view, that the prime motive of the emigrants was not to leave their homeland forever in order to make a new life in a new country, but rather to stay temporarily in America in order to make a fortune and then return to the village to resume the old life under conditions of greater financial security. As it turned out, the majority of emigrants never did return. But the number who did, and the number of those who came and went several times before making up their minds, is often overlooked in general accounts of the emigration phenomenon. Remittances from America helped greatly to make the two decades before 1914 a prosperous time for al-Munsif. It was during this period that the very handsome houses with red tile roofs (imported from France) were built. During this period, also, some of those who did not emigrate took up nonagricultural jobs, such as school teaching, away from the village.

World War I brought a sudden halt to these developments. Owing to the Turkish blockade of Lebanon, emigration became impossible and the flood of remittances was reduced to a trickle. Toward the end of the war there was famine in al-Munsif, and it was reported that 100 persons died as a result of it. After the war, emigration and remittances were resumed. But the large-scale exodus to the United States was effectively ended by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, which allowed only a very small quota for the Levant. Emigration to other areas continued but also on a smaller

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scale. The drastic decline in the market price of silk led to greatly reduced production with a consequently increased interest in other occupations. Meanwhile, the road-building program of the French Mandatory regime, coupled with the introduction of motor vehicles, reduced the physical isolation of the village, and the interest of villagers in nonagricultural occupations away from the village was greatly augmented.

IV

Consideration can now be given to the effects of these processes of change on the traditional culture as they were observed in 1952. To anticipate for a moment, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the effects of change have not been uniform throughout the entire village culture, some aspects of which have been more altered than others. In other words, there now are striking cultural disparities in the village, whereas before there was a high degree of consistency. The result is conflict in the minds and souls of the villagers. In what follows, we shall expand, in turn, upon the four basic criteria which were used in describing the traditional culture. The problem of conflict will be considered at the end, under the heading of Localism.

Economics. The most far-reaching changes in al-Munsif, without any question, have been in the area of economic behavior. To comprehend this change, attention must be paid to age distribution and residence pattern. The population of the village in 1952 totalled 523: 258 males and 265 females. A relatively weak representation of persons in their 30's (born during and just after World War I) is to be noted. Formerly all members of the village regularly lived in it. In 1952 only 54.6 percent (286) of the people lived in it all year round, while 35.9 percent (188) regularly lived away (in Beirut or Tripoli for the most part), returning to al-Munsif only during the summer and for various special occasions. Of the remainder, 12 persons commuted on a daily or weekly basis between the village and the city, and 26, though still considered to be members of the village, visited it only on rather rare occasions. This group of 26 comprised 17 women who had married complete outsiders and 9 other persons who lived and worked in other parts of the Middle East, mostly in Iraq.

The residence factor can also be looked at in terms of households. There were 87 independent households in al-Munsif. In 22 of them all members were resident in the village all year round. In 16, no members were resident all year round; they returned as groups only in the summer. In 8 cases, the heads commuted on a daily or weekly basis while their wives and children lived in the village. In the remaining 41 cases, the personnel of each household was split; in general the head and his wife remained in the village while most of the children lived regularly in the city. In other words, a majority of the people, heavily weighted by the older age groups and those

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who hold formal authority, are still predominantly village-centered. However, the number of those living away most of the time is impressive, and it includes most of the younger heads of household. In the future, then, it appears probable that the number and proportion of those living away will increase. Yet, of the large number who live away most of the time, few if any have broken effective and affective ties with the village. This is a very important point, and more will be said about it later.

There are two reasons for the prevalence of residence away from the village: (1) education at a higher level than that provided by the two schools (one public, one private) in the village; and (2) urban occupations, qualification for most of which depends on at least a primary education. Education and nonagricultural jobs thus go hand in hand, and the basic motivation rests in the very understandable desire to make a better living than that which farming in the area is likely to provide.

The people of al-Munsif are very proud of their educational status, which they have attained by diligent efforts and considerable sacrifice over a period of several decades. Nearly 100 percent literacy prevails, and in many cases it is bilingual. Forty-eight persons between the ages of 15 and 29 (43 of them between 15 and 19) were still receiving their education in 1952 — in the village schools, in boarding schools, and at the college level. Most of them are boys, but 11 girls are included. The majority of the college students attend the American University of Beirut, and there are several graduates of that institution in the population.

The segment of the population between the ages of 15 and 69 can be looked upon as the potential working force of the village. Thus, 335 people are involved, of which 171 are males and 164 are females. To arrive at the number of people who are gainfully employed outside the home, we must subtract the 48 students, the 120 females who were either housewives or girls "at home," and the 19 men who were clearly unemployed at the time of the study. The actual working force, in terms of earning capacity, therefore amounted to 148 people (115 men and 33 women).

Of these wage earners, 49 were working in the village and 99 away from it. Economically, then, the urban trend appears to be even more pronounced than the population by residence figures, alone, suggests. It must be kept in mind, however, that the majority of heads of household, whatever their primary occupation, are also landowners and derive some income from the produce of their land even though most of them do not do the farm labor themselves.

The village occupations include 10 full-time farmers (mostly middle-aged men) who operate their own farms and also perform various tasks — such as plowing — for other landowners who are not farmers. Services of this kind are paid for in cash. There are 14 other men who work as hired hands for the farmers or for non-operator landowners. Then there are

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25 specialists as follows: mayor, 1; priest, 1; taxi driver, 1; barber, 2; storekeeper, 8; fisherman, 3; surveyor, 1; mason, 2; carpenter, 2; teacher 4. There are 6 small stores in the village. There are also two bakeries which are important social centers for the women. One of these is owned by the taxi driver, the other by one of the teachers.

The city occupations include a variety of white-collar jobs (such as clerk, librarian, and government official), semiskilled and skilled jobs, and the following specialties: Protestant preacher, 1; detective, 1; fireman, 1; soldier, 1; tailor, 2; seamstress, 5; waiter, 3; hospital attendant, 4; janitor, 2; surveyor, 1; merchant, 5; teacher, 17; medical nurse, 24. One man in the village had been a practicing physician but has now retired. The prevalence of school teaching is notable, and it will be remembered that the pattern for this specialty was established early in the process of culture change. Over two-thirds of the working women are nurses (including student nurses). It was explained that nursing is a respected occupation and that since the women work in the shelter of a large institution, it is a safer position for them than many other city jobs are.

The factors of change in the economics of the village can be summarized as: (1) a drastic reduction in the number and proportion of agricultural workers; (2) a rapid and extensive development of non-village and most urban occupations, of which there is a considerable variety; and (3) women working outside and away from home for the first time in the history of the village. The variety of the women's occupations is much more restricted than the men's. The majority of the women are under 30 years of age and appear to consider their jobs as preludes to marriage rather than as life-long careers.

Religion. Religion does not appear still to permeate the everyday life of the villagers. In those activities and problem areas which have been, generally speaking, strongly affected by modern rationalism and technology — in the prevention and cure of disease, for example, — rationalistic procedures seem to take precedence over rituals.

In addition to the village church, there are three saints' shrines in al-Munsif. Associated with each structure is a section of waqf land of which the priest is the custodian, and the produce of which contributes to his support. Each shrine is at some distance from the others and from the village proper, so that it is impossible to get to a shrine without deliberate intent and effort. Traditionally, the shrines are used primarily for the purpose of special prayers, offerings, and vows on behalf of those who are sick. It might be supposed that as the rationalistic treatment of disease increases, the intensity of the use of shrines would decrease. This is a subtle matter and really conclusive evidence on it could not be obtained. However, it was clear that the opinions of the villagers regarding the meaningfulness of the shrines are varied and conflicting. One remark was that the saints could not

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be of any help. Then there was the flat statement that the shrines were no longer used at all. The most interesting comment was that many people still believed in the efficacy of the shrines but that they would probably deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Actually, there was clear evidence that candles and olive oil are regularly burned as offerings at the shrines, but by how large a proportion of the people was not ascertained. In any case there is no doubt that there are now fundamental differences among the villagers on a matter which would not have been the subject of any disagreement 75 years ago.

In other aspects of life, religion plays a vigorous role. There are three types of occasion — weddings, and especially funerals and Easter — when all the villagers who are living away are strongly obligated to return to the village for the ceremonies. There is absolutely no question about this matter, in theory or in practice. The ritual occasions all have, of course, the same latent function, which is the intensification of group loyalty and solidarity sentiments. It can be argued that the prime motives behind these events which account for their vigor are not, strictly speaking, religious. Be that as it may, religious behavior is an integral part of the observances.

Kinship Organization. It appears that the kinship organization of al-Munsif has been the least affected by change of all the major aspects of the culture. It is often very difficult for modern Americans, in whose own culture kinship groups are of minimum importance, to comprehend the fact that in most other parts of the world kinship is one of the strongest elements in social organization. When we speak of the kinship organization of an Arab village, such as al-Munsif, we are not referring to a genealogical abstraction; we are referring, in fact, to the social organization itself. For the social organization — a pattern of interrelated statuses and roles — is defined in terms of kinship.

The unity of al-Munsif is enhanced by the fact that the villagers believe themselves all to be descended from a common ancestor who was the founder of the village. Whatever other differences there may develop among them, they continue to maintain this conception of themselves as a group. The founder had three sons among whom he divided equally the land of the community. For some time, the descendants of each of the three sons held land only in the areas originally apportioned. Each group, or lineage, also sponsored and developed one of the saint's shrines located in its territory. Eventually, the three original lineages were divided into what is now a total of 21 lineages. The name of each lineage is that of the man who is recognized as having been the common ancestor of all the members, but among the villagers themselves these lineage (or "family") names are rarely used. Their chief use is in filling out government and other official forms. A person is ordinarily designated by his own and his father's names only. Traditionally, the father's name is never given to any of his sons, and there is

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the households are of minimum size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

Unified in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Munsif maintain a basically equalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is work of this sort which is done in the village. Those who do it live in al-Munsif, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These additional inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 58 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the stokers at each of the bakeries. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Maronites and they come to al-Munsif in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are snowbound at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Munsif and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Mitwali (Lebanese Shi'is). This group has been in al-Munsif only about 12 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.[2] The ethnic distinction in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Localism. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme localism of al-Munsif has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Munsif.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

[2] Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1952).

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621 178 seem to be fatalistically resigned to it. Others make contemptuous comparisons between their forefathers, whom they picture as stalwart, hard-working yeomen, and the young people of today, who, they say, have gone soft. Still others believe that if only agriculture could be revitalized in the village, so as to be reasonably profitable, many of the present city workers would gladly return. This would require bringing irrigation water into the village in long-distance conduits.

621 178 142 On the other hand, the power of the village as a focus of local, religious, and kinship identity and solidarity, and hence of psychological and social security, continues to be forceful. This is revealed among the city dwellers in their strongly felt obligation to return to the village for important ceremonies and in their tendency to cling together in their social activities while in the city, almost as if they were a colony in an alien land.

621 582 178 The only apparent break in the strong social structure of the village is the increasing number of marriages to outsiders. Before 1920 such marriages were rare, and the outsiders, being women, were incorporated into the village. However, between 1920 and 1952, 30 percent (31) of the 104 marriages contracted were to outsiders. Seventeen of these, as mentioned before, involved village girls. Their children are lost to the village so far as membership is concerned. Thirteen of the 31 marriages were to coreligionaries, but 15 were to members of other Christian sects and 3 were to Muslims. So far, however, these external marriages do not appear to have had a deleterious effect on the concept of village unity.

621 178 369 In general, group problems still appear to be conceived as family problems or village problems. And yet these people now work in and are dependent upon a larger society: the city and its institutions, and the nation. And these wider social groups have their problems which affect all.

The villager who lives and works in the city, in particular, is caught in a network of conflicting forces. His personal status and his strongest sense of belonging are still rooted in the village, but because of his education—and the more education he has, the more this is likely to be true—he has become unfitted, in terms of his interests and ambitions, to participate fully in village life. As it were, while his heart is in the village, his head and his hands are in the city. Out of economic necessity, he seeks his fortune in the city. But here, current conditions often prevent his finding work which is, in his eyes, suitable for a person of his educational status. Consequently, he is likely to be unable to participate in urban or extra-village social groups to an extent which is emotionally satisfying to him. Hence there is a tendency toward generalized dissatisfaction and cynicism.

In resolving this problem, it would be unwise to think in terms of the elimination or rejection of the bonds of village and kinship groups, for these are still fundamental factors in the morals, values, and emotional satisfactions of the people. Rather, the city dwellers need to identify them-

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selves with other groups *in addition* to the traditional ones, groups which are concerned with the application of sober study and rational action to problems of general concern. Perhaps the temptation of reacting in terms of emotionally charged scapegoats could thereby be lessened and a more satisfying urban life achieved.

Al-Munsif is just one Lebanese village out of many hundreds. It is probably unusual in the high educational level of its members, but in other respects it is not significantly different. It is well known that a very large number of urban dwellers in Lebanon (and elsewhere in the Middle East) were not born and bred in the city but in small villages. Superficially, the people who are encountered in offices, shops, and classrooms often appear to be thoroughly oriented in the heavily Westernized life of the city. It is usually apprehended, however, that there is a good deal more that lies beneath the surface and is related to the more traditional ways of life. It is not sufficient to dismiss this matter by making vague statements about East meeting West and Old meeting New. Rather, the situation must be studied and described in specific detail in a number of different cases. This paper presents some of the conclusions of one such case study. There are others, but there should be many more, by a variety of researchers, for only on that basis can a really effective understanding be reached.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEl Lebanon MEl

be successfully grafted upon the traditional community spirit and yield fruit. This society was started by a rural leader of the country, a native of the village, under the auspices of the American University of Beirut and the Near East Foundation of New York. It has been functioning continuously and successfully for more than ten years, a modern co-operative enterprise flourishing on the foundations of the traditional mutual aid of the village community.

Emphasis has been made upon two great needs in Lebanese agriculture — extension of credit at reasonable rates for productive purposes, and efficient marketing of produce. In both respects the Abadiyeh people have been amply rewarded. Over 300 of them belong to the society, representing, as heads of families, the great majority of the total population. The bulk of the surplus of grapes, the major crop of the village, amounting to over 1,000 tons, is marketed through the co-operative. With efficient packing and guaranteed grading, it brings higher prices in Beirut markets than others less carefully prepared. Loans to members have steadily increased. The farmers have been educated to borrow only for productive purposes, at a low rate of interest, and to pay back on time. They have also learned how to apply some of the profits to public services. Three or four other villages have already followed the example of Abadiyeh.

If given the encouragement and guidance that is initially necessary, the co-operative will find an unusually fertile soil for rapid growth in the rural society of Lebanon. Not only the problems of credit and marketing, but also those of increased crop production, livestock improvement, and procurement of supplies could be solved to a large extent by this form of organization. More important still, the co-operative society could develop ultimately into the integrating and dynamic center of village life.

III

Some fifty years ago, significant changes began to take place in the life of the Lebanese rural community. The main factors involved have been large-scale emigration to foreign countries; rapid development of elementary and higher education, mostly under the influence of Western agencies; expanded trade and

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

other business activities with the West; modern technology and means of communication; and, finally, the rise of political consciousness, culminating recently in national emancipation.

Each of these factors for change has been potent, introducing far-reaching influences in the life of the people. The educational movement has brought a rate of literacy, estimated at 70 percent, which is unequalled in any other rural area of the Middle East. The rate is even higher for the more advanced mountain region considered separately from the coastal and urban areas of Lebanon. Here we find a school in practically every village, catering to the needs of both boys and girls. From the elementary schools, village youth has flowed in increasing numbers to high schools and colleges. As a result, the horizon of the village has been widened intellectually and economically, causing the farming folk to question their way of life and to seek greater opportunities in the outside world.

As mentioned before, Lebanese emigrants, mostly from the rural areas, left in relatively large numbers to the Americas and other parts of the world. Practically every farm-family unit has one or more of its members residing abroad. Through correspondence, the press, and literature, through clubs and societies, through visits back home, and by means of the substantial sums of money sent to their families, these emigrants have contributed heavily to the widening of the village horizon and to the changing of its pattern.

Perhaps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities.

The village community of Lebanon is now going through a stage of rapid transition and difficult adjustment. Its traditional organization, with its institutional pillars of family, land, and religion, is being severely challenged. New ways of doing things

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEl Lebanon MEl

and new forms of human relationships are competing, and in many cases conflicting with the old folkways and mores. In some villages one can witness indications of severe disorganization. This state of affairs might be considered as an index of health and growth. It might, on the other hand, result in much disruption and cultural loss. Only tentative and partial experiments have been made to date in working out a progressive pattern for village life, as in the co-operative movement described above. This is a serious matter for Lebanon to consider, for its future development depends to a large extent upon the success with which its village communities adjust to the changing times without abandoning the fundamental role they have played in shaping Lebanon's national character.

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535 ment of which consists of rolling the pelvis. When performed by a professional dancer, it has indubitable sexual significance for the audience, although it is important to emphasize that the dancer's skill, grace, and general beauty are appraised and valued per se and that her performance never descends to the vulgar level of the contemporary American "exotic" dancer's "bumps" and "grinds."

535 585 The women's solo dances at this wedding were not professional performances, and they cannot be described as being pelvic dances at all. The important point, however, is that these dances are performed in the village *only at weddings*. Granqvist (1935, p. 35) reports the same practice in a Palestinian Muslim village, although she does not describe the dances themselves. It is altogether possible that this culture element is standard in the general area. If these dances are merely decorative, why are they not performed at other festive occasions besides weddings? There is no immediate answer to this question, and so the way is left open for the assumption that they have some special significance for weddings. Taking all the facts into consideration, it appears possible that dances of the type observed were originally pelvic dances which have been conventionalized almost entirely out of recognition by the demands of Christian propriety. Indeed, according to Mr. Alan Horton (who received an eye-witness report), unmistakable pelvic dances are still performed nonprofessionally at weddings in at least one Palestinian Muslim village.

535 842 585 Curt Sachs (1937, p. 36) writes that although pelvic dances on some occasions may have merely the purpose of sexual stimulation, they can also have a symbolic meaning connected with the interest in fertility. It is well known that fertility symbolism is regularly found in the wedding ceremonies of many cultures, and there could hardly be a more appropriate occasion than a wedding for fertility symbolization (however much sublimated), especially in a culture where large numbers of children are explicitly valued. Furthermore it is known (see, for example, Frazer, 1906) that in Semitic paganism fertility themes and sexual symbolism were very important. These were, in fact, among the "Canaanite abominations" so abhorred by the leaders of the ancient Hebrews.

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We are, therefore, tempted to reach the admittedly tentative conclusion that the women's solo wedding dances are vestiges of very ancient fertility themes, reinforced by an on-going concern with the matter of fertility itself. Probably none of the dancers is conscious of the symbolization, but neither are the throwers of rice at Western weddings. Readers may certainly be excused if they are skeptical of the validity of this reasoning, and any better explanation of the various observed phenomena is very welcome.

585 842 5. The bride's pasting of a lump of raw dough (*mahlly*) on the lintel of her husband's house is evidently a widespread practice. Granqvist reports on it from her Palestinian village, saying that it is supposed to be handed to the bride by her mother-in-law. She adds, "Although the women did not say so, it seemed as if they had a vague idea of some similarity between the sour dough which rises and swells as it ferments and woman who becomes pregnant and increases the

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family by giving birth to children" (1935, p. 100). This impression, if valid, may be instructively contrasted with the opinions of a young married woman of Munṣif who, although she put the *maḥiīy* over the door and performed other traditional acts at her wedding, said that she thought such customs were ridiculous. She had conformed only on the insistence of others, apparently, and she seemed frankly contemptuous of those who took such things seriously.

6. The rapt, almost respectful, attention which was paid to the recitation of the Classical Arabic poem was significant behavior—not so much in regard to the wedding itself, but to the values which are attached to Classical Arabic, a matter which is discussed elsewhere in this work.

FUNERALS

General evidence indicates that in Munṣif the younger generation is more willing to practice innovations than the older, and less prone to cling to the old. And it is true in Munṣif as it is elsewhere that the wedding is a rite which evokes, largely in the younger people, hopeful thoughts about the future. On the other hand, the funeral evokes, mostly in older people, wistful thoughts of the past. If these surmises are founded in fact, they would help to explain why it is that attitudinal and formal changes are quite evident in the rite of marriage; and why the funeral, dominated ordinarily by older people, appears to maintain its old forms and significance. Furthermore, to a greater degree than the wedding, the Lebanese village funeral always has been, and still is, more than a rite of passage. It is also a rite of intensification which serves as a focus for the solidarity of the entire village, and, to some extent, the district. It is of great significance that the vigor of this second function of the funeral appears to persist unabated among the younger people as well as the older.

One funeral service was attended during the period of study. It took place in the afternoon, somewhat more than twenty-four hours after the death had occurred. The deceased was an elderly widow who had very few close relatives. For these reasons, someone said, "There will not be many people there."

The body was immediately taken care of by neighboring women. They laid it out in the family house and kept vigil over it until the time of the service. During the evening before the service, a large number of women paid their respects at the house, and at least twenty men at a time gathered solemnly in a neighboring house owned by a cousin of the deceased's late husband. They sat in a large circle in the *maq'ad*, conversing very quietly.

On the day of the funeral, the priest was in attendance at the house, making arrangements during the morning. At about two thirty the men, certainly about fifty of them, gathered at one house while the women were with the body. At about three the men went outside and gathered in groups outside the house of the deceased. There was considerable shaking of hands with men from other Qumi villages. Within the deceased's house there was some wailing.

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ment by most of the middle-aged people and with unfeigned derision by many, though not all, younger people. One middle-aged woman said that of course everyone knew how to do the *dabki*, and that "it is done sometimes, and at weddings." "But," she said, "it is better when everyone does it dressed in *shirwal* and *aqal* and *kuffiyyah*." The only interpretation which the writer can give to this remark is that the *dabki* is associated with the old days which are no more. There is some evidence that the dance is done far less now in general than it used to be. An acquaintance of the writer's in Beirut, an American of Lebanese ancestry, said that for two years he had looked around unsuccessfully for a performance of it in Beirut. On at least one occasion his inquiries were met with the scornful remark: "Oh, the *dabki* is just for peasants in the mountains."

For the most part, the adolescent and young adult Munqidin seem to be committed to the rejection of the more obvious concomitants of their peasant background, and their de-emphasis on the *dabki* is probably an aspect of this. Rather than the *dabki*, it is the samba, rumba, and tango which please the young people most. In this respect, Munqif is by no means an isolated case. Spanish and South American rhythms are immensely popular among the Lebanese. That well-known tune, "La Compecita," was a popular classic in Lebanon in 1943, and it remains so today. The appeal appears to be more rhythmical than melodic, and of course Spanish music has for a long time been influenced by Arab modes.

The social gatherings in the club are, in sum, featured by the playing mostly of Spanish and South American dances and songs on the phonograph. In traditional Arab culture there is no "concert" music. Music is either to be danced to or it is merely background for a poetic recitation. The second function is maintained today by the traditional forms, but the first has been expanded and taken over by Western forms. Dancing to Western music involves close physical contact between the sexes, and this is very much at variance with traditional norms. One older man, in fact, said, "All this touching is not good for the young people." In general, Western free social intercourse between the sexes has been a difficult kind of behavior for young people of the Middle East to adjust themselves to. To many of them it suggests an invitation to free sexual intercourse, an understandable misinterpretation which has led to much pain and embarrassment, for example, among students in the city.

THE HOME

Hospitality is a virtue which the Arabs value very highly, in part because it implies generosity, another trait which is explicitly valued. At whatever time a guest may arrive at a house, a cup of coffee is made specially for him; and if the occasion requires it, he is invited to dine and even to spend the night. All this is, as often as not, done without any prior notice at all.

The principle of hospitality applies among the villagers in their daily lives, although ordinarily it involves no further effort than making coffee. In the absence

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Fa'ad
Fahim
Fawzi
Fuad

or,

Na'ilah
Na'im
Nabih
Nadal
Nabiha

or this, the most elaborate,

Rafiq
Rashid
Rashid
Munir
Yusuf
Ziyad
Mounah

Informants said of this, as they said of some other types of behavior, "There is no rule; it is just a custom." For the most part, their attitude seemed to be that it was just a pretty notion which some people put into effect. One wonders, however, if it is not significant, at the implicit level, of two important cultural patterns: (1) the fascination with the sound of words, and (2) the concept of siblings as a solidary unit rather than merely a collection of individuals who happen to have the same parents.

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Teknonymy, a well-recognized item in Arab culture, is used to a considerable extent in the village, particularly by younger people who are referring to or addressing their elders. In such situations a teknonymous appellation is the only alternative to a kinship term (see Part Two).

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KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The most recent and concise statement of the Arabic kinship system is by Davies (1949). In the paper cited, the author lists and very briefly discusses the systems of kinship terminology used by a Palestinian Christian and a Syrian Muslim. The two systems are essentially the same, though there are a few substantive differences. The system used in Munşif is almost identical with Davies' Palestinian Christian system, there being between them only a few dialectical differences which need not be discussed here. Since this material is so readily available, it is not necessary to reproduce here a complete paradigm of the terminological system. This section will, instead, consist of comments upon some facts and opinions stated by Davies and some original statements as well. The purpose is to elucidate certain problems which study of the Arabic kinship system raises, and, in so doing, to carry forward the discussion of patterns of kinship behavior in Munşif.

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421 671 considered that genealogically and conceptually (the 'villagers' concept), Mtoqil is a single kinship unit.[9]

[718] This structure of in-groups is traditional, and it appears to have maintained its vitality in the face of great culture change, to which a limited amount of local exogamy seems to be the only major concession. When, however, we turn to the other areas of behavior which are reviewed in this chapter, we find that none of them can be discussed at all without reference to the problems of acculturation.

MONEY

4[5.6 The villagers' need for, and great concern about, money is very clear indeed. This is entirely understandable since the expense of education and manufactured products, alone, require much of it.

Money as it is known in the Western world is very ancient in the Middle East, in fact it apparently originated there. However, before about seventy-five years ago its use in most villages was limited, since for most needs barter and mutual help in a regime of local self-sufficiency were ordinarily enough to motivate exchange of goods and services.

[715] Money began to come in large quantities into villages like Mtoqil from emigrants in America. At the same time, Lebanon began to receive foreign manufactured articles which could only be obtained through payment of cash. Today, money is the only means of exchange in the village, and prices are an incessant topic [715 of conversation among the villagers. This is, of course, due in part to the fact that 725] the country has suffered severe inflationary trends during the past ten years, in part, according to Murray, to "a natural speculative proclivity on the part of most of the people" (1947, p. 33).

However, there are some indications that this recent emphasis on money as a [18] thing in itself has set up disturbing conflicts in many people. For example, it is often heard that the Western powers are obviously bent upon buying the friendship of the Arabs, but that true friends cannot be bought. Such an attitude might either be a projection of attitudes and behavior prevalent among the speakers themselves, or it might be an expression of sincere and objective distaste for one of the unpleasant consequences of overemphasis on money. In any case, a conflict in values relating to money is consciously recognized.

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

711 871 555 "In Mtoqil you will find many people who live in poor houses but have much education. This is because we would rather, if we must choose, use our money for a fine education than for a fine house." This was one of the first remarks that was made to the writer about the culture of the village, and, as time went on,

[9] For additional perspective on the structure of the village see Gulick (1954, pp. 370-71).

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its validity as a generalization was confirmed, although different individuals and families seemed to vary somewhat in their emphasis of it. The efforts and sacrifices made by the Mosqūbis in the pursuit of education are truly admirable, yet modern education has created problems as well as opened new opportunities.

The desirability of learning and the prestige of the learned are ancient traits in Arab culture, but the opportunity for the attainment of them used to be limited to very few individuals. Hence, the foreign educators who invaded the Middle East in the nineteenth century met no resistance to education as such, although they did meet resistance to some of their course material, particularly that which bore upon sectarian beliefs (cf. Tannous, 1943a, p. 339). The American educators, by and large, before long demonstrated an admirable perception of cultural reality in setting two basic policies in their schools: (1) religious education as such (i.e. missionizing) to be minimized; (2) full coverage of Classical Arabic grammar and literature to be provided—in fact required—in addition to all the new subjects and lines of thought introduced from the West.

One result was the tremendous enthusiasm and hunger, as Kohn puts it (1956, p. 64), for education which is characteristic of the Arabs, and of which the Mosqūbis are a very good example. Freya Stark gives some perspective on the matter as follows:

> The Arabs' passion for education is, I think, one of the most interesting things about them. To it we owe much classic culture that has been saved and handed down.
>
> The Turkish occupation threw a blight on this love of learning. . . . But love for the beautiful language remained latent, and in the first half of the nineteenth century two great leaders of culture, Nasif Yaziji and Boutros Boutani, both Christian Arabs of the Lebanon, inspired and helped by the early American teachers, once again brought it into the open. (1945, pp. 119–20.)

It should be apparent that although the new education in the Middle East has created serious acculturative problems, it is a rather different phenomenon from the introduction of literate education into previously non-literate cultures (cf. Redfield, 1930, pp. 170–72).

The other side of the educational coin is not quite so pretty as that shown us by Stark. It is fairly obvious that Western-style and Western-inspired education, while aiming to broaden all the students' horizons and to train some of them in Western techniques like medicine and engineering, has also led to confusion, to superficial understanding of the West, and to conflicts in values. In general, information on technological matters has been great, but understanding of the spiritual interests of the West has lagged so far behind that it is often believed that they do not exist. Kohn finds that the process of transition is full of disruption in which morality slackens, taste deteriorates, and only the externals of European culture—often undesirable ones—are assumed, without penetrating the nature of that culture (1956, p. 89).

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[77] [86] is as naive and visionary as its opposite—the deliberate prevention of all further acculturation and a general turning back of the cultural clock, a procedure advocated by certain groups.

For the most part, the Maronites appear to belong to a much larger group than either of the two extremes, whose approximate situation has been described as follows:

> They (the Syrians and Lebanese) are peculiarly aware of the "tension" between East and West and between Islam and Christianity. This is partly because their minds are exceptionally subtle, flexible, and sensitive; but partly also because Syria has always been exposed to influences coming in from Mediterranean lands and tends to be affected by them sooner and more profoundly than the other Arab countries. Through the mission-schools, through emigration, and in other ways, there has been built up in Syria an educated class westernized in spirit as well as in externals, but still Arabic in language and for the most part sympathies and feelings. Thus the conflict between East and West has become a conflict inside their own souls; as such it raises problems which pose themselves with peculiar urgency. (Hourani, 1946, p. 79.)

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THE PATTERNS OF CULTURE CHANGE*

THE PAST

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURES OF THE LEBANESE VILLAGE

TANNOUS has described the social life of the traditional Middle East (including Lebanese) village as revolving around three major themes each — which organizes action and focalizes emotions and values. These themes are the land (Tannous, 1944, p. 330 ff.), kinship (*ibid.*, p. 337 ff.), and religion (*ibid.*, p. 339 ff.).

Under "land" Tannous subsumes subsistence techniques, which are mainly agricultural techniques, and in general the actions, attitudes, and values of rural economic life. The major point is that the traditional peasant, who draws his entire subsistence from the land, feels toward it a rather intense personal devotion and sense of identification. In Lebanon, where individual private ownership is common, and based in large degree on inheritance from ancestors, these feelings are particularly intense.

In regard to kinship (we have previously discussed its importance as an organizing mechanism), the following quotation from Tannous, describing the social unit called minimal lineage in the present study, is a good summary:

> It consists of all those who claim descent from the same paternal ancestor. The number of joint families that make up a kinship group varies from village to village according to the age of the community and the occurrence of disruptive factors that may split the group at a certain stage in its development or retard its growth. Its influence is felt by the individual in a variety of situations. From the start, the child learns that he should address every member of the unit as "cousin," or "uncle," or "aunt," or "grandfather," or "grandmother." As mentioned above, it is expected of a young man to marry within rather than outside the kinship group. [Tannous is generalizing on *all* Middle East villages, and most of them, of course, unlike Mayrig, are Moslem.] In times of serious conflicts or feuds within the village, kinship loyalty asserts itself and is binding upon every member. (Tannous, 1944, p. 338.)

Of religion, Tannous says that it is a way of life in the traditional village, that it permeates life completely. In this connection, he writes about the peasant and his religion: "He may not know much about its dogmas or subscribe to their

* The main points which are treated in this chapter have been published elsewhere (Gulick, 1954) in somewhat different form.

?: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

THE PRESENT

George Haddad has recently summarized in some detail the changes which have occurred in Lebanon (and Syria) in the past half century. His emphasis is on material and institutional changes: "Syria and Lebanon have known a real revolution in transport in the last 30 years with the appearance of automobiles (3 in 1919, about 12,000 in 1945). . . . In less than half a century, the urban centers of Syria and Lebanon have changed from medieval towns to modern cities." (Haddad, 1950, pp. 140, 146.)

It is unfortunate that Haddad does not deal at all with the problems, psychological and otherwise, which these revolutionary changes have created. Implicitly, however, he recognizes that change has not directly affected all aspects of life in equal measure: "The traits for which the Syrian Arab and the oriental in general has been known: sense of honor, strict morals, manliness, courage, loyalty, hospitality, reverence of old age, strength of family ties, have not changed much" (*ibid.*, pp. 186–87.) Gibb has phrased the matter somewhat differently: "But in the Near East the changes have not been homogeneous; they have often followed from a violent breach in the continuity of economic and intellectual life and the interference of an external system; they have seldom and only exceptionally embraced even a majority of the population; *and therefore old and new have frequently gone on existing, and still go on existing side by side* [our italics]." (Gibb, 1942a, p. 55.) Let us see how these generalizations can be applied to Munsif.

MATERIAL CHANGES

As we observed, Westernization in clothes has been very noticeable, though not complete. In this respect, Munsif appears to be more acculturated than the Egyptian community partially reported upon recently by Lichtenstadter (1952, p. 342), in which the people wear traditional clothes in the village and at all times except when in a wholly acculturative situation such as, for example, working in a modern office. Those Munsifin who have adopted Western clothes wear them at all times. In the younger people who are city workers, there is even a tendency to look down on those who wear all or part of the traditional costume because of its connotation of peasant status. But their tendency to reject *both* traditional and European headgear, also noted in Palestine by Patai (1947, p. 22), can be taken as a symbol of the culture conflict which they are undergoing. Also very noticeable is the Westernization of household and personal equipment—furniture, cooking utensils, wristwatches, flashlights, and so on.

These types of material acculturation seem to have taken place under the following conditions:

1. The change does not involve extensive expense.
2. The change is clearly conducive to greater comfort and convenience.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types, economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the importation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

3. The drift of villagers *en masse* to the city for employment—in part in consequence of factors 1 and 2.

4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

The intellectual factors in the economic change in Munşif were brought about by the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In this connection, three consequences must be noted:

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village and urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied *both* with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well-recognized by many. Malinowski (1945, pp. 67–68) has remarked on its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Weulersse (1946, p. 268) refers to education as unfitting people for village life. Keen (1946, p. 43) speaks of a prevailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Richardson and Batal say:

> Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The technical backwardness, the contrast of enormous wealth and extreme poverty, the group hatreds, nepotism, the apathy of peasant millions and overlords alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West form small listless "middle-class" groups talking progress, but either powerless, unwilling, or thwarted in their attempts to change a millennia-entrenched system. (1949, pp. 489–90.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts in values among the Munşifiin, as among other Middle Easterners. The various changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of traditional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Munşifiin are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a means of sub-

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177 178 621 181 sistence. We have also seen that the villagers' opinions vary considerably on the question of the desirability of village life—which is necessarily centered around agriculture—as a "way of life," in the abstract sense. Some people, mostly older people, cling to the belief that it is desirable. Many more are undecided, and their expressed attitudes and behavior tend to be inconsistent with each other, as a result. Still others, mostly young people on whom the future of the village depends, seem to be convinced that village life is *not* the ideal way of life, but they are experiencing considerable difficulty in finding a satisfactory substitute.

Despite these qualifications, it is safe to say that in Munṣif the principle of 177 devotion to the land has been very seriously undermined.

178 *Religion.* It is necessary to distinguish two aspects of religion as it affects the Lebanese village. One aspect is that of religion as a system of theology which gives 181 rationale to ritual behavior. The other aspect is that of religion as a focus of group 771 loyalty. In the traditional culture both aspects are strong, and to some extent they interpenetrate each other.

What appears to have happened in Munṣif is that religion as a system of belief has been weakened. We have seen that rituals per se tend to be viewed rather casually by many, and religious techniques for the prevention and cure of disease have largely, though not entirely, given way to modern medical practices. One certainly cannot say that religion permeates every aspect of daily life, as it should according to Tannous's view of traditional patterns.

Several writers on the Middle East have remarked on a growing tendency towards secularism there. What they seem to mean is secularization of the type indicated above, secularization which is primarily due to the influence of science in education. Among these writers, Fisher has made the following statement which seems to confuse the two aspects of religion: "Religious feeling, once the mainspring of most forms of cultural and political activity is now in eclipse; instead, a spirit of materialist nationalism is taking its place, not always with advantage" (1950, p. 7).

The truth, in the present writer's view, is that religion *retains* its potency in the political (i.e., group loyalty) sphere, both in Lebanon in general, and certainly without any question in Munṣif. We have seen that the Munṣifiin clearly identify their village and their district as Orthodox, that periodic rituals serve in the most obvious fashion to unite the village, and we have seen that actions which threaten religious solidarity elicit strong punitive responses.

[798] The mild attitude toward Protestants is not inconsistent with these patterns. The few villagers who have become Protestants have done violence to religion only in the theological sphere which is not a matter of serious concern to the average villager, but they have scrupulously carried out all their other obligations as members of the in-group. Another point worth mentioning is that there has never been a direct association in the villager's minds of Protestantism and progress (i.e., disruptive change). (Cf. Redfield, 1950, p. 90.)

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We can say, in summary, that the traditional theme of religion has in one aspect been weakened by acculturation, but that in another aspect it retains its traditional vigor.

Kinship. In the values surrounding kin groups, and by logical extension, the entire village group, *there have been almost no changes whatever.* In saying this, we arrive at the denouement of this work. The family and the lineage maintain their function of serving as a link between the individual and the village as a whole, which is, itself, a kin group toward which feelings of utmost loyalty and unity are directed.

The only suggestion of a weakening of the village as an in-group is the recent and increasing tendency toward village exogamy mostly on the part of women. This seems to be accompanied, however, by no diminution of feelings of village loyalty on the part of most of these women. Potentially, this tendency is a threat to the strength of the village because the children of these marriages will have no more than a sentimental attachment to it through their mothers. What effects this will have, or whether any counter-effects will be developed—these matters lie in the future.

Thus, that aspect of religion which has remained the most vigorous is precisely that aspect which, along with kinship, serves to define and identify loyalty groups. The remainder of this work will be devoted to an analysis of the question of why these in-groups, exemplified in multiple fashion by the village of Munṣif, have maintained their strength in a period of momentous cultural changes.

17:Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

He soon develops a keen consciousness of belonging to the community. Through such consciousness his personality is expanded. The attainment of his life's objectives is tempered by a firmly established sense of responsibility as a member of the group.

It is in such surroundings that a spirit of true democracy is nurtured and developed. Viewed from this angle, the village community of Lebanon assumes a new national significance.

From the economic viewpoint, this type of physical structure has resulted in the development of a widespread problem of fragmented holdings. The Lebanese farmer frequently owns property that consists of some 10, 15, or 20 small plots, scattered in all directions from the village where he lives. Agriculturally, this type of landholding is inefficient. The farmer wastes much time and energy in walking from plot to plot. Furthermore, he cannot develop a satisfactory over-all plan of management for his land. A national plan for the consolidation of holdings, launched on a voluntary co-operative basis, thus is in order. Consolidation alone, however, would be only a temporary solution, for the prevailing system of dividing the land among the heirs and the practice of selling a small portion of a plot upon need would in time cause the fragmented holdings to reappear. Other complicating factors, some social and some religious, require that the problem be given more detailed study and analysis before a satisfactory solution can be devised.

The Lebanese farmer manifests a deep-rooted attachment to his land. It is his main source of living, and before him it supported a long line of his ancestors. It is an integral part of his being; he speaks of it with religious fervor. The various plots he owns carry personalized names, referring to certain qualities, incidents in village history, ancestors, or patron saints. By virtue of owning them and being a good farmer he is given status in the community and plays a role in its affairs. To sell out and migrate to another locality is abhorrent to him, a threat to his whole existence. When he is forced to emigrate abroad, he does so with the fervent hope that some day he will return to his village community, to the land that ties him in an organic manner to a long line of ancestors. If he is forced to mortgage or sell some of his land upon departure, his first concern is to remit money to pay

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

off the mortgage or to reacquire the land sold. At present there are many among the old emigrants who refuse to sell the land they own back home, although they have lost the hope of ever returning to live there.

This attachment to the land and to the community life that has developed on it is one of the fundamentals of national existence. It contributes essential stability and continuity to national character, especially in times of crisis and change. There are, however, factors such as a faulty land-tenure system, lack of adequate credit facilities, and absentee landownership that have been threatening this basis of security in village life. Although most of the land in Lebanon is privately owned, held in fee simple either by the individual farmer or by the joint family group, in certain sections of the country, mostly outside the central mountain region, share cropping prevails. There is no doubt that this condition, associated in many cases with absentee ownership, has retarded agricultural development and resulted in an appreciably lower standard of living, especially in many of the villages of the Akkar plain and the Bika' valley.

Religious experience is another outstanding feature in the life of the rural folk of Lebanon. They take their religious organization, Christian or Moslem, seriously. Like their land and their agricultural activity, it constitutes a major part of their existence. Religion is not confined to formal services at the church or the mosque. It is expressed in wholesome recreation that takes place in connection with various festivals honoring patron saints. The Arabic word for festival, *'id,* is the symbol of a rich cultural complex indicating joy, relaxation, sociability, and religious fervor. When the farmer refers to his land, crops, or animals, he invokes Allah's name and blessing. On certain occasions some of the season's produce is carried to the church to be blessed. The normal greeting between farmers at work is not "Good morning" or "Good evening," but rather "May Allah give you health and strength."

Furthermore, there is a striking identification of the religious organization with the local community. It is the people of the village who donate the land and erect the church or mosque building. The priest or imam is a member of the village, chosen

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
LEBANON MEI
SYRIA MDI

In neither country is there an officer caste or a strong military tradition, though the present Syrian regime is trying to create one.

Social Survey

The ruling class in both countries is drawn from wealthy families; titles do not exist and the 'old' rich families, whose position and wealth come from land, mix freely with the 'new' rich families, whose money comes from commerce. There is no stigma in engaging in trade and even members of the upper class are merchants. A middle class of functionaries and employees has been growing up since 1948 in the three main cities. Their flats, between the splendour of the rich quarter and the huddle of the *suq*, are being built in quantities and their new, middle-class way of life is based on European standards. The mass of the people are artisans and labourers. The urban artisan approaches the middle class and the rural labourer approaches the hard life of the nomad; for the farm labourer the standard of living is generally low.

The Press

The press of both countries is important but no one paper or group of papers has established an ascendancy. Damascus had at one time over twenty daily papers none of which could guarantee a circulation of over 3,000. The same state of affairs holds true in Beirut where most parties issue Arabic and in some cases French papers; there are also Armenian newspapers and one English daily.

Individual Lebanese have founded papers and *Le Commerce du Levant*, published in Beirut, has a standing comparable with *La Bourse Egyptienne*. In both countries press censorship has frequently closed down a paper only for it to re-emerge under another name, and in Syria the military dictatorship has reduced the press to a mere mouthpiece of official propaganda.

Education

In both countries there are primary and secondary schools, and the number of schools and students increase each year. Primary education is compulsory, and although reliable figures of literacy are not available,[1] it may be assumed that the percentage of illiterates is decreasing in both countries, but is higher in Syria than in Lebanon. In Syria, most of the schools are run by the state and of the private schools (which are

[1] An estimate for Syria for 1947 given in UN, Dept. of Social Affairs, *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation*, 1952, was 40–50 per cent.

44:Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945-1946)1949 MI Middle East
Lebanon MEI

15,759 students. Armenian schools, both Orthodox and Protestant, come next with 50 schools and 8,213 pupils. They are followed by the Druzes, with 26 schools and 1,545 pupils.

A careful study of Table 90 shows that each denomination is catering almost exclusively to children of its own religion, though not necessarily of its own sect. Only 715 pupils out of the more than 21,000 in Maronite schools are non-Christian. Similarly, 385 pupils out of 10,479 in Greek Orthodox schools are non-Christian. Only 92 Christians, 162 Druzes, and 97 pupils from various sects attend Muslim schools out of a total of 15,759. Thus, the sectarian differences already existing among the people of Lebanon are paralleled in the composition of the student bodies of the various private schools. It can perhaps be safely said that the schools help to perpetuate these cleavages, if not to make them more pronounced.

As a group the private schools represent no special philosophy of education or any attempt to experiment with new curriculums or methods. It is the rare school indeed which is trying to strike out in a new direction. Rather, the private schools follow the lead either of the French, American, or British types of education. Naturally, since the government conducts primary and secondary examinations, some schools also follow the program of studies set down by the government.

These statements must be qualified by two considerations. The first is the attempt of each sect to draw to its own schools the children of its own community, and annoyance lest these children may go to schools of a different sect. This is particularly true of the Greek Orthodox and Catholic sects. The same is true of some of the private Muslim schools which were established to prevent Muslim children entering Christian missionary schools where another religion might be taught to them, sometimes compulsorily, and where they would have no chance of studying their own religion. Some of the sectarian schools provide children for religious services in their churches, and the children are, therefore, taught the liturgy and hymns of their own church. In a large portion of the Catholic schools, the clergy is in full control, with nuns or priests as principals, directors of discipline and studies, and as teachers. The same is not true of the Greek Orthodox schools, though there is a close affiliation with the church.

The second consideration is the new outlook advocated by some of the Lebanese that their culture should follow the lines of the so-called "Mediterranean culture." The protagonists of this theory maintain that Lebanon has always been a bridge between the East and the West and has always been influenced by Eastern and Western cultures alike. Whether in Phoenician, Greco-Roman, or Crusading times, Lebanon was always in direct

44:Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945-1946)1949 MI Middle East
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relationship with other parts of the Mediterranean world and was influenced by the cultures emanating from that world. At the same time since it was attached to the Eastern soil and populated by races of Semitic origin, it could not help being influenced by Eastern cultures as well. In this way "Mediterranean culture" seems to mean the present Arab culture of the East and its background of other Semitic cultures, as well as the present modern Western, particularly French-Catholic, culture and its background of Greco-Roman culture. It is further maintained by this group, made up largely of French Catholic sympathizers who have not taken easily to the participation of Lebanon in the Arab League, that Lebanon should not be swayed too far to the East, to the point of losing its identity in the Arab-Muslim majority and in the Arab-Muslim ideology. Rather, due care must be taken to keep in close touch with the West, the Christian Catholic West in particular, in order to have a balanced culture inside Lebanon.

Their antagonists, on the other hand, made up largely of sympathizers with the Arab cause who like to see the Arabic culture of Lebanon maintained, accuse them of not paying enough attention to Arabic and Eastern cultures, and assert that what is called "Mediterranean culture" is nothing more than a thin veil for the attempt to preserve French Catholic influence and education in Lebanon.

This controversy has come to the fore more specifically in the last several years with the end of the French mandate, the rise of the Arab League, and the declaration of Lebanon's independence. From the standpoint of the schools themselves, however, it has as yet made little difference either in the types of curriculum or methods followed. It is not necessary, therefore, to describe them further as a group. The descriptions which follow are of individual schools visited by the Commission.

Denominational Schools

MARONITE SCHOOLS

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The outstanding Maronite school in Lebanon is the al-Hikmah College, a boys school founded in Beirut in 1876, by the Maronite Archbishop of Beirut, Monseigneur Yusuf al-Dibs, a learned man of his times. It is situated in the eastern part of the city in its own old building to which has been added a large new building constructed in 1938. It has a primary school, a secondary school, and a commercial course. It had an enrollment in 1945–46 of 1,565 students, of whom 350 were boarders. About 900 were in the secondary section. Students are drawn mainly from Lebanon, but about 100 boys came from Syria, a few from Palestine, while others

44:Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945-1946)1949 MI Middle East
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Christians as well. Forty-five Christians were in the secondary section, which enrolled a total of 154 students. It is staffed by a principal, an assistant, and twenty-six teachers, not including nine women kindergarten teachers. Fees range from £L40 to £L325 ($18 to $148) with an addition of another £L500 ($228) for boarding students. The College is almost self-supporting and is said to charge the highest fees in Sidon. Children of teachers are accepted gratis in the primary school and on half-fees in the secondary school. Income from property is spent mostly on the other free schools.

The College has a library of about 2,000 books in Arabic and in French, a small chemical laboratory, and some maps in French and Arabic. It fosters a number of student activities including a literary and dramatic society, a lecture program, two library committees (one each for Arabic and for French books), a Boy Scout troop, and various athletic teams. A school magazine, edited largely by students, is published in Arabic.

The College is now preparing for first and second *baccalauréats*, as well as for the primary-school certificate and the *brevet*. Its diploma has been recognized by the universities in Egypt, and 4 students are already studying at Egyptian universities. At the time of the Commission's visit, English was started in the seventh grade, but it was planned to form a special English section by agreement with the American University of Beirut. In this section English would begin in the kindergarten and continue through the secondary school.

The leaders of the Muslim Charitable Purposes movement may be said to represent in their outlook the opposite pole of the ideology represented by the al-Hikmah College and the Cultural League of Free Education. To them there is nothing that can be called Lebanese culture, but there is an Arab culture, or rather a world culture. They believe that Arabic should be the language of instruction and of expression. They attack the idea of French as a language of expression for Lebanese and Arabs: foreign languages should be taught for purposes of opening the gateways for acquisition of Western thought, but the expression of thought, whether Western or Eastern, should be in Arabic.

They concede that the foreign-language situation in Lebanon is different from the rest of the Arab countries in that the Lebanese population is more urban, and a large part of the Lebanese villages are summer resorts frequented by people from abroad. The Lebanese, therefore, take more easily to the teaching of foreign languages because their environment fosters acquisition of languages. This, however, should not mean in any way the neglect of the Arabic language, and the use of a foreign language

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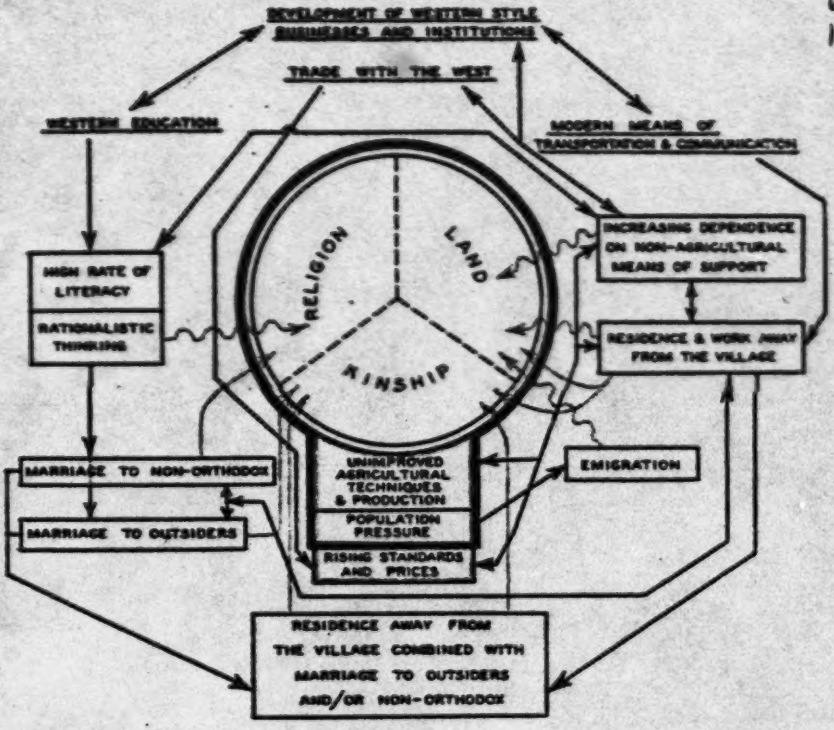
PATTERNS OF ACCULTURATION IN AL-MUNSIF



LEGEND

- Culture elements before westernization
- Socio-economic problems
- Changes external to village
- New factors in the village culture
- Directions of influence
- Potentially disruptive forces
- Actually disruptive forces

Fig. 7

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621 613 582 2. Probably more significant, however, is the fact that the lack of preference for lineage endogamy is but one point of evidence for the general tendency in the village toward de-emphasis of the individual minimal lineages as formal institutions. The other points of evidence on this matter are: (a) a minimum of lineage *mashʿa* (communal) landholdings; (b) clique-groups cross-cutting lineage lines; (c) rarity, and perhaps absence, of lineage feuds; (d) lack of apparent interest in lineage names; (e) marriage prohibition crosscuts lineage lines in Sphere 1; (f) emphasis on bilateral connections in Sphere 1.

This de-emphasis of individual minimal lineages does not indicate that there is a weakness in the adherence of the Munṣifiin to lineage (Sphere 2) values. Rather, it is a consequence of the fact that these values have been applied to the Core Group (i.e. the village) as a whole, and that this unit is, for the most part, a relatively stronger focus of identification than individual lineages are.

We have seen that structurally (whether by reason of actual development or of fictionalized conceptualization) the village is a single super-lineage, and that behavior in regard to it conforms to this structural status, even in small details. (1) It is ideally, and still, for the most part, actually, endogamous. (2) When exogamous marriages do occur, outsider husbands are referred to by the term essentially reserved for a man who takes a wife from ego's lineage. (3) Individuals who are uncertain of all the maximal and minimal lineage affiliations are very certain of the over-all common descent. (4) Feuds are not only rare (as they must be within a lineage), but the villagers are proud of the fact. In terms of the concept of spheres, Munṣif as a whole can be looked upon as an expanded segment of Sphere 2 (Lineage).

STABILITY AND CHANGE. CONCLUSION

178 182 571 During the course of this work, we have seen that acculturation has wrought severely disruptive changes in the village economy and significant changes in "material culture." In addition, it has created disconcerting conflicts in certain values, conflicts which remain unresolved. Yet it has had very little effect on the values and behavior associated with the community itself as an institution and as an in-group.

In seeking an explanation of this phenomenon of cultural persistence we have not chosen simply to dismiss it as an example of the "negative response" (Hallowell, 1945, p. 180) which is frequently encountered in culture contact situations. Rather, starting with the assumption that no particular cultural trait as such necessarily shows a peculiar resistance to change (Ogburn, 1930, p. 156), we have proceeded to the assumption that pre-existing *configurations* of traits may indeed prove to be barriers to change (Herskovits, 1945, p. 154).

We have presented a conceptual scheme of the basic social structure of the Middle East, an elaborate structure of in-groups within in-groups. This is a con-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

figuration of very far-reaching significance. We have found that while for the area as a whole, certain disruptions in these patterns have occurred and more are threatening, they have remained remarkably vigorous in Munşif. Why?

We can now, at last, propose an answer to this question: In-group values and behavior in Munşif have remained forceful and alive because the village itself represents not just one of the structural spheres of the Middle East, but three of them, interlocking, and mutually supporting. In Munşif, Spheres 2 (Lineage) and 3 (Local Group) are coterminous, and these two are virtually coterminous with Sphere 5 (Sect). Each one of these spheres involves some of the most deep-seated and cherished values of Arab culture. The integration of three of them creates a cultural configuration which is highly resistant to change.

Such a structure cannot easily be undermined by direct attack. The increasing trend of village exogamy, for example—a violation of a well-established rule—does not seem to be associated with any devaluation of the village as an in-group, and so this behavior *in itself* is not, or has not so far been, a direct threat to the integrity of the village. However, if a new generation developed under urban acculturative influences, in which a large number of individuals were cut off from the affective ties and the values of the village and also prevented from developing new ties and values—if, in other words, a large number of village members developed anomic personalities—then the integrity of the village would very definitely be weakened because the values which now give, and always have given, rationale to its structure, would have ceased to be effective.

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Knowledge is gained by asking questions and then seeking the answers to them. We began with a question. We have concluded with an answer; but this is an answer which is neither perfect in itself, nor is it complete, for it leads to a further question which we cannot answer here, but with which it is fitting that this work be ended:

In Hourani's words (1946, p. 59), how will it be possible for the villagers "by preserving or modifying the old and accepting what is new, once more to form a unified world of thought and life which they can call their own?"

16:Gulick E-5 (1952):1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

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seem to be fatalistically resigned to it. Others make contemptuous comparisons between their forefathers, whom they picture as stalwart, hard-working yeomen, and the young people of today, who, they say, have gone soft. Still others believe that if only agriculture could be revitalized in the village, so as to be reasonably profitable, many of the present city workers would gladly return. This would require bringing irrigation water into the village in long-distance conduits.

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On the other hand, the power of the village as a focus of local, religious, and kinship identity and solidarity, and hence of psychological and social security, continues to be forceful. This is revealed among the city dwellers in their strongly felt obligation to return to the village for important ceremonies and in their tendency to cling together in their social activities while in the city, almost as if they were a colony in an alien land.

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The only apparent break in the strong social structure of the village is the increasing number of marriages to outsiders. Before 1920 such marriages were rare, and the outsiders, being women, were incorporated into the village. However, between 1920 and 1952, 30 percent (31) of the 104 marriages contracted were to outsiders. Seventeen of these, as mentioned before, involved village girls. Their children are lost to the village so far as membership is concerned. Thirteen of the 31 marriages were to coreligionaries, but 15 were to members of other Christian sects and 3 were to Muslims. So far, however, these external marriages do not appear to have had a deleterious effect on the concept of village unity.

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In general, group problems still appear to be conceived as family problems or village problems. And yet these people now work in and are dependent upon a larger society: the city and its institutions, and the nation. And these wider social groups have their problems which affect all.

The villager who lives and works in the city, in particular, is caught in a network of conflicting forces. His personal status and his strongest sense of belonging are still rooted in the village, but because of his education — and the more education he has, the more this is likely to be true — he has become unfitted, in terms of his interests and ambitions, to participate fully in village life. As it were, while his heart is in the village, his head and his hands are in the city. Out of economic necessity, he seeks his fortune in the city. But here, current conditions often prevent his finding work which is, in his eyes, suitable for a person of his educational status. Consequently, he is likely to be unable to participate in urban or extra-village social groups to an extent which is emotionally satisfying to him. Hence there is a tendency toward generalized dissatisfaction and cynicism.

In resolving this problem, it would be unwise to think in terms of the elimination or rejection of the bonds of village and kinship groups, for these are still fundamental factors in the morals, values, and emotional satisfactions of the people. Rather, the city dwellers need to identify them-

17: Tennessee S. G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEE Lebanon MEE

off the mortgage or to reacquire the land sold. At present there are many among the old emigrants who refuse to sell the land they own back home, although they have lost the hope of ever returning to live there.

This attachment to the land and to the community life that has developed on it is one of the fundamentals of national existence. It contributes essential stability and continuity to national character, especially in times of crisis and change. There are, however, factors such as a faulty land-tenure system, lack of adequate credit facilities, and absentee landownership that have been threatening this basis of security in village life. Although most of the land in Lebanon is privately owned, held in fee simple either by the individual farmer or by the joint family group, in certain sections of the country, mostly outside the central mountain region, share cropping prevails. There is no doubt that this condition, associated in many cases with absentee ownership, has retarded agricultural development and resulted in an appreciably lower standard of living, especially in many of the villages of the *Akkar* plain and the *Bika'* valley.

Religious experience is another outstanding feature in the life of the rural folk of Lebanon. They take their religious organization, Christian or Moslem, seriously. Like their land and their agricultural activity, it constitutes a major part of their existence. Religion is not confined to formal services at the church or the mosque. It is expressed in wholesome recreation that takes place in connection with various festivals honoring patron saints. The Arabic word for festival, *'id,* is the symbol of a rich cultural complex indicating joy, relaxation, sociability, and religious fervor. When the farmer refers to his land, crops, or animals, he invokes Allah's name and blessing. On certain occasions some of the season's produce is carried to the church to be blessed. The normal greeting between farmers at work is not "Good morning" or "Good evening," but rather "May Allah give you health and strength."

Furthermore, there is a striking identification of the religious organization with the local community. It is the people of the village who donate the land and erect the church or mosque building. The priest or imam is a member of the village, chosen

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LEBANON

Still another incident occurring in the January of 1944 between the Sanjaq of Lebanon and the districts which were added to it by the French to make the Lebanese Republic, and which had formerly been part of the vilayets of Beirut and Damascus. The inhabitants of the former are mainly Maronites, Druzes and Greek Catholics; the latter include Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics in all parts, Armenians in Beirut, Sunnis in the coastal towns, Shi'is in the south and the Biqa'. The former have a tradition—a political tradition of autonomy, a social tradition of feudalism, a tradition of religious tolerance—which binds them together and which was sufficiently strong to make the autonomous Sanjaq function successfully; the latter, however, are not part of the Lebanese tradition and do not possess any common tradition of their own. In addition, at least one of the communities, the Sunnis, and important elements in most of the others, never wanted to be incorporated in Greater Lebanon. The tension between those communities which are part of the real Lebanon and those which are not still continues.

French Policy

A State so deeply divided both in structure and in ideas as the Lebanese Republic and without any unifying national spirit could not continue to exist, at least in its present form, unless there were some external power controlling it closely and interfering continually in its affairs. Until 1943, this external control was provided by the Mandatory Power. Her policy was directed towards making Lebanon a bulwark of French influence. This aim had led to the creation of an independent Lebanon and the extension of its frontiers. It also inspired the attempts to maintain a Christian majority in spite of the extension of the frontiers and the more rapid increase of the Moslem population: this was one of the reasons for the settlement of the Armenian refugees around Beirut. Every attempt was made to attach the Christians more closely to France: by the rapid and systematic spread of French culture, by favouring the Christians in political and administrative matters and by playing upon their fears of Moslem persecution. An analogous appeal was made to the heterodox Moslems, although to a less extent; and even with the Sunnis an attempt was made to Gallicise them by means of education.

Among the Christians preference was given to the Uniates and more particularly to the Maronites, who regarded themselves and were generally regarded as the dominant element in the life of the

44 Matthews and Akrawi 8, C-3 (1943–1949) 1949 MI Middle East
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Chapter 24

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Two unique features of education in Lebanon distinguish it from education in the rest of the Arab world. Lebanon has the highest rate of literacy among the Arab states. It is estimated that between 70 and 75 percent of the children of primary-school age are attending school—a considerably higher rate than in the neighboring countries. This rate would have been higher had it not been for the addition to Lebanon after World War I of some regions which were much less advanced educationally than the original Mount Lebanon. Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to or approximates universal literacy.

The second remarkable fact is that this comparatively advanced stage has been accomplished largely through the efforts of private and foreign schools rather than through publicly supported schools. Indeed, before World War I, autonomous Lebanon had only one public school, the Daudiyah at 'Abay, which was supported by the Lebanese government for the education of the children of that predominantly Druze region.[1] The private and foreign schools were largely sectarian. This gave education in Lebanon a predominantly sectarian character, emphasizing sectarian differences, the remnants and effects of which are felt to this day.

Even in 1945–46 the number of pupils enrolled in the public schools was smaller than the number of those enrolled in either private schools or foreign schools. Higher education is conducted entirely in foreign institutions. Secondary education is shared between private and foreign schools, the Lebanese Ministry of National Education having no complete secondary schools. Primary education is conducted in all three types of schools—public, private, and foreign—with the public schools in the third place in enrollments. In addition to primary schools, the Ministry of Na-

[1] Government schools existed in those parts of the present Lebanese Republic which were parts of the neighboring Ottoman provinces. Among these were the cities of Beirut (now the capital of Lebanon), Tripoli, Sidon, and Tyre, as well as such districts as 'Akkar, Bsaqr', and Marju'yun.

44-Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1943–1949)1949 ME Middle East
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15,759 students. Armenian schools, both Orthodox and Protestant, come next with 50 schools and 8,213 pupils. They are followed by the Druzes, with 26 schools and 1,543 pupils.

A careful study of Table 90 shows that each denomination is catering almost exclusively to children of its own religion, though not necessarily of its own sect. Only 715 pupils out of the more than 21,000 in Maronite schools are non-Christian. Similarly, 385 pupils out of 10,479 in Greek Orthodox schools are non-Christian. Only 92 Christians, 162 Druzes, and 97 pupils from various sects attend Muslim schools out of a total of 15,759. Thus, the sectarian differences already existing among the people of Lebanon are paralleled in the composition of the student bodies of the various private schools. It can perhaps be safely said that the schools help to perpetuate these cleavages, if not to make them more pronounced.

As a group the private schools represent no special philosophy of education or any attempt to experiment with new curriculums or methods. It is the rare school indeed which is trying to strike out in a new direction. Rather, the private schools follow the lead either of the French, American, or British types of education. Naturally, since the government conducts primary and secondary examinations, some schools also follow the program of studies set down by the government.

These statements must be qualified by two considerations. The first is the attempt of each sect to draw to its own schools the children of its own community, and annoyance lest these children may go to schools of a different sect. This is particularly true of the Greek Orthodox and Catholic sects. The same is true of some of the private Muslim schools which were established to prevent Muslim children entering Christian missionary schools where another religion might be taught to them, sometimes compulsorily, and where they would have no chance of studying their own religion. Some of the sectarian schools provide children for religious services in their churches, and the children are, therefore, taught the liturgy and hymns of their own church. In a large portion of the Catholic schools, the clergy is in full control, with nuns or priests as principals, directors of discipline and studies, and as teachers. The same is not true of the Greek Orthodox schools, though there is a close affiliation with the church.

The second consideration is the new outlook advocated by some of the Lebanese that their culture should follow the lines of the so-called "Mediterranean culture." The protagonists of this theory maintain that Lebanon has always been a bridge between the East and the West and has always been influenced by Eastern and Western cultures alike. Whether in Phoenician, Greco-Roman, or Crusading times, Lebanon was always in direct

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family by giving birth to children" (1955, p. 100). This impression, if valid, may be instructively contrasted with the opinions of a young married woman of Munjid who, although she put the *mahjily* over the door and performed other traditional acts at her wedding, said that she thought such customs were ridiculous. She had conformed only on the insistence of others, apparently, and she seemed frankly contemptuous of those who took such things seriously.

6. The rapt, almost respectful, attention which was paid to the recitation of the Classical Arabic poem was significant behavior—not so much in regard to the wedding itself, but to the values which are attached to Classical Arabic, a matter which is discussed elsewhere in this work.

FUNERALS

General evidence indicates that in Munjid the younger generation is more willing to practice innovations than the older, and less prone to cling to the old. And it is true in Munjid as it is elsewhere that the wedding is a rite which evokes, largely in the younger people, hopeful thoughts about the future. On the other hand, the funeral evokes, mainly in older people, wistful thoughts of the past. If these surmises are founded in fact, they would help to explain why it is that attitudinal and formal changes are quite evident in the rite of marriage, and why the funeral, dominated ordinarily by older people, appears to maintain its old forms and significance. Furthermore, to a greater degree than the wedding, the Lebanese village funeral always has been, and still is, more than a rite of passage. It is also a rite of intensification which serves as a focus for the solidarity of the entire village, and, to some extent, the district. It is of great significance that the vigor of this social function of the funeral appears to persist undiluted among the younger people as well as the older.

One funeral service was attended during the period of study. It took place in the afternoon, somewhat more than twenty-four hours after the death had occurred. The deceased was an elderly widow who had very few close relatives. For these reasons, someone said, "There will not be many people there."

The body was immediately taken care of by neighboring women. They laid it out in the family house and kept vigil over it until the time of the service. During the evening before the service, a large number of women paid their respects at the house, and at least twenty men at a time gathered solemnly in a neighboring house owned by a cousin of the deceased's late husband. They sat in a large circle in the *majlis*, conversing very quietly.

On the day of the funeral, the priest was in attendance at the house, making arrangements during the morning. At about two thirty the men, certainly about fifty of them, gathered at one house while the women were with the body. At about three the men went outside and gathered in groups outside the house of the deceased. There was considerable shaking of hands with men from other Quesi villages. Within the deceased's house there was some wailing.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

There is a definite difference between marrying an Orthodox outsider and an outsider of different religion. The saying is: *Al-mar'a tibba' zawjha*, "The woman follows her husband." This means that in the case of mixed-religion marriages, the children will be raised in the religion of the father, a custom which is a major deterrent to such marriages. Such cases in Munqif constitute a minority of the outsider-marriages. They are all very recent. The first (which for a long time was the only one) occurred about 1914 when one of the village girls married a Maronite wage-laborer who was living in the village. He settled permanently, and one of the third class affiliate families was thus established. In general, the reaction to the marriage of village girls to men of other religions seemed somewhat sad but passively resigned.

However, on one point in relation to mixed marriages village opinion is very strong. If a village man wished to marry a girl of another religion (necessarily also of another village), it is assumed that the children would take the religion of the father. Suppose, however, that the girl's parents refused to agree to this? In such a case, village opinion is that the man should give up any idea of the marriage. If, however, he insisted on acquiescing to the girl's parents' demand, he would be strongly condemned and very likely ostracized, at least for a time. Such an action would be a violation of religious and community mores as well as of those relating to the proper relationship between man and wife. And it is certainly true that if a number of men should adopt this practice, the religious structure of the village would be seriously undermined.

CLIQUES

The existence of cliques in Munqif has been mentioned before, but it has also been mentioned that data on them is wholly inadequate. This much can be said: There are two clear-cut groups of close and constant companions, and during the course of the study, various members of each group made unflattering remarks about members of the other. It is possible that the whole village is split into factions with the two groups as nuclei, but only some inconclusive suggestions of this were encountered. Others who have had experience with Middle East villages generally agree that this type of faction-split is frequently encountered. (cf. Gibb & Bowen, 1950, p. 268). It is important to note that the members of each of the two groups do not belong to any one minimal lineage or maximal lineage.

SOCIAL CLASS

In Munqif there is not now, and apparently never has been, a particular family which owns a large proportion of the village, on whose land other villagers work as tenants. In some parts of the Middle East, this type of organization results in a rather clear two-class system.

In Munqif, as in many other Lebanese villages, the social structure is equali-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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holds and in order to describe the relationships between them, capital letters will be used to designate individuals. From the village of Fidaar (south of Jbayl on the main highway) there are two households: (1) A, his wife, and his mother B; (2) C, his wife D, and three children. From the village of Ḥjuula (northward and inland from Beirut) there is one household consisting of E, his wife, an unmarried daughter, a son F, and F's wife G.

B, now a widow, was married twice. By her first husband she bore C. By her second husband she bore A and G. At one time, B's second husband was married to another woman, and from this union there came D who is C's wife. In other words, C's mother was once the wife of his wife's (D's) father. C is the half-brother of A and G who are full siblings. D is a half-sister of A and G, and by stretching things a little one might be able to say that she is a step-sister of her husband (C).

This information came to light as the result of a Core Group informant's comments that C and his wife were brother and sister. After the explanation had been made, the informant said, "Well, they *call* each other brother and sister sometimes." The relationship clearly evoked humor, but it is possible that lurking beneath the humor was a feeling that the connection was a little too close for comfort in the eyes of the Christians.

The presence and various activities in Munṣif of the Peripheral Group, the Wintereri, and the Mtawli are, with one exception, concrete evidence of the *ethnic division of labor* which, in Coon's view (1951), accounts for so many of the salient characteristics of Middle East culture. With this view the present writer is in essential agreement, and a full discussion of its theoretical significance for this study is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations."

In this instance, the ethnic distinctions are primarily religious in nature. This conforms with the general pattern of the phenomenon, but there are lacking in Munṣif most of the visible cultural differentiations, such as costume, which are often so conspicuous elsewhere. One reason for the homogeneity of appearance in Munṣif is the fact that nearly everyone concerned is from the same rather small region, Northern Lebanon, although several different communities are represented.

It has been noted that there are really two classes of people in the Peripheral Group. One of these, the Greek Orthodox nuclear family from Syria, represents the kind of internal migration which is of common occurrence in the region. Long ago, a similar group by a similar action established the community itself. With respect to the Core Group, the Orthodox family in the Peripheral Group really does not exemplify Coon's ethnic division of labor. The remainder of the Peripheral Group do, however. They differ among themselves, and with respect to the Core Group, in the important matter of religion. Also, they are outsiders to the local group. In terms of the structural theory which is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations," each is a representative of a more or less distributed segment of Sphere 4 (Sect Group) within another, locally established, Sphere 4 segment which is itself an enclave in the area of another segment of Sphere 4. Functionally, all these members of the Peripheral Group serve the Core Group as hired hands in capacities which are generally regarded as menial. It was quite evident that members of the Core Group would be very unwilling to serve each other in such capacities.

What is true of members of the Peripheral Group as individuals is essentially true

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In the Spring of 1952 the Lebanese Government submitted a request to the Technical Cooperation Service, Lebanon, for the completion of the project at an estimated cost of $ 650,000. The Government of Lebanon further requested that preliminary staff studies be made for the Kasmie area by Point Four technicians and their counterparts in the Government. On the basis of these studies, the Technical Cooperation Service, Lebanon, felt that the Kasmie area offered a splendid opportunity for a pilot demonstration Point Four Project. It was planned that the fields of public works, agriculture, public health, education, village craft and industry, and farm credit would receive immediate emphasis. It is these fields that are to be covered by a number of subprojects which constitute the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project. The end result sought is the economic and social improvement of an area where extreme poverty and a low standard of living are the normal conditions.

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It was decided by those in charge of the Improvement Project to select representative villages in the Kasmie area for demonstration centers where the people could be shown the value of a positive rural development program. Five villages were tentatively selected as demonstration centers. Working toward the south, these villages include Sarafand, Saksakiyah, Loubya, En-Nsariyah, and 'Adloun. These five villages are located in one segment of the Kasmie Irrigation Project which services a total of twenty-seven villages. Every facility will be utilized to extend the results obtained in the demonstration area to other parts of rural Lebanon.

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The three villages of El-Ghaziyah, En-Najjariyah, and El-'Addousiyah, located just to the north of the proposed Kasmie Rural Improvement Project, have been included in the more important tables. The extension of the Kasmie Irrigation Canal will bring water to their fields. These villages can be considered a control area since they will be affected by construction of the canal but not by the Rural Improvement aspects of the project. It will be well to watch the economic and social impact of development in the project area on these three neighboring villages.

It should be noted that this report deals with the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project and not just the Kasmie Irrigation Project. Included in the Improvement Project are lands of the Irrigation Project but these latter lands constitute only about 20 percent of the total area of the eight villages reported upon.

water supplies are not only inadequate and unsafe, they are also unhandy. In all cases the source is outside of the dei'ah and may be a mile or more away. This necessitates a long walk on the part of the women who carry the water in jugs to their homes.

One of the major items included in plans for the improvement project is that of furnishing domestic water to the villages. A well has been drilled near Loubya by the Technical Cooperation Service and it is planned to pump from it to a reservoir to be built on a high point. From here a pipe line distribution system will furnish water to fountains in each village.

In each of the five project villages, the persons interviewed stated that the nearest doctor, nurse, or hospital is located in Saida. Only Loubya reported having no midwife. Sarafand reported two midwives while the other three villages each has one midwife living in the village. It is beyond the province of this report to report upon the qualifications or training of the local midwives.

Schools

The information on village schools in the project area was secured from the local teachers (Table X). All of the project villages have government-run elementary schools, with the exception of Loubya. Loubya has no schools while Saksakiyah has a privately-run school as well as the government elementary school. While the school in En-Nsariyah has two rooms, the remaining ones are simple, one-room affairs. None of the villages offers education beyond the elementary level. Such higher education, however, is available at Saida or Beirut.

The number of pupils in each school varies from 20 in the private school of Saksakiyah to 100 in the 'Adloun government elementary school. This latter school is the only one reporting two teachers. The one classroom is usually small and the children sit, closely packed, at their desks. It is interesting to note the breakdown of the students according to sex. While 247 students attend the five schools, only thirteen of these are girls. The Shee'ah Moslems do not encourage their daughters to attend school. They feel that it is a hindrance to a happy marriage and often encourages disobedience to one's elders.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 ME1 Lebanon ME1

811 The government furnishes a teacher for government-sponsored elementary schools. The village
658 in turn rents a school room and the rent is paid by small contributions from the students. The annual rent for one room varies from LL. 50 to LL. 250 per year.

815 Four of the government elementary teachers have completed their secondary education. As the fifth government elementary teacher provided this area was absent, it was not possible to determine his educational background. None of these men has been teaching for more than four years or less than two. The annual salaries of the government furnished teachers varies from, LL. 1,400 in Sarafand to LL. 1,800 in Saksakiyah. The only individual teaching without more than an elementary education was attached to the Saksakiyah private school and received a meager LL. 350 per year (about $100 at the current rate of exchange).

Local Attitude toward the Technical Cooperation Service

609 Expressions of confidence in the Technical Cooperation Service and Americans in general
185 were heard in all of the villages. The enumerators and others who visited these villages during the course of the study were all cordially received and were given fine cooperation. The expressed desire of the people to work with the Technical Cooperation Service seems genuine.

The ordinary villager has no conception of just why the Americans want to build irrigation projects, furnish schools, dig wells, or provide public health services for him, but he is hopeful that they will do these things for him. They react to all of this projected activity on a personal basis and will judge its results on the basis of the benefits that they personally gain from it.

Many villagers made a point of stating that *action* to relieve their situation is all-important. They felt that studies such as this are pointless, unless they are followed by worth-while acts. To a large extent they believe that only through some such agency as the Technical Cooperation Service can action be obtained and their situation improved.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Lebanon that it could no longer be absorbed within the country. The village folk had the choice of submitting to a life of poverty or of emigrating abroad, seeking new opportunities and fortunes. The first alternative was incompatible with their cultural heritage. They were mostly independent farm owners, not share croppers; they were awakened by a comparatively high degree of learning; they were exposed to influences of the West; and they had a long history of struggle against great odds, demanding initiative and enterprise on the part of the individual and the group.

Consequently, they resorted to emigration for relief. Some sought opportunities in the urban centers of neighboring Arab countries. They established themselves there as merchants, teachers, publishers, doctors, and as government officials in various capacities. Most of them, however, turned toward the promising New World, north and south. It is estimated that these emigrants, together with the families they have reared, now exceed in number the population resident in Lebanon itself.

Recent estimates put the population of Lebanon at 1.2 million, of whom about 75 percent are rural. There seems to be no slackening in the high rate of increase. The density of population, one of the highest in the world, amounts to about 300 per square mile of total area, and 1,200 per square mile of cultivated area. In the Middle East it is exceeded only by Egypt, which holds the world record with a density of about 2,000 per square mile of cultivated area.

This biological resource of the village community constitutes both a serious problem and a challenge to Lebanon. Emigration possibilities for the surplus population are no longer as readily available as they were prior to a decade or two ago. A realistic, long-range solution lies in the application of an enlightened population policy and developmental program that would result in controlled growth on the one hand, and in the efficient development of the country's natural resources on the other.

The second major contribution of the village community to the country is economic. This is readily apparent and needs little elaboration. Dwellers in the villages are the farming folk of Lebanon. Their agricultural activity is the mainstay of the

17) Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

national economy. They produce most of the food consumed by the country, as well as raw materials for industries and some surplus products for export. In fact, agricultural items are Lebanon's principal exports. Agriculture is also destined to play an even greater role in the future. At present the area under cultivation amounts to 640,000 acres, including less than 100,000 acres under irrigation. The crop land can at least be doubled, mainly by means of expanded irrigation. The abundant water resource could be much more efficiently utilized than it now is for increasing crop production, for the generation of power, and for household uses. There are good possibilities for the development of such agricultural and cottage industries as canning, dairying, cold storage for fruit, tanning, and handicrafts. Furthermore, production can be materially increased by the application of improved methods of cultivation. In other words, the village folk of Lebanon are in a position to make an even greater contribution to the national economy than they now do, provided they are given the necessary technical training and expert guidance.

In the third place, the rural community has been a main contributor to the cultural development of Lebanon. By culture here is not meant the conventional fine arts or those items of refinement in behavior that are shared by the few. We mean rather the pattern of living that is characteristic of Lebanon as a whole. We find here certain distinctive features, many of which can be traced directly to their origin in the village community. It is true that cultural influences from abroad have been finding their way into urban centers and thence into rural areas. These influences, however, together with those that have originated in urban centers, have not superseded the main body of culture, which remains predominantly rural. Family solidarity, group loyalty, individual initiative and enterprise, co-operativeness, community consciousness, a democratic way of living involving basic equality, and folk poetry are outstanding examples.

Finally, mention should be made of the significant leadership, in the various walks of life, that has been produced by the Lebanese village. The majority of leaders in politics, education, medicine, law, business enterprise, literature, and the other pro-

17:Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

He soon develops a keen consciousness of belonging to the community. Through such consciousness his personality is expanded. The attainment of his life's objectives is tempered by a firmly established sense of responsibility as a member of the group.

It is in such surroundings that a spirit of true democracy is nurtured and developed. Viewed from this angle, the village community of Lebanon assumes a new national significance.

From the economic viewpoint, this type of physical structure has resulted in the development of a widespread problem of fragmented holdings. The Lebanese farmer frequently owns property that consists of some 10, 15, or 20 small plots, scattered in all directions from the village where he lives. Agriculturally, this type of landholding is inefficient. The farmer wastes much time and energy in walking from plot to plot. Furthermore, he cannot develop a satisfactory over-all plan of management for his land. A national plan for the consolidation of holdings, launched on a voluntary co-operative basis, thus is in order. Consolidation alone, however, would be only a temporary solution, for the prevailing system of dividing the land among the heirs and the practice of selling a small portion of a plot upon need would in time cause the fragmented holdings to reappear. Other complicating factors, some social and some religious, require that the problem be given more detailed study and analysis before a satisfactory solution can be devised.

The Lebanese farmer manifests a deep-rooted attachment to his land. It is his main source of living, and before him it supported a long line of his ancestors. It is an integral part of his being; he speaks of it with religious fervor. The various plots he owns carry personalized names, referring to certain qualities, incidents in village history, ancestors, or patron saints. By virtue of owning them and being a good farmer he is given status in the community and plays a role in its affairs. To sell out and migrate to another locality is abhorrent to him, a threat to his whole existence. When he is forced to emigrate abroad, he does so with the fervent hope that some day he will return to his village community, to the land that ties him in an organic manner to a long line of ancestors. If he is forced to mortgage or sell some of his land upon departure, his first concern is to remit money to pay

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48) 1949 ME] Lebanon ME1

are numerous and varied. A large number of these are related to the religious life of the community. In addition to the regular weekly holiday and other general holidays of the Christians or Moslems, there are several community festivals held in honor of particular patron saints. Each of these festivals is an occasion for people of several villages to get together and celebrate, sometimes for two or three days at a time. They visit, trade, compete in games, compose folk poetry, participate in religious chanting or group singing, and dance the well-known folk dance, the *dabki*.

In a similar manner the people celebrate the harvesting of some of their crops. Also in the *sahra* they have a well-developed recreational institution: an evening get-together at one of the homes to visit, play games, or listen to a story being read or told. At the time of a wedding or a funeral, practically the whole community, old and young, halts its routine activities and participates in the affair. Here again the group manifests its solidarity and takes a new hold on life by expanding its happiness in the first case, and by lightening the burden of its sorrows in the second.

The village community of Lebanon is thus essentially a co-operative unit: in its family organization, in its traditions of neighborliness, in its religious institutions and social life, in its educational efforts. Co-operation, in one degree or another, is also involved in many agricultural activities such as the threshing of grain, the sharing of draft animals, and the assigning of water rights.

One can readily see in this a promising and secure foundation on which to establish a successful organization of agricultural co-operatives according to modern principles and techniques. In fact, a beginning has already been made along this line. In 1944 the Lebanese Government passed a decree providing for the establishment of a co-operative council, whose function is to guide and supervise the projected movement. The decree also covers various essential details of organization, obligations and rights of members, audit and inspection, and voting procedure.

The successful co-operative experiment of Abadiyeh village, in the mountains above Beirut, provides a striking demonstration of the manner in which such a developmental scheme can

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

be successfully grafted upon the traditional community spirit and yield fruit. This society was started by a rural leader of the country, a native of the village, under the auspices of the American University of Beirut and the Near East Foundation of New York. It has been functioning continuously and successfully for more than ten years, a modern co-operative enterprise flourishing on the foundations of the traditional mutual aid of the village community.

Emphasis has been made upon two great needs in Lebanese agriculture — extension of credit at reasonable rates for productive purposes, and efficient marketing of produce. In both respects the Abadiyeh people have been amply rewarded. Over 300 of them belong to the society, representing, as heads of families, the great majority of the total population. The bulk of the surplus of grapes, the major crop of the village, amounting to over 1,000 tons, is marketed through the co-operative. With efficient packing and guaranteed grading, it brings higher prices in Beirut markets than others less carefully prepared. Loans to members have steadily increased. The farmers have been educated to borrow only for productive purposes, at a low rate of interest, and to pay back on time. They have also learned how to apply some of the profits to public services. Three or four other villages have already followed the example of Abadiyeh.

If given the encouragement and guidance that is initially necessary, the co-operative will find an unusually fertile soil for rapid growth in the rural society of Lebanon. Not only the problems of credit and marketing, but also those of increased crop production, livestock improvement, and procurement of supplies could be solved to a large extent by this form of organization. More important still, the co-operative society could develop ultimately into the integrating and dynamic center of village life.

III

Some fifty years ago, significant changes began to take place in the life of the Lebanese rural community. The main factors involved have been large-scale emigration to foreign countries; rapid development of elementary and higher education, mostly under the influence of Western agencies; expanded trade and

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 MI Middle East
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1950–1 amounted to £L215·3 million. Over half this deficit was met from 'invisible' earnings, such as the tourist trade and transportation, and the rest from private donations and capital movements. Indeed, during this period Lebanon's balance of payments showed a small surplus of £L2·7 million.[1] Most of Lebanon's trade (about 40 per cent) is with other Middle Eastern countries, but the foremost country in her trade is the United States (about 20 per cent). Europe and Great Britain are important sources of imports but not such large export markets. Lebanon's main imports are agricultural products, textiles, machinery, and oil, and her chief exports are agricultural products and textiles. The tourist industry is given full encouragement by the Government and, under certain circumstances, tourists' fares to Lebanon are subsidized.

Development

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On 24 February 1951 Lebanon signed a Point Four agreement with the United States and the work to be carried out is based on the report to the United Nations in 1949 by Mr Gordon Clapp.[2] Irrigation projects are under way at Akkar, Yamouna, and Qasmiya, and there is a proposal to use the Litani river to irrigate over 12,000 acres of land. In August 1953 the Lebanese Government announced a four-year development plan; the main projects under consideration concern road and hydro-electric power development.

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Conclusion

The future of Syria and Lebanon will obviously depend to some extent on the past, many aspects of which have not been fully discussed here because the independent political and economic development of the countries began only in 1946. In internal politics events have moved too rapidly for any record to keep pace with them, and there is not yet apparent any stability that would allow one to regard views and information on the political scene as being valid for more than a brief period. As regards their external policy, the two countries have yet to be convinced that there is a community of interest between them and the West. The Western Powers need the use of Syrian and Lebanese territory on which to base a line of defence, but it is not expected that these countries could or should bear a significant part of the burden of defence in men, materials, and money. The Levant wants greater security against Israel than

[1] See table 6, p. 505 below.

[2] UN, Conciliation Commission for Palestine (chairman: Gordon Clapp), *Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East* (New York, December 1949).

25: Warriner S-5 (no date) 1948 MI Middle East
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the land. In 1926–31, 182 villages comprising 181,000 hectares were colonized in small properties by 6,000 families. The Government of Latakia compelled large proprietors in the region of Homs to give up their villages in the district of Masyaf in 1929; the land was distributed among the occupying peasants and sold to them at a price to be paid for in ten annual instalments. The village of Jib Ramle was also settled in 1929, in part by occupying peasants, in part by refugee Armenians.

But the French administration did not complete the settlement of these areas. In some regions the Turks settled these lands with nomad tribes, who were themselves averse to cultivation and either rented the land to Alawi villagers or continued to live themselves as nomads on the land without cultivating much of it. Consequently this land is now very sparsely settled. Round Homs there are said to be 2,000 to 4,000 hectares with only 10 per cent of the land cultivated: this is some of the most fertile and best situated land in the country, and could be developed by colonization schemes.

In several respects the French authorities have modified the Turkish system in ways which strengthen the landowners against the cultivators. One of these was the sale of the extensive *Waqf* properties to busines enterprises, irrigation concessions, or landowners. Another was the abrogation of the right of ownership acquired by ten years cultivation which benefited the small cultivators in enabling them to acquire new land.

Efforts were made to start co-operative and agricultural credit banks, but these never succeeded in breaking the peasant's indebtedness. Several large-scale irrigation schemes were started, but produced more water than could be used. The educational system did not extend to the villages. Within the framework of the existing system, thee reforms did little to raise the standard of the peasants. As a mandatory Power the French relied on the collaboration of the wealthy upper class, that is, on the landowners, and so could make no fundamental reforms in the land system.

POSSIBILITIES OF DEVELOPMENT

So far as dry land farming is concerned the possibilities of improvement are hampered by the dry summer, which necessitates a long period of fallow. However, it would be possible by

II. LEBANON

(Visited 1 - 15 December 1952)

1. The total area of Le .non is about 4,300 square miles, the population being estimated in 1940 at one and-a quarter million, of whom a high proportion live in the principal towns. For many years there has been considerable migration to foreign countries, and it is said that as many Lebanese live abroad as are to be found in their native land. 131 162 167

2. Lebanon is mainly a fruit-growing agricultural country, but pipelines from Middle East oil fields are being laid across the country to connect with newly constructed installations and harbours on the coast. In due course this development may influence the economy of the country. 241 315

3. Great hopes of agricultural expansion - to be accompanied, it is claimed, by schemes of rural community developments - are based upon the Litani Dam and irrigation project. At the time of our visit this project was under discussion between the Government and the United States Technical Cooperation Administration (Point IV), but matters had not advanced sufficiently to justify our attempting to follow in detail the intentions with regard to community welfare centres. 241 433 185

4. The agency of the Lebanese Government responsible for social affairs has only recently (1951) been raised to the status of Ministry. Still mo .recently, there had been a change of government and the new Minister of Social / airs also held two other portfolios. The Director-General of the Department whom met had not been continuously in office over the past years. No reply had been returned by the relevant Department to the Secretary-General's request (at the end of 1951) for information on community welfare centres. Background information was difficult to obtain. A decree which would have permitted the provision of multi-purpose community centres and enabled government support to be given in cash or by way of services, had been promulgated in 1951 (Appendix I). The decree had not, however, been put into operation. The initiative in instituting or developing such multi-purpose activities as we had the opportunity of seeing at Chtaura, Anjar and Jibrail had come mainly from voluntary agencies. 647 185

5. We visited the Chtaura Demonstration Centre and Anjar project on the 4th and 12th of December. The purpose of the original centre was to provide for Armenian refugees from World War I and in the earlier stages both the Near East Foundation and the Edward Haroghenulan Commemorative Corporation shared responsibilities for financing and management of settlements in this area. More recently, the Near East Foundation decided to concentrate on activities in Syria and Greece and brought its work at Chtaura to a close. Mr. Feldmahn of the Near East Foundation, who had had a long experience between the wars in community organisation in Bulgaria before coming to Chtaura, then transferred to the Haroghenulan Corporation. With his wife, he now supervises the various activities in a group of villages located in the Bekaa Valley between Beirut and Damascus. These activities include control of malaria, recreational programmes, organisation of marketing, provision of seedlings and plants, poultry breeding, milk co-operatives and educational projects. 361 185

6. At the time of our visit an illustrated lecture by an American veterinary expert (Point IV) was in progress. The co-operative milk marketing scheme appeared to be successful and to make a useful contribution to the milk supply of Beirut. The housing provided for the settlers and the general appearance of the village at Anjar were satisfactory. That of the Arab village of Medjel-Anjar some distance away was less so. In a former disused school house there was a primitive maternity and child 234 474 800

In a former district, school house there was a primitive maternity and Child

welfare clinic, under the charge of a palestinian refugee nurse. The nearest doctor was 20 kms. away. No fees were charged at the clinic, as the villagers were very poor. A well had been constructed one kilometre from the village; it was not kept in a good condition. Mr. Feldmahn told us that the Lebanese Government had co-operated in the activities of the centres, notably in the provision of aircraft for spraying for malaria control. His ambition, he said, was to start a demonstration centre in community welfare which would spread the movement over the whole country. We asked him why the Chtaura-Anjar group of activities did not in itself serve this purpose. His reply was that it was a settlement which had been started for foreigners by foreigners and that, in his view, something more directly associated with the Lebanese in conception and operation would alone suffice.

7. The Jibrail Rural Fellowship Centre. On Friday, the 5th of December, the Mission visited this centre, where Mr. Mounir Khouri, a very enthusiastic Lebanese graduate of the American University at Beirut continues the village reconstruction programme which was started in 1934 by Mr. S. Neale Alter, of the American Presbyterian Mission. An explanatory memorandum (Appendix II) by Mr. N. Alter sets out his philosophy. This Mission still gives some financial support (L.L. 7,000 per annum) but this amount is insignificant, compared with the cost of running the various activities. The staff has, therefore, to make substantial sacrifices (low salaries) in order to maintain the institution.

The following are some of the activities of the centre:

1. Creche for infants.
2. Day school for boys.
3. Boarding school for girls.
4. Experimental garden: vegetables, fruit trees.
5. Breeding of rabbits and chickens to increase food supply.
6. Recreation centre (pictures, lectures, etc.) for the villagers.

Since the centre possesses only modest resources, all these activities are necessarily conducted on a rather small scale. Only nominal fees are collected from the pupils. So far, lack of funds has prevented any activities in the field of medicine and hygiene, but Mr. Khouri told us that a nurse-midwife would be engaged as soon as the necessary funds became available.

The various buildings of the centre have been erected with the aid of the school boys. The education, both of boys and girls, includes one [illegible] practical work: carpentry, agriculture and horticulture for boys, first-aid and nursing for girls. The need for modern school books was pointed out by the teacher, a young graduate from the American School at Tripoli.

It seemed to us that the relations of the centre with the neighbouring village were good, witness the children who attend the schools, and the adults who make use of the recreation centre. The villagers are, however, not committed as [illegible] what they

361 the normal services of technical assistance - whether the latter were afforded under
497 Point IV or from United Nations funds. We tentatively noted with the Department the
652 possibility of a concurrent development of community social welfare with the help of
648 United Nations Technical Assistance, e.g., by instituting appropriate leadership classes and education in citizenship. Further consideration of the suggestion was promised but there are reasons which militate against progress on these lines. First, we understood that there is a general impression in informed circles that assistance to governments, whether for social or economic projects, is or can be made available under Point IV under more favourable conditions than those applying to United Nations technical assistance (this specifically refers to the proportion of local expenditure to be borne by the recipient government). Second, discussions then current in the local press stressed the view so widely held in the country that the provision of financial aid, chiefly in the form of capital, is just as essential, perhaps more essential, than foreign technique. Third, the simultaneous elaboration in an under-developed country of two many schemes of economic and social development, all of which are intrinsically desirable but which, cumulatively, are beyond the present budgetary and administrative resources of the country not only places an intolerable load upon the machinery of government it may lead to demands for capital expenditure on a scale which cannot be met. It would be regrettable if any pruning of requests for Technical Assistance that had to take place as a result of a belated recognition of this truth were to operate to the prejudice of fully considered schemes of community welfare development, particularly where such schemes had been designed as demonstration projects to become self-supporting in the near future.

891 10. Experienced sociologists, working mainly with foreign agencies operating in the
185 Lebanon and other Middle East countries, have urged the desirability under present
457 conditions of establishing with outside financial aid and, if necessary, under foreign direction, more community welfare demonstration centres. In these centres, as they see the position, the whole process of self-help in meeting the economic, health, educational and social needs of a representative sample rural community might be demonstrated and gradually fulfilled. Wherever practicable, and as soon as possible, local officials (administrators, doctors, teachers, agronomists and other technicians) would be encouraged to participate in the organization and management of the demonstration centre, even to the extent (it was suggested by one authority consulted) of rewarding the part-time services of these officials by supplementing the pay which they already receive from public funds. Leaders of the local community would, as the work progressed, be encouraged to form management committees for the various activities. In this way, it was thought practicable, on the basis of actual experience, to arouse interest in, and create a wider public support for the adoption by the government of the movement, leading, in course of time, to the establishment under official auspices of other centres and, ultimately, to a national movement on a self-supporting basis. We were later to see (in Syria, paragraphs (3)-48) the practical application of this philosophy on a modest scale under the auspices of the Near East Foundation.

11. As, however, technical assistance is available to governments only, and should be given only at their request, it is not easy to devise a means thereby plan or demonstration projects of private agencies for developing community welfare and ultimate local self-government can be brought within the scope of the present system. Further, it would manifestly be improper to stress the regulations to enable any privately sponsored application for assistance in establishing multi-purpose community welfare centres to be assisted until the Government has itself supported such a request through official channels. We understand, however, that in the meantime certain foreign voluntary agencies are able to give a measure of assistance for the purpose.

12. Recommendation. The close study, in association with local agencies immediately concerned, of ways and means of using United Nations technical assistance for immediately practicable schemes must be a continuous preoccupation of the permanent Technical Assistance Liaison Office in Beirut. In every community there are latent qualities of leadership to start movements which are basically in accord with human requirements and needs. What appears to be necessary in Lebanon is that a government agency should be persuaded of the desirability of developing rural community welfare as a part of the larger responsibilities of local self-government. It should openly work to this end by making the necessary financial provision to train at all levels representative citizens as leaders in the various techniques. Under such conditions United Nations technical assistance, in one form or another, could, if necessary, be made available to enable "foreign" techniques to be learned and then interpreted into the local idiom under local influences. What may conceivably now be viewed in some quarters with suspicion as interference recommended by foreigners for ulterior purposes might, even with the offer and use of international assistance, be transformed into a genuine local movement for self-help and community service, free from all suggestion of foreign exploitation or interference.

EGYPT

(Visited 15 December - 7 January; returned 8 February - 15 February to write the Report)

13. The total area of Egypt is estimated at one million square kilometres (386,110 square miles), the inhabited area being only slightly more than 35,000 square kilometres (13,507 square miles), with a population enumerated in June 1947 as 19,000,069 (including armed). In spite of heavy infant mortality and a high death rate, the population is still increasing. The latest estimate puts the population at 20,000,000.

14. The settled land area is stated officially at 7,687,000 feddans and the area of lakes at 641,000 feddans, a total of 8,328,000 feddans.

15. "Egypt lives on the Nile". The Nile has a total length of 3,750 miles, but for the last 900 miles of its course through Egypt it has no tributary streams. There is little rainfall and the irrigation of crops is largely dependent on the seasonal rise and fall of the river. The fertile lands on which the prosperity of the country depends, occupy the floor of the valley between the river and the receding cliffs. To the north of Cairo they spread out into the triangular fan-shaped formation of the Delta which comprises the six provinces of Lower Egypt, with the richest soil in the country.

16. The peasantry or fellaheen constitute not less than 10,000,000, or 70 per cent of the population. Their agricultural implements and equipment are primitive but their small plots of land are cultivated with exceptional skill and diligence. On the other hand, the fellah and his family live too often in squalor at or below the subsistence level, drinking and bathing in contaminated water and living in unhygienic conditions. Endemic diseases are rife in most of the villages and the inhabitants are generally too ignorant and poor to help themselves to better these conditions.

17. At the time of our visit the country was facing a grave economic crisis, occasioned by failure to sell the previous year's cotton crop. Until this year

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APPENDIX II

THE JIBAIL RURAL FELLOWSHIP CENTRE, LEBANON

By H. Basil Allen*

The Fellowship Centre is located in the village of Jibail, Akkar, Lebanon, which has around nine hundred people, all of whom depend on agriculture for their livelihood. This village is the geographical centre for an ecological area of some twenty thousand people. Our village reconstruction programme began in 1950, though the Presbyterian Mission had an academic school there before that time. Here is the only controlled, experimental demonstration centre of its kind in Lebanon. 361 101 185 621

When this reconstruction project began, Jibail, like most other villages of the Near East was resigned to half-crops, half-health, half-adequate housing, half-happiness, and half-living. Since we were convinced that all of these factors must be treated as a unit, the programme dealt with the following: fundamental education for teen-age boys and girls, as well as adults, control of diseases of men, animals and plants, improvement of agriculture and live stock, control of water and soil conservation and irrigation, rural industries to make use of leisure time; and the development of moral, social and spiritual values within the indigenous religious cultures. 621 [S 11] 185 361

We have been experimenting for several years with a strategy which would reach the whole village through contacting individuals, family units, the village and the ecological area in their "grass-roots" environment. This technique is the same as that which would be used to meet the economy of a rural family which had run down land, poor crops - hence poor food, inferior animals and trees, poor health; and consequently poor members in the family unit. In the Near East the village resembles a large family, consequently there must be a unit approach, rather than the departmental approach, as is used in the extension systems of the West. After there is considerable development the departmental approach may apply equally well to the East. 361 185

Over a period of years we have accumulated considerable data on this unit approach. Our Centre is constantly being requested by individuals, government and others to share this data, especially in the Arabic language. We feel that it would be a real service to the whole Near East to provide some printed material.

We have the following assets:

1. Personnel and Leadership. Mrs. Allen and I have had special training and experience in rural education and rural reconstruction. We have developed a staff of able Lebanese who understand our philosophy and co-operate as colleagues. We are in process of developing a Lebanese Board of Directors to take over more and more of the administration.

2. We have two schools, for boys and girls, which are co-operating closely with the Fundamental Education of UNESCO. These schools have a student body and graduates through whom we may continue experimentation and demonstration. [874]

* Mr. Basil Allen is an American in charge of the Jibail Centre. He is assisted in the management of the Centre by Mr. Nasir Shoury, a Lebanese.

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5. We have community contacts and good will, not only in our own immediate area, but in the whole of Lebanon. Since ours is the only center of its kind in the country, the Lebanese Government has been sending visitors for information on rural education and reconstruction.

6. We have technological training facilities and we have been making good use of them. These could and should be greatly increased.

7. We have land and buildings, quite a bit of equipment and facilities for extension work. At the time Presbyterian Board has put in eighty thousand dollars in development.

8. We have a two-year development plan.

There is now a change in the time element in our development programme. We had planned our development programme with a six to ten thousand dollar yearly expansion budget for additional buildings, equipment and other facilities. We and others have come to the conclusion that there is an urgency for a more rapid development, if at all possible, so that we may have a more significant part in providing directive materials for those who are anxious to begin similar activities in Lebanon, and so that we should demonstrate more effectively an alternative to Communism. Since four committees in Lebanon felt this time factor so keenly, that they proposed a co-operative plan whereby they would provide significant sums for immediate expansion, after the consideration this plan was rejected.

Our Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions fully recognizes and endorses the validity of this time urgency. They also appreciate the value of the project, and intend to put in ten thousand dollars per year in the future towards salaries and operating expenses. Additional help is needed for simple buildings, staff, research, experimentation, and publication of materials in both Arabic and English.

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Details of the Programme of the Rural Fellowship Centre

It is the purpose and objective of our Fellowship Centre to make a co-operative ecological area of [illegible] of Lebanon, [illegible] able to contribute to the Lebanese national life and economy. In order to accomplish this objective we are carrying on the following activities:

1. Teen-age boys' and girls' education. Our programme of Rural Fundamental Education is built around the ten points that we consider of major importance for the development of teen-age and adults. These are the following:

1. Academic skills which provide the students with facility in the use of Arabic and simple arithmetic. A self-selected few who are going on to city high schools are given additional academics.

2. Occupational skills - for the girls home-making skills and for the boys agriculture (including soil conservation, animal husbandry and horticulture).

3. Socio-economic geography explaining the way people live in all parts of the world. Considerable use is made of visual aids.

[illegible]

4. Health and hygiene for both boys and girls – for the girls there to special emphasis on Home Aid and Homemaking.

5. Social study and development for the girls with special practice with a group of Kindergarten children.

For the boys this course is practical work in carpentry and repairs and improvements to the home, e.g., laying cement floors.

6. Family relationships which begins with the study of relationships of students to their parents and other members of their families, and continues to include neighbour and community relationships and friendly relationships to the nation and the family of nations. This course is mandatory as opposite options and electives.

7. Salvage collections including sewing, gardening, and the sewing of posters and exhibits for both schools.

Now to expand the most difficult of the two grades especially as in relation to our basic theory of financing the schools. The theory is that students there should be volunteers for the Code of the three years' course. The second year the students should even be able to work a small surplus in addition to the fees. However up to the present the average collections have produced the maximum income which is necessary to carry on the work.

8. Games, recreation and drama.

This feature of the programme is also difficult because it is not yet appreciated by the parents and also because of the lack of suitable materials. The extent of the [illegible] as to co-operate with other groups e.g., the Y.M.C.A., The Literature Societies, etc., in the production of these basic materials, drama, reading materials, songs, etc.

[illegible] This feature is also difficult to arrange for three reasons – a lack of appreciation of the value of such activity, a lack of enthusiasm, and a lack of time owing largely of graduates [illegible] a middle-school practice. There is a [illegible] to the more [illegible] with parents and [illegible] to be known [illegible] owing the villages for the city or to [illegible].

10. Religion. The study of religion is not an isolated course but is to be [illegible] throughout the whole programme. It aims at the development of a personal relationship of the student to God through Christ and of an [illegible] life, encompassing [illegible] the Bible and of the religious [illegible] and background of the student's family.

Adult education for the men and boys, i.e., evening school, which needs a few additional comments. Although adult conservation is a part of the Government and practical part of our school programme, this has also been one of our neglected features of our extension programme. With nature growing [illegible] vegetable crops, plenty of water for irrigation and very good possibilities for canoeing [illegible], it is very important to build the remaining [illegible] according to scientific principles. Over a period of time we have developed a system for building terraces, but we have been using only primitive hand [illegible] tools and methods. We have also needed the [illegible] to meet simple and

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6. Go to serve as [illegible] relationship with the villages and co-operate in getting the trainees to their work centers. 321 874 185

7. The fellowship feature to provide living quarters for both the men and women trainees, and in the actual preparation of the food.

8. Go to provide training in Rural Sociology by important observation tours, summer courses at the Centre, and discussion seminars.

In order to co-operate with this training work the Jiland Rural Fellowship Centre would have to build living quarters for the women and men trainees, and to provide local staff for the training in Sociology. These items are included in our Ten Year Plan, as part of this report.

IV. Medical and Public Health. The above proposal of co-operating with training of public health workers [illegible] to closely with our existing programme of public health and community nurse. If we are to have such a co-operative our present work should be more of a model than it is at present. 321 744

We have therefore included in our Ten Year Plan as item for the improvement of our local community nurse facilities.

62: L L O. S-5 (1947-1950) 1950 MI Middle East
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would contribute the remaining quarter of the cost. About half of the State contribution would take the form of hospitalisation which would be largely financed from public funds, including the maintenance of general hospitals by municipalities.

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SOCIAL SECURITY BILL FOR LEBANON

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A Bill on social security prepared by the Ministry of Labour was receiving consideration by the Lebanese Government in 1950. The purpose of this Bill was to set up an autonomous national social security fund for workers which would eventually pay benefits in respect of employment injury, maternity, sickness, long illness, invalidity, dependants, unemployment and death. Various social charges which the law now imposes on individual employers would be taken over by this fund.

The proposed scheme would apply on a compulsory basis, in general, to employers of all undertakings in Lebanon except non-mechanised undertakings employing less than five workers and having a capital of less than £L.5,000. Agricultural workers not operating machinery, family workers and domestic servants would be expressly excluded. Employers [illegible] rate of 7 per cent. of wages and employees would pay a 4 per cent. rate. The additional revenue needed in each year would be provided by a Government subsidy.

The Bill provides for the introduction of the several types of benefit in three different stages. Payment of the first group of benefits would commence on promulgation of the law. These benefits would include employment injury benefits, family allowances, confinement allowances, and old-age and widows' benefits. To facilitate the financing of old-age benefits, employers would pay to the fund, either in a single lump sum or in instalments over a period of five years, certain amounts for which they were previously liable in respect of dismissal and related indemnities. The second group of benefits, including sickness and long-illness benefits and maternity care, would be introduced at the end of five years. The third group, consisting of invalidity and unemployment benefits, would be brought into force after 10 years.

The practicability of adopting the draft measure has been under study. The economic situation in Lebanon raises some difficult problems in this connection at the present time.

DEVELOPMENTS IN SYRIA

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The possibility of introducing certain types of social security legislation and the problems which would be encountered in doing so have

63.Simmons et al G-6 (1941-1953) 1964
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LEBANON

have retained close contact with their homeland, a factor which has had a profound influence on the social and the economic development of the country.

Unlike the neighboring Arab states, Lebanon is a compact territory. The density of population in the four administrative provinces, exclusive of Beirut district, averaged over 300 per square mile in 1949. It was 484 per square mile in Mount Lebanon, 356 in North Lebanon, and 291 in South Lebanon, but declined to 101 in the potentially fertile districts of the Bekaa. About 60 per cent of the inhabitants live under rural conditions in some 2,500 large or small villages. Urbanization has increased progressively within recent years, however, and almost one half of the population is now concentrated within easy access of Beirut. The city, which is not only the capital and the industrial metropolis of Lebanon but the principal port for the Levant states, had a population of 300,000 to 400,000 in 1950. Tripoli, the second largest city and the terminus of the pipeline from the oil fields in northern Iraq to the Mediterranean, had a population of roughly 70,000. Numerous towns in the southern and the central portions of the Lebanon range are popular resorts, with an annual influx of summer visitors.

The fact that Beirut has become one of the leading cultural and educational centers of the Near East has stimulated the spread of education in the rest of the country. The literacy rate is consistently higher among the men than among the women: it probably averages from 75 to 90 per cent in Beirut and the neighboring districts of Mount Lebanon and from 40 to 60 per cent in the other provinces. The expansion of education has been influenced by the activity of French, American and other foreign groups, but the division between the different systems has hindered the development of a unified national program. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory, although the facilities are inadequate, especially in the rural areas of the south.

vention of tuberculosis, assists in the hospitalization of needy cases and administers a sanatorium at Dahr el Basbek. The Armenian Charitable Society furnishes treatment facilities for the care of Armenian patients. The Young Women's Moslem Association was established for the promotion of education among Moslem women, and since 1948 it has maintained a training school for nurses in Beirut. The Mouasat Society, an organization of Moslem women interested in infant welfare work, finances a small maternity hospital in Beirut.

The medical schools of the American University of Beirut and the Université Saint-Joseph have affiliated medical care and preventive services. The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in America supports a medical mission in Tripoli. The Near East Foundation directed a general health and rural improvement program in the Anjar villages in the Bekaa valley from 1944 to 1951, when it retired from Lebanon. It also instituted an extensive malaria control project in the Anjar and the Amnik swamp areas. The Kaloustian Corporation, in America, contributed substantially to the work of the Foundation in the Armenian villages, and provides for the maintenance of child welfare centers in Anjar and Beirut.

The Lebanese Public Health Association is prominent among the professional societies. It is concerned with the promotion of public health in Lebanon and with the dissemination of educational materials. The Lebanese Medical Association is likewise active, and publishes a journal for its membership.

Two industries maintain medical facilities for the benefit of their employees—the Iraq Petroleum Company, at Tripoli, and the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company, at Beirut and Sidon. The Iraq Petroleum Company also subsidizes a medical insurance scheme for the families of its employees. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees carries on public health programs in the various camps

[167]

p. 119(B)

377 six hydroelectric stations, with an aggregate capacity of 171,000 kilowatts. 1/
312 The scheme calls for construction of three major dams, five others, 210 kilometres of irrigation canals, 41 kilometres of tunnels and 12 kilometres of high tension transmission lines. The cost of the dams is estimated at LL 88 million, that of the power plants at LL 189 million and that of the transmission system at LL 28 million; total costs, including irrigation, are put at LL 342 million. Construction is planned over a period of twenty-five years. Annual operation, maintenance and repayment charges are estimated at about LL 20 million. Benefits are calculated at about LL 12 million increase in the annual gross value of crops and a net average annual return of LL 19 million from the sale of power.

185 Two important measures have been taken to get this project under way. A draft law has been presented to Parliament, providing for formation of a national electricity and water corporation, with a capital of one million shares of LL 100 each. Fifty-five per cent of the capital will be held by the Government, and 20 to 30 per cent will be reserved for Lebanese citizens. No individual may own more than 100 shares. The corporation would plan and execute all future irrigation work and power development in Lebanon, present concessionaries having the option of continuing until the end of their term of concession or of exchanging their concessions for shares in the corporation. The corporation's concession is for ninety-nine years.

647 In July 1954, a National Litani Office was created, as an autonomous
185 government agency charged with implementing the Litani project. In September, tenders were invited from engineering firms to act as consulting and supervising agent for the Office. There are indications that the Office is seeking to implement the first phase of the project, which calls for a dam and reservoir at Kareoun, a diversion tunnel to the Biari River, and a dam on the Biari; two hydroelectric stations, with an aggregate capacity of 38,000 kilowatts; and the irrigation of 5,700 hectares above Kareoun. The cost of this phase is estimated at LL 177 million. 2/ The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has sent a team of experts to evaluate the project, and it is hoped that a loan will be forthcoming.

Other projects

653 Transport projects have absorbed the greater part of government expenditure on development in the post-war period. Between 1945 and 1954, inclusive, expenditure through the ordinary budget on "roads, ports, buildings and other works" amounted to LL 113 million, out of a total of LL 173 million. In the years 1944 to 1951, inclusive, expenditure from the Development Works

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1/ The output of these stations is estimated to range from a maximum of about 586 million kilowatt-hours to a minimum of about 284 million; in an average year, output is estimated at 426 million. The hydroelectric plants are to be complemented by thermal stations with a capacity of 132,000 kilowatts; the cost and output of these stations are not included in the figures given above.

2/ Le Commerce du Levant, 24 July 1954, 1 September 1954, and 21 October 1954.

185, 433, 654

Egypt	MR1
Turkey	MB1
Iraq	MH1
Syria	MD1
Lebanon	ME1
Historical Palestine	MF2

/For an account of the program of industrialization in countries of the Middle East after World War I up to 1945, see 66: Bonné, M1 Middle East, category 116 as follows: Turkey - pp. 274-284, Egypt - pp. 285-286, Iraq - pp. 287-289, Palestine - 289-290, Syria and Lebanon - pp. 290-291./

186, 728, 648, 668

Syria	MD1
Israel	MF1
Jordan	MG1
Iraq	MH1
Lebanon	ME1

/For an account of the formation and growth of the Arab Succession States after World War I, the Arab Nationalist Movement, relations between the Arab countries and the great Powers, see 66: Bonné, M1 Middle East, category 116, pp. 77-87./

175, 648, 177, 186

Lebanon ME1

[For a survey of the political history of Lebanon before and during the French mandate, and information on westernization, sectarianism, and nationalism in Lebanon, see Il: Hourani, MD1 Syria, category 116, entire source.]

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

remembered that genealogically and conceptually (the villagers' concept), Mouqîl is a single kinship unit.[1]

This structure of in-groups is traditional, and it appears to have maintained its vitality in the face of great culture change, to which a limited amount of local exogamy seems to be the only major concession. When, however, we turn to the other areas of behavior which are reviewed in this chapter, we find that none of them can be discussed at all without reference to the problems of acculturation.

MONEY

The villagers' need for, and great concern about, money is very clear indeed. This is entirely understandable since the expense of education and manufactured products, alone, require much of it.

Money as it is known in the Western world is very ancient in the Middle East, in fact it apparently originated there; however, before about seventy-five years ago its use in most villages was limited, since for most needs barter and mutual help in a regime of local self-sufficiency were ordinarily enough to motivate exchange of goods and services.

Money began to come in large quantities into villages like Mouqîl from emigrants in America. At the same time, Lebanon began to receive foreign manufactured articles which could only be obtained through payment of cash. Today, money is the only means of exchange in the village, and prices are an incessant topic of conversation among the villagers. This is, of course, due in part to the fact that the country has suffered severe inflationary trends during the past ten years, in part, according to Murray, to "a moral speculative proclivity on the part of most of the people" (1947, p. 33).

However, there are some indications that this recent emphasis on money as a thing in itself has set up disturbing conflicts in many people. For example, it is often heard that the Western powers are obviously bent upon buying the friendship of the Arabs, but that true friends cannot be bought. Such an attitude might either be a projection of attitudes or behavior prevalent among the speakers themselves, or it might be an expression of sincere and objective distaste for one of the unpleasant consequences of overemphasis on money. In any case, a conflict in values relating to money is consciously recognized.

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

"In Mouqîl you will find [illegible] people who live in poor houses but have much education. This is because we would [illegible] or, if we must choose, use our money for a fine education than for a fine house." This was one of the first remarks that was made to the writer about the culture of the village, and, as time went on,

[1] For additional perspectives on the structure of the village see Gulick (1955, pp. 170-71).

Middle East MI
7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

It is, of course, no surprise to the anthropologist to learn that acculturation in the Middle East, as elsewhere, shows that material cultural traits are more readily transmitted than non-material ones. Nor is it any surprise to him that these material traits, the automobile for example, though readily *accepted*, cannot be *assimilated* without some major social readjustments. Before the latter are completed, there is bound to be turmoil and discomfort. But the turmoil in the Middle East is greatly aggravated through education by the introduction of a motley assortment of Western ideas, ideals, and concepts which cannot be ignored yet which the average student does not have the background to evaluate. If this were not confusing enough, the Arab student has become keenly aware of the frequently extreme discrepancy between Western ideals and some Western actions.

At the village level, one effect of modern education which has been of great significance in Mosul, is summarized by Kawai, ". . . the kind of education which is being offered in the public and most of the private schools tends to draw youth away from the villages and renders them unfit for work on the farms" (1951, p. 143).

In one respect, however, as we have already intimated, modern education has not, except in extreme cases, weakened the great value which the Arabs place upon their beloved native language. The very sound of the words is a profound delight to them. This has always been true, but one suspects that in recent years their pride in it as something uniquely their own has been greatly emphasized. Here is one treasure that the Westerners, for all their material skill and wealth, do not possess, which they can never make their own, which most Westerners who are given the opportunity fail to master even as a tool, which a few Westerners do master but only after considerable effort and application. And so, to its native speakers, Arabic is more than just a semantic tool; it is a source of everyday pleasure and inspiration, and it is a symbol of cultural integrity.

Associated with this is the cultural trait of elaborate welcoming. There are courtesy verbal formulas which cover every conceivable occasion from giving condolences to asking for, giving, and receiving a drink of water. Ordinarily, one does not come directly to the point on any issue; one approaches it circuitously, not because one is necessarily evasive in personality, but because *it is the thing to do*. And *it is the thing to do* because *it is enjoyable*. One Arab has put the matter thus: "Brevity is the soul of singleness." (Khairy, 1916, p. 208.) In the present writer's opinion, not enough thought has been given to the possibility that the great difference in this respect between Arab and, particularly, American values has been responsible for a noticeable portion of the mutual irritation and misunderstanding which has occurred in recent years.

As always, as mentioned above, there is an exception to the rule. The knowledge of English is not to be interpreted as a breach in the villagers' cultural defenses, for English is learned, used, and looked upon as a tool only.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

who worked in the city over where they would send their children to school, back in the village or in the city.

Another young adult was completely explicit in his expression of preference for the material and mechanical conveniences of city life which are not available in the village. The scorn for manual labor on the part of Western-educated Arabs has been noted by other students, and is clearly in evidence. In Beirut, for example, Arabs of the most modest means employ a housemaid if they possibly can. This "effendi-complex" is symbolized by many men by a practice whose resemblance in both form and meaning to a proverbial Chinese one is really quite striking—the nails of the little fingers are allowed to grow conspicuously long. This practice is not followed by everyone, but it is very common.

NATIONALISM AND XENOPHOBIA

The rise of nationalism in the Middle East, especially since 1918, is a much written upon topic, full details of which cannot and need not be given here. But we are concerned with the way in which the rise of nationalism has affected the Lebanese village in general, Mansūf in particular. Tannous sums the matter up in the following words:

> Put, in the most general terms the change in the village at present is in politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for the way of life. *National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon* [our italics]. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. *Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities* [our italics]. (Tannous, 1943, p. 162.)

The penetration of nationalistic sentiments into villages such as Mansūf would, of course, have been impossible without modern techniques of communication, particularly the press and radio. Rapid surface transportation also has drastically reduced the number and extent of isolated communities. And nationalism itself is a consequence of, and a reaction to, the culture contact situation. (Cf. Schreiber, 1953a, p. 31.)

As has been pointed out, the public school curriculum includes regular exhortations to the elements of patriotism, national pride and unity. Small national flags are frequently seen displayed in such unconventional places as automobiles and buses. The national emblem (a cedar tree with triangular foliage and a thick, short trunk) is often seen, in Mansūf and elsewhere, scrawled on walls. It is by no means true, however, that national loyalty has replaced local loyalties to the extent that, for example, of modern Japanese villagers (cf. Embree, 1939, p. 302). In terms of the in-group analysis in this chapter, the nation has become, for the anti-tribal villagers, the fifth in the series of in-groups which engage his feelings of loyalty and identification.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Middle East nationalism is, among other things, very definitely an in-group sentiment, and it is most frequently expressed in terms of opposition to foreign powers. This opposition is not entirely unjustified, but it very often exceeds reason and becomes purely emotional hatred. There is much truth in Khoury-Ani's contention that this xenophobia is a general reaction to the many frustrations inherent in the acculturative situation, that it is, in many cases, a scapegoat mechanism (*ibid.*, pp. 37–38).

Lebanese Christians, such as the Maronites, appear to have especially painful ambivalent feelings in this matter. Much of the xenophobia at present has particular reference to the United States because of its role in the establishment of Israel. But before World War II, the United States and its citizens enjoyed a remarkably fine reputation among the Lebanese, which could not be completely erased by subsequent events. Many villagers attempt to resolve the conflict by trying to persuade themselves and each other that *all* the doings of the Americans are, in some way or other, motivated by hostility towards them. This attempted persuasion does not appear to have been entirely successful, and the process continues.

THE MEETING OF EAST AND WEST

Charles Malik, the distinguished Lebanese philosopher and statesman, has recently written that the trouble with Northrop's book, *The Meeting of East and West*, is that it does not take into consideration the meeting of the two, namely the Middle East (Malik, 1955, p. 4). Malik, whose own career is an outstanding example of the acculturative process, is deeply troubled, as everyone concerned is, by the disruption which acculturation has caused in the Middle East, and he seems to feel, to put his words into anthropological terms, that mutual understanding and the reduction of tensions will only be achieved when and if the cultural premises of the West are perceived and appreciated by the East. We hope that he is not implying that these cultural premises should be *imposed* on the East, but in any case, he is correct in pointing out that Western influence has so far been disproportionately on the material side. The Arabs appreciate the practical advantages of the products of Western inventiveness, but in general they have been given little opportunity to learn that the West has anything more to offer than tools, techniques and money. Consequently, one hears frequently the bitter remark that while they, the Arabs, are a spiritual people, the Westerners are cruel materialists. Though many have been exposed to segments of Western thought in school and college, few have been able to achieve a genuine rapport with this necessarily disembodied material.

And so, the meeting of East and West in the Middle East at the present time can be viewed as a conflict of values. According to Kerner (1955, p. 177), there are a few who would resolve the conflict by having the Middle East break away completely from its own culture (which they themselves have done). This view

is as naive and visionary as its opposite—the deliberate perversion of all further acculturation and a general turning back of the cultural clock, a procedure advocated by certain groups.

For the most part, the Maronites appear to belong to a much larger group than either of the two extremes, whose approximate situation has been described as follows:

> They (the Syrians and Lebanese) are peculiarly aware of the "tension" between East and West and between Islam and Christianity. This is partly because their minds are exceptionally subtle, flexible, and sensitive; but partly also because Syria has always been exposed to influences coming in from Mediterranean lands and tends to be affected by them sooner and more profoundly than the other Arab countries. Through the mission-schools, through emigration, and in other ways, there has been built up in Syria an educated class westernized in spirit as well as in externals, but still Arabic in language and for the most part sympathetic and feelings. Thus the conflict between East and West has become a conflict inside their own souls; as such it raises problems which press themselves with peculiar urgency. (Hourani, 1946, p. 75.)

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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the village because it provides manufactured goods, and the village supplies the city with food. Fisher concludes:

> From these three elements, closely integrated by material and cultural ties, has arisen the present complex pattern of society in the Middle East; and it is on this basis that one can postulate a unity for the region as a whole. As a tapestry or painting owes its special character to an intermingling of diverse color masses, so the Middle East can be conceived as a unity based on a number of distinctive yet related ways of life. (*Ibid.*, p. 438.)

A recent paper by Patai (1952) deals with important aspects of this same topic.

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Coon brings a functional approach to bear on the situation, to which he gives a name, the "mosaic system." His specific view is that the mosaic system is based on an ethnic division of labor:

> . . . the ideal was to emphasize not the uniformity of the citizens of a country as a whole but a uniformity within each special segment, and the greatest possible contrast between segments. The members of each ethnic unit feel the need to identify themselves by some configuration of symbols. If by virtue of their history they possess some racial peculiarity, this they will enhance by special haircuts and the like; in any case they will wear distinctive garments and behave in a distinctive fashion. Walking through the bazaar you have no trouble identifying everyone you meet, once you have learned the sets of symbols. These people want to be identified. If you know who they are, you will know what to expect of them and how to deal with them, and human relations will operate smoothly in a crowded space. . . . Obviously the mosaic system is best suited for a civilization in which trades require a maximum of skill, taught from father to son, and a minimum of organizational complexity. (Coon, 1951, pp. 3, 151.)

Coon's interest is primarily in how the mosaic system is made to work in face-to-face contact situations. Such situations, when they involve members of different elements in the mosaic, are generally economic, that is, trade relationships. Economic, or subsistence, needs necessarily override temporarily in any given interaction the divisive pull of intergroup hatred and suspicion. They do, that is, if they are successful and complete transactions. Since most Middle East cities owe their very existence to the fact that they are long-standing trading centers, where members of every element in the mosaic have interacted more or less peacefully, it is clear that group enmities can be, and have been for a long time, overridden successfully. But they have not been obliterated; indeed, they maintain their vigor. The fact of the matter seems to be that they can be "forgotten," as it were, only on an individual basis, and temporarily, in the interest of a transitory need, of which successful trade is a prominent example.

David Aberle has come near the point at issue, viewing it as the problem of the "integration of sub-systems with diverse values, within the total social system" (1950, p. 496). In this connection, he points to the coexistence of Catholics,

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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Protestants, and Jews in the United States, and says that toleration depends in part on the special position of each not being actual dominations in the eyes of the others (*ibid.*, p. 497). In other words, disparate values cannot be too disparate, if the groups are to interact at all. The individual's religious role, per se, must not exclude him from full participation in other nonreligious role systems (*ibid.*, p. 498). Applied to the Middle East, we may paraphrase Abercle in terms of Coon's analysis, by saying that the diverse sect affiliations of Middle Easterners do not prevent them from interacting successfully with each other in the nonreligious role system of the marketplace.

However, the phenomenon of intense in-group cohesion and out-group hostilities remains as one of paramount importance. We must still deal with a system in which a large number of individuals apparently approach their social relationships with an attitude which can be summed up by the following Lebanese village axiom: "I am against my brother; my brother and I are against my cousin; my cousin, my brother, and I are against the stranger" (Tannous, 1943b, p. 232).

ME S71 L S71

Prothro and Melikian, psychologists on the faculty of the American University of Beirut, have recently reported on a social distance test which they administered to one hundred and thirty students in the University. In the test, social distance was put in terms of attitudes toward sect and national groups, primarily. Their general conclusion is that social distances between groups are greater than in the United States, "but they reflect, a general reserve toward out-groups rather than an elaborate classificatory system" (Prothro and Melikian, 1952, pp. 10–11).

But if we are to analyze the in-group system of the Middle East, a classificatory device is precisely what we must have. For, with a multiplicity of loyalties and suspicions impinging upon the emotions of every average individual, there is excellent reason to inquire why (1) anarchy does not prevail in the Middle East, and (2) why the average individual is not torn by irreconcilable conflicts. The answer to the first question is that anarchy very frequently *has* prevailed in the Middle East or large sections of it. To answer the second question and to explain why anarchy does not *always* prevail in every part of the Middle East, we must put the mosaic, or in-group, system into a more theoretical frame of reference than we have done so far.

THE CONCEPT OF SPHERES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

ME 194 S71 G21

The following theoretical analysis of the complex social structure of the Middle East is based, in part, on the theory of "balanced antagonisms," and the associated theory of "group segmentation," which Evans-Pritchard developed in his study of the Nuer (1940).

Evans-Pritchard describes the overall social structure of the Sudanese Nuer society (a distinct cultural entity whose relations with its immediate neighbors are typically hostile) as an "acephalous kinship state" (1940, p. 181). The society is

The second type, or temporary emigration, refers to a unique phenomenon which has recently occurred in the village. With the development of modern means of communication, a relatively large number of people (89 men and 73 women, or about 13.5 per cent of the total population) now migrate to other parts of the country (chiefly Tripoli and Beirut) where they engage in business, hold jobs or go to schools for nine months of the year, and come back to live in Rishmiyeen during the summer.

Illustrative Extracts from Personal Letters

In the course of his study in the village, the writer was fortunate in being able to examine about 100 letters written by emigrants to their people back home. Usually, the village people destroy such letters, and the writer had not expected to find any left in the village. The letters studied cover almost the whole of the emigration period, 1890-1939. The items they contain give first hand information of what was happening to the emigrants and to the village organization under the influence of emigration. The following are illustrative extracts from these letters:

1. From M. E. Deeb to a distant relative, M. Y. Elias; on the way to Argentina, dated June 7th, 1897.

"... When we reached Kafarbata (village on way to Beirut) we stopped ... the spring. There we met K. Milky, ... sons and M. Habib, who were leaving for America too. ... At Beirut, we were betrayed by those

[illegible]

friends. . . . We were made to pay seven gold pounds and a half for the ticket, while they paid five or six each. Never mind! Providence will reward them with what they deserve. . . . Please let us know about the health of your children and their mother, and about our son Dmib and his mother. Also, let us know how was the olive crop and how was the [illegible] wall case settled. . . ." (Stone walls are used as fences between pieces of land property, and have often been the cause of minor disputes in the village).

2. Same as above; dated March 24th, 1909.

". . . As regards L. Milky, he has sent me two letters so far, asking for the amount I owe him. I wonder what has happened to the man! Is he in such a great need, or is he afraid that I shall not pay him back the amount? Please do your best to settle the affair, and I shall send you the money soon. . . . Business is bad in this country at present, and I have opened a new store which needs all of my cash money. . . . Dear brother, please tell me about the house and our land property, also let me know what happened to the fig tree which I planted near the fence wall. . . ."

3. From M. Sarkis to his mother: Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 29th, 1908.

". . . Tell me how much it has cost you to plant the new orchard, and I shall send you the amount. . . . Is it true that my brother wants to sell his share of the land? If so, let me know how much is the amount, and I shall send it to you; then you will

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186 transfer his share to my name. . . .
Tell me the truth about the whole situation and stop writing each time differently. . . ."

4. From above mother to her son; Dated Dec. 1st, 1902.

" . . . May God grant you health and happiness, with your two sisters, of whom I think day and night. So far I have received from you 16 pounds, then 14 pounds and lately 6 pounds. . . . Tell your sister Deeheh that her children are doing very well. I have sent her a small bunch of the hair of each child. My only request from you, my son, is to take care of your two sisters and be generous in sending us enough money; May God bless you. We have bought for you the olive orchard. If you have an extra amount now, send it, and we shall buy more land for you. . . ."

5. From M. E. Deeb to M. Y. Elias, Santiago, Argentina; dated July 25th, 1903.

" . . . The anxiety you express about your son Selim has disturbed me a great deal. . . . Please be sure that he is working with me in the store as a son and not as a servant, as you say you were told by some of our people. These are people of gossip and jealousy, who want to sow the seeds of dispute between us. . . . In the name of the love and friendship between us, I assure you that I love your son Selim more than my own children. . . . The coming long years will prove this to you, and God will reveal the truth. . . ."

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6. From Y. M. Elias to his father:

B:Tannous C,1-5 (no date) 1942
ME1 Lebanon ME1

Santiago, Argentina; dated Oct. 22nd, 1904. 621/186 •

". . . I have previously written you that my aunt wants me to marry her daughter, Miriana. I see that this is a good match. She is nice and well educated, and I don't believe there is any better girl back in our village. But your consent is my primary concern, and I beg of you not to deny me this request, for Miriana is a gem . . ." [532]

7. From three sons to their father, N. B. Nejjar, back home; Burraga, Australia, dated Dec. 23rd, 1905. 621/186 573

". . . Two weeks ago, we sent you a check for 50 pounds. . . . Our dear father, we have to remark about the way you write to us, and that it should not be so. Your letters contain many statements in which you address us and praise us in such a way, as if we were the masters and you the follower. There is no need for this at all, and our financial success should not change the relationship between us. We are your sons and shall always be obedient to you and do all we can to serve you. . . . Write us as father and master, who orders his servants to do their duty towards him. . . ."

8. From M. Sayhis to his relative I. T. Elias; Cleveland, Ohio; dated March 20th, 1911.

". . . Please forgive the manner in which I wrote you last, doubting your honesty in handling money I sent you for my mother and the family. It was all the fault of my sister who sent me false news and made me write to you as I did. I know now that she was after her selfish

P6P(a)

B:Tammuz G,1-4 (no date) 1941
MI1 Lebanon MI1

friends. May God never bless such a sister. . . ."

9. From H. to his relative, I. T. Elias; Penna., August 6th, 1914.

". . . I have sent you a telegram to foreclose the land property of N. (a fellow emigrant). He has refused to pay me what he owes me or to give me a mortgage on his land in the village. Then he resorted to a mean and immoral trick. He instigated his wife to bring a case against me in the courts, accusing me of assulting her. He did that with the hope of getting much money out of me. . . . Don't pay much attention to the newspapers cuttings (referring to the case) that I understand some of our jealous and mean people here have sent to the village. In this country, all things, little and big, are written up in papers, and nobody pays much attention to them. . . . Later, N. discontinued the prosecution of the case and came over with some of my friends and begged my pardon. . . ."

10. From S. M. Habalbal (middle aged woman) to her relative, I. T. Elias, U. S. A., April 3rd, 1919.

". . . The news of my son's death has broken my heart and my life. I don't know what to think or say. He was my only child. I brought him up until he was married, and then prevented him from sailing to America, so I did not want to expose him to any danger. I sailed away in his place, and have been laboring for years to gather some money, on which his children could grow up comfortably. . . . He is gone now, and his child is the only one left for us. Please say

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attention to the child and his mother; give them all they need, until I come back. . . ."

11. From M. Y. Elias to his wife; Argentina, Feb. 2nd, 1920.

" . . . Within two months, our son Selim will leave for home, so as to get married in the village and bring back all of you with him. Come with him to this country which is our new home and which gives us honey and milk. . . . Bring with you the following: (1) three fig seedlings (2) two grapevine seedlings 3) one red and one white hawthorne seedling (4) hindbane seeds (5) some "Arak" (local drink) (6) some olive oil. . . . Forget all about our property in the village. Let our relatives take care of it. Upon your arrival here, you will see that we own as much land as the whole village of Bishmizzeen. . . ." (Subsequently, the whole family left, father, mother, three sons and three daughters.)

12. From S. Nejjar to her relative; Jesus, Argentina, March 7th, 1920.

" . . . I shall send you enough money to buy back all the pieces of land that used to belong to my late husband. You know I am not making of this a business affair for profit. I am doing this only because I want to keep alive the memory of my husband and ancestors who used to own that land. I want our son to inherit the land. . . ."

The Village Organization in Shadow And New Adjustments Are Attempted

Analysis of the above mentioned tables, cases and letter extracts seem

536 621 On such occasion, a large crowd, from Hakeimeen and neighboring villages would attend. An admission was charged, but no regular fee was assigned. Each paid what his "generosity" allowed. Thus was one more example of how the village fitted a new form of behavior into its established followays. The income of the play was used for the school.

From the above description, it can be readily observed how play acting, centering in the village school, helped to bring about active village cooperation, a heightened consciousness of community identity, and an active inter-village association.

536 621 486 However, one must not neglect to mention a highly significant point, one more indication of what was going to happen to the village in its newly chosen trend. Not a single one of the plays that have been acted in the village had any relationship to village and farm life. The language used was always the higher literary form of Arabic, which had little connection with the local forms of expression. The theme of the play was either copied from Western novels or referred to old Biblical or historical events. Keeping in mind the transcendent influence of the plays, by playing upon the emotions of the village people and creating in them a dynamic for new modes of behavior, one can realize to what extent it was influential in carrying the people away from the village. It widened the horizon of village life, as did the school, emigration, and the silk industry, but the horizon was widened to an extent that was conducive to the destruction of the community integrity.

IV

877 1497 When the modern educational movement began in the country some fifty years ago, several educational systems appeared in the field and competed with each other in their effort to influence the people. These systems had a variety of cultural backgrounds—English, Russian, German, Italian, French, American, Turkish, and native. None of these systems had a purely educational character. Their educational message was combined either with religious, or political aims, or both.

In the course of time, each of these systems came to concentrate its influence upon one area of the country or one section of the population. In the case of Hakeimeen, as was indicated above, the American Protestant system has been the most

p. 1497 (A)

IP: Tamuna 5, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

other business activities with the West; modern technology and means of communication; and, finally, the rise of political consciousness, culminating recently in national emancipation.

Each of these factors for change has been potent, introducing far-reaching influences in the life of the people. The educational movement has brought a rate of literacy, estimated at 70 percent, which is unequalled in any other rural area of the Middle East. The rate is even higher for the more advanced mountain region considered separately from the coastal and urban areas of Lebanon. Here we find a school in practically every village, catering to the needs of both boys and girls. From the elementary schools, village youth has flowed in increasing numbers to high schools and colleges. As a result, the horizons of the village has been widened intellectually and economically, causing the farming folk to question their way of life and to seek greater opportunities in the outside world.

As mentioned before, Lebanese emigrants, mostly from the rural areas, left in relatively large numbers to the Americas and other parts of the world. Practically every farm-family unit has one or more of its members residing abroad. Through correspondence, the press, and literature, through clubs and societies, through visits back home, and by means of the substantial sums of money sent to their families, these emigrants have contributed heavily to the widening of the village horizons and to the changing of its pattern.

Perhaps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities.

The village community of Lebanon is now going through a stage of rapid transition and difficult adjustments. Its traditional organization, with its institutional pillars of family, land, and religion, is being severely challenged. New ways of doing things

9: Denton M-5 (ca. 1861) 1862
EF6 Serbs EF6
Lebanon ME1
Druze ME6
Middle East—Turkish Period M 2

the palace. Near the residence of the Pasha stands the principal mosque of Belgrade. It is appropriated to the use of the soldiers of the garrison, but is in very bad repair, the plaster having peeled off in large masses from the body of the building, as well as from the minaret by its side. Internally, the whole building is as ruinous as on the outside. Close to the gate which leads into the square stands a tomb, which a former pasha erected to the memory of his daughter, who has the reputation of a saint amongst the Turks. The tomb itself stands in a small apartment with glazed windows; and half a dozen wreaths of flowers strewed on the floor or hanging over the tomb, carried the imagination back to Père la Chaise, and the jet-black immortelles of a French cemetery. Round this and a second quadrangle are barracks for the accommodation of about four thousand men, and in a low irregular building in the main square are, at this moment, confined three hundred and sixty Druse prisoners. Their numbers, however, are fast diminishing: a choultera fortress, a black hole almost as bad as that of Calcutta, and a sun at times hardly less powerful, are converting their sentence of imprisonment into one of death.

However strongly our sympathies are called forth for the suffering Christians of the Lebanon, I confess that the treatment which the Druse chieftains have received has always appeared a shocking instance of the capricious tyranny and injustice which are found throughout Turkey. These chieftains have but too faithfully complied with the traditions of their country and with the

9: Denton M-5 (ca. 1861) 1862
EF6 Serbs EF6 ●
Lebanon ME1
Druze ME6
Middle East-Turkish Area ME2

barbarous instigation of the Government, and it is hard that their fidelity should be rewarded with the cruel punishment which they are now suffering merely to enable that same Government to set itself right in the eyes of Christian Europe. Had it not been for the interference of England and France, it cannot be doubted but that the murder of the Maronite Christians would have been tacitly approved or even actually rewarded by the Porte; but the authorities which at first prompted and then connived at the massacre of the Christians, have been allowed to purge themselves by visiting the consequences of their sin upon the heads of the instruments of the wrong. Turkey is governed not by acts of parliament, nor even by the hatti-cherifs and firmans of the Porte, nor by treaties made with foreign powers, but by public opinion and the Koran; and so long as the Koran, which is the very foundation of all authority in Turkey, prescribes or encourages acts of outrage towards unbelievers, it is hard that obedience to its dictates should, in order to satisfy the Western powers, subject men to the cruel and continuous torture under which the Druse chieftains are at this moment groaning and dying.

The government of five of the six fortresses which have been reserved by treaty to the Turks, together with the diplomatic intercourse with the Servian authorities, is at present divided between two Pashas, one of whom, Achir Pasha, possesses the chief rank and authority, and resides in the palace within the fortress of Belgrade. To him is intrusted the conduct of the

Zb: Bourani B-E (1941) 1947 M1 Middle East
Lebanon ME1

The political parties of the country, like its other political institutions, try at least on the surface to be inter-sectarian. Their officials, committees and electoral candidates are usually drawn from a number of sects. Their programmes usually contain some reference to the need of an ideal of national unity to replace existing sectarian jealousies. Sometimes this is genuine, sometimes not. Parties which emphasize Lebanese independence are most often Maronite in inspiration and membership; parties of Arab unity are similarly (though to a less extent) Moslem.

Political Conceptions

In such circumstances it is inevitable that there should arise very varying conceptions of what Lebanon is and ought to be: to a limited degree the differences in ideas correspond to differences of religious confession. Roughly it is possible to distinguish five main views of Lebanon:

(i) There are some who regard Lebanon as an integral part of Arab Asia, with no essential social or political difference from other parts and no special mission or purpose. They want Lebanon to be wholly absorbed into a Syrian or Arab State, with no autonomy but special provisions for the personal status and religious education of the minorities, such as exist in other Arab regions.

(ii) Others admit that Lebanon's past history has given it a character of its own and created a gap between it and the other Arab regions. But they deny that the distinctive character of Lebanon confers upon it special duties or a mission; they regard the special characteristics as no more than historical relics which will disappear sooner or later. They are willing to grant a certain degree of Lebanese autonomy or even complete independence, but only as a temporary expedient, with the object of allaying the fears of the minorities and gradually persuading them to accept complete union with a Syrian or Arab state.

(iii) Others again regard Lebanon as primarily a place of refuge where persecuted minorities can live in peace. They want it therefore to be wholly separate from the hinterland, and do not care what form of government exists so long as it is strong enough to protect them.

(iv) Another idea is that of Lebanon as a Mediterranean Christian country: not the western edge of the Arabic Moslem world but the eastern edge of Western Christendom. It is in

20: Hourani 3-6 (1942) 1947 M: Middle East
Lebanon ME1

in no essential sense a part of the Arab world, but its people constitute a separate nation. It should therefore be an independent State with its face turned towards Europe.

(v) There are others who try to extract and combine the element of truth in all these views. They admit that Lebanon is an Arab country by character and by destiny; but they believe that its special traditions confer upon it a special destiny in the Arab world: as a centre of Arab Christian life, as a gateway to the West and as a place where adherents of different religions can meet on absolutely equal terms.

Speaking generally and with large reservations, one may say that the first idea is held mainly by Sunni Moslems; the second by Moslem Arab nationalists and those Christians who believe that a lay nationalism is possible and desirable; the third by members of all minorities, particularly among the older generation; the fourth mainly by Marxists and other Unionists; and the fifth by Christians who want to remain fully Christian while being fully Arab nationalists.

These differences of conception involve different points of view on various particular issues:

(i) The question of the frontiers of Lebanon. In general, those who regard Lebanon as a separate entity have wished to preserve the frontiers of 1920, since otherwise it would be even less defensible and economically self-supporting than at present. The adherents of the first two views on the contrary have wished to return to the frontiers of the old Sanjaq, possibly with the addition of Beirut.

(ii) Many of those who regard Lebanon as an independent country or as a refuge wish it to be under the protection of a Western Power which will take in it an interest which is more than political. For most of them that Western Power must be France, but there are others who would prefer Great Britain or the United States. Those who regard Lebanon as in any sense a part of the Arab world, however, consider such protection too dangerous both for Lebanon and for the Arab world to be permitted.

(iii) A great many of those for whom Lebanon is a separate country recognize nevertheless that she must have a close connexion with Syria and other Arabic-speaking countries; but they insist that it must be based upon formal equality. The other countries must recognize the independent existence of

St. Stewart S-6 (1943) 1947 M1 M)Mid East
Lebanon ME1

Lebanon, and then the way will be open for close relations, particularly in the economic sphere. As against this, those who hold either of the first two views look forward to a time when Lebanon will be a province, at most an autonomous province, of a Syrian or Arab State. The adherents of the fifth view, however, hope to see Lebanon a member-state of a Syrian or Arab federation, with the same status and freedom of action as other member-states.

Developments since 1941

From 1926, when the Lebanese Republic was established and its political machinery began to function, until 1941 there was no essential change in the structure of Lebanon. In 1936, it is true, a Franco-Lebanese Treaty was negotiated which provided for the complete independence of Lebanon after a number of years, but it was not ratified.

In 1941, soon after the occupation of the Levant States by Allied Forces, General Catroux proclaimed the independence of Lebanon in a document which stated, among other things, that the Government of Lebanon would guarantee equality of civil, religious and political rights among all its nationals without any distinction.

In 1943 the first steps were taken to carry out the policy of independence by the holding of elections for the Chamber. The composition and actions of the Chamber and of the Ministry which emanated from it showed that a considerable change had taken place in the ideas and positions of the different sects during the past few years.

(i) The greater part of the politically conscious Lebanese desire an extension of autonomy, and are no longer willing to tolerate as great a measure of foreign interference in their internal affairs as under the French Mandate.

(ii) There is an increasing number who wish to end the French connexion altogether. This group is composed of two sections: first, those who still want foreign protection but believe that France is no longer capable of giving it, and therefore look to Great Britain to replace her; secondly, those who repudiate the whole idea of protection and believe that the only security for the special position of Lebanon lies in the good will of the neighbouring countries.

(iii) Many Arab nationalists who formerly desired the reduction

were children of Lebanese emigrants to Africa. The school was staffed with a director, a prefect of discipline, two directors of studies of Arabic and French (all of these priests), and 70 men instructors, 12 women instructors, and some nuns. In addition there were 12 supervisors, all priests. The school is under the authority of the Maronite Archbishop of Beirut who appoints the principal and receives from him a written report on the school annually. It is self-supporting, the fees being sufficient normally to pay all expenses. Any additional expenses are paid, when and when, out of endowments of the Diocese of Beirut. The buildings belong to the diocese.

The College is well known for the equal care given to the teaching of Arabic and French. It has produced a large number of the leading men of Lebanon, among whom are writers, poets, journalists, and clergymen. Originally both a seminary and a college, it is now only a college for lay instruction, the seminary having been moved elsewhere. The authorities of the College have been among the leaders in the movement for the assertion of what has been called "Mediterranean culture" and have taken the lead in founding the Cultural League of Free Education. This is an association of private Lebanese secondary- and elementary-school principals and inspectors which has the following aims:

1. Intimate cooperation and participation with the government in propagating the spirit of independence and patriotism in the hearts of youth, and the realization of education inspired by the Lebanese spirit.
2. The maintenance of the separation between school and political orientation and respect for the national Lebanese ideal and its cultural superiority.
3. Maintenance of the freedom of educational method in private schools within the public program.

Table 31 shows the program of studies of the school beginning with the fourth primary year (*huitième*) as an illustration of the attempt to give more or less equal emphasis to Arabic and French.

It should be added that though the hours given to French are somewhat less than those given to Arabic, a number of subjects are taught in French. The Commission in its visit to the school was impressed by the fact that the general atmosphere seemed to be decidedly French. The school authorities spoke French among themselves and kept some of the records in French. English is begun in the fifth primary grade (*septième*).

The school has a literary society, physical-education society, a band group, and a choir of 150 voices which sings church and Lebanese music. Dramatic societies are also active, giving both Arabic and French plays.

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p. 110(a)

65:Landahut S-4 (no date)1950 MI Middle East
Lebanon ME1

CHAPTER IV

LEBANON

Of all the Arab League countries, Lebanon was the most reluctant to take part in the recent outbreak of anti-Jewish persecution. It was also the first member-nation of the Arab League to restore normal conditions after the conclusion of the armistice with Israel and to abolish restrictions which had been imposed upon the Jews during the fighting.

Lebanon differs from the rest of the Arab countries in a number of ways. First, there is no Muslim majority. Its population is composed of a number of minority groups, none of which individually constitutes a clear majority. The Muslims, both Sunni and Shia, together number only about 667,000, against approximately 600,000 Christians (Maronite, Greek Orthodox, Armenian, etc.) and 77,000 Druses. The latest census —held in 1948—gives the number of Jews as 6,201, a figure probably increased since then by the steady influx of Jews from Syria to something over 6,700.

A number of Christian Arabs in Lebanon have, it is true, played an important part in the revival of Arab nationalism, mostly in the field of literature. But that has not prevented the Christian community as a whole from regarding the movement with a certain feeling of uneasiness. Albert Hourani (*Syria and Lebanon*, Oxford, 1946, p.128) describes the uneasy relations between Christians and Muslims in Lebanon as follows:

> Arabism has not yet determined its relationship with Islam. Thus there is a tendency for many of the nationalists, although not the most thoughtful leaders, to regard members of the minorities as imperfect Arabs, because they are not Moslems; as for Moslems at all, usually there is a tendency among the minorities to be suspicious of nationalism as a movement for communal hegemony (Moslem somewhere).

Apart from the tendency of the greater part of the Arab nationalist movement to rely on Islam as a rallying cry, its generally anti-Western orientation has provided a further obstacle to whole-hearted support in the country. For no country in the Middle East has taken so easily to Western civilization as Lebanon.

The fact that so high a proportion of its inhabitants are Christians has always made it a specially fruitful field for Western educational missions. The French *Mission Laïque* and the American University in Beirut have both played an important part in raising the general level of education, and there is scarcely a middle-class family in

65: Leaflet S-4 (no date)1950 M1 Middle East
Lebanon NE1

Lebanon that has no relatives in the United States, France, or some other Western country.

Lebanon joined the Arab League, very hesitatingly, because it wanted the League's support in its campaign for complete independence from France.

Typical of Lebanese uncertainty in support of Arab nationalism is the fact that the Maronites, who number 320,000 and are the largest single group in the country, have never shown opposition to the Zionist Movement in Palestine. Both the Maronite Archbishop of Beirut, Mgr. Ignace Moubac, and the Maronite Patriarch have even, in the past, welcomed the progress and civilization which the Jews have brought to the Middle East.

The Lebanese Jewish community is mostly concentrated in the capital, Beirut, with a smaller number living in Tripoli in the north, and in Tyre and Sidon, in the south. They are as deeply rooted in the country as any other group, the first Jewish settlements dating back to biblical times. Like the Christian population, they have gladly accepted the influence of Western civilization. Most of them are bilingual in Arabic and French. For many years they have suffered no restrictions in either commerce or the liberal professions, and thus form a fair proportion of the middle class, some Jews holding high positions in the Government service. Jews are not confined to any special area, though most of the poorer Jews live in streets which, in former times, used to be a Jewish quarter.

As a member of the Arab League, Lebanon found itself willy-nilly forced to take part in the invasion of Israel. Once the fighting in Palestine had started, the Government was forced to apply security measures similar to those introduced in all countries of the Arab League.

All foreign Jews, including the students at the American University and the French college, were ordered to leave the country in January, 1948. When military operations started in May, 1948, about 200 political suspects were arrested. According to a Reuter message sent from Beirut at that time, however, they included only a few Jews.

The hysterical Jew-hating which then broke out throughout the Muslim Arab countries naturally affected also Lebanese Muslims. On May 17, an anti-Jewish demonstration assembled in the early hours and a mob, armed with bricks, incendiary bombs and whips, proceeded towards the Jewish quarter. The President of the Jewish community received a telephone call from the head of the Christian Arab community, suggesting the Jews should take steps to guard their houses.

When the mob reached the Jewish quarter, they were halted by guards who had been posted there by the Christian Arab community. At the request of the President of the Jewish community, the authorities sent armed troops, who prevented the rioters from entering the quarter.

among the Druzes of Jebel Druze are different from those among the Lebanese Christians. The growth of the Arab nationalist movement has also affected the problem of minorities. It is true that in principle Arab nationalism need not and indeed should not involve a problem of religious minorities. But there are several reasons why at the present day it does involve such a problem. The first reason is to be found in the immaturity of political thinking among the Arabs. Arabism, as the previous chapter made clear, has not yet determined its relationship with Islam; more generally, neither majority nor minorities have yet faced the problem of the connexion between religion and the State. Thus there is a tendency for many of the nationalists, although not their most thoughtful leaders, to regard members of the minorities as imperfect Arabs because they are heterodox Moslems or not Moslems at all; equally there is a tendency among the minorities to be suspicious of nationalism as a movement for unrestrained Sunni ascendancy. Among some of the Christian minorities there is a further tendency to regard the West as their spiritual home, to which they can belong in a way in which they could never belong to the Arabo-Islamic world to whose fringes they have so long clung.

The mutual suspicion has been increased in the last twenty-five years by the bad relations which have existed between the nationalists and the French authorities. In these years Arab nationalism has been largely a movement of opposition to France. Those whose nationalism is still coloured by religion drew from that an additional reason for supporting the Christians as being of the same religion as the French. But quite apart from religious prejudice, suspicion had inevitably been aroused by the long-standing attachment of certain of the Christian communities to France. Many of the nationalists believe that this attachment has been used by her as an instrument in a policy of dividing, weakening and in other ways opposing the nationalist movement. Those of the minorities who have been used unwittingly in this way they regard as obstacles to the achievement of their aspirations; those who have lent themselves willingly to it they regard as traitors to the national cause.

Even when members of minorities become Arab nationalists, as many of them do, they often wear their nationalism with a difference. It is not only that they tend to emphasize

H. Howard 5-4 (no date) 1946 MD1 Syria NO 1

points in the nationalist programme other than those which are emphasized by the Moslems; they also sometimes conceive of themselves as having a special duty to perform in the movement. For example, some of the Christian nationalists regard it as their task to mediate Western civilization to the Arabs. This sense of a special duty makes for difference, if not for opposition.

6

This much can be said of the whole of Syria and Lebanon. But if a more detailed analysis is to be attempted, Lebanon must be separated from Syria. While in Syria, and in the Levant States taken as a whole, the Sunni Moslems have an overwhelming preponderance, in Lebanon neither they nor any other community forms an absolute majority of the population, and the number of Christians of different sects is slightly greater than that of Moslems, orthodox and heterodox.

Inside Lebanon also a distinction must be made. As will be described later,[1] the Lebanese Republic of to-day was formed after the First World War, by the addition to the pre-war autonomous Sanjaq of Lebanon, which consisted mainly of Mount Lebanon itself, of certain towns and outlying districts. In the former, the population is almost entirely Christian (mainly Maronite) and Druze. The additions included the coastal towns of Tripoli, Beirut, Saida (Sidon) and Sur (Tyre), and the districts of the Biqa' in the east and Jebel Amil in the south. In the towns the population is largely Sunni Moslem, although there are also numerous Shi'is, Greek Catholics and Orthodox and Armenians (mainly in Beirut). In the Biqa' and Jebel Amil the Shi'i Moslems are predominant, but here again there are large Greek Orthodox and Catholic and other communities.

In Mount Lebanon the majority is Christian, but the Druze community is large and strong enough to have played at least an equal and sometimes a greater part in the history of the Mountain. Thus the sectarian composition of Mount Lebanon is very different from that of the rest of the Mandated Territories. To a great extent also its history has diverged from that of other parts of geographical Syria. This has given rise to a specific Lebanese tradition. It is a tradition of asylum: remnants of sects and tribes, driven for one reason or another

[1] See Chapter IX, p. 170.

11: Hourani 5-4 (no date) 1946 MDI Syria Lebanon misc.

Again, there was the traditional attachment of the Maronites to France. This is dealt with elsewhere,[1] and its effects upon French sentiment are discussed. It had equally great effects upon Maronite sentiment. It affected the modern form of their political consciousness; it also gave them the assurance that Western Christendom had not forgotten them, and thus helped them to resist better than other Eastern Christian sects the temptations to despair and to Islamization to which their position laid them open. Some of them went so far as to adopt French as their native language; in Beirut to-day there are a number of interesting Lebanese Christian writers who use French as their medium of expression.

In the last few generations certain new factors have arisen to add their weight to that of tradition. The first of them is the rapid advance which the Lebanese have made in the assimilation of Western culture: Western schools were established earlier in Lebanon than in the interior of Syria, more Lebanese than Syrians emigrated to the New World, and Christians were in general more eager and able to understand the West and to become part of it than the Moslems. In many ways, although perhaps not in all, the Lebanese are the most Westernized of the Arabic-speaking peoples.

The growth of Arab nationalism has also affected Lebanese political thought. There were Lebanese, both Christians and Druzes, among the founders of the nationalist movement, and still are among its most enthusiastic supporters. But very many Lebanese, even those who favour Arab unity and independence in principle, cannot help doubting whether Lebanon will gain anything from becoming part of a larger unit, the other parts of which are less advanced. Others, while conscious of themselves as in some sense Arabs and Orientals, also believe that the Lebanese tradition, different from although not necessarily exclusive of the Arab tradition, is worth preserving.

In addition to these developments, the revival of Christian thought which was mentioned in Chapter IV has influenced certain elements among the Lebanese. It has led them to regard Lebanon not primarily as the western frontier of the Arab world but as the eastern frontier of Christendom; and to ask, as the first and most profound of the political questions which face them, what are the conditions which will make

[1] See Chapter VIII.

is possible for the Lebanese most fruitfully to perform their duty to Christendom.

Finally, the establishment of the French Mandate, and the tension which has existed between the mandatory authorities and the bulk of the population, have placed a number of difficult choices before those communities which have a special connexion with the French. Should they cling to the French connexion even at the cost of a deep estrangement from the rest of the population of Syria and Lebanon? Should they throw in their lot with their fellow-countrymen even at the cost of abandoning their connexion with France? Can a middle way be found between these two difficult paths?

7

Thought about these problems, at different levels of profundity, has led the inhabitants of the Mountain to a number of alternative conceptions of the nature of Lebanon. These conceptions are often expressed in the form of historical or ethnological answers to the question whether the Lebanese are or are not Arabs; for example, there is a school of thought which emphasizes their Phoenician origin. At the basis of them, however, there is something more than an assertion of fact; there is a view of the function which Lebanon should perform, an answer to the question what her relations should be with the West and with the Arabs.

There are some who do not regard Lebanon as possessing a special mission. For them the Lebanese are simply a branch of the Arab people, distinguished from the other branches by nothing of political significance; their destiny is indistinguishable from that of the Arab people as a whole. Others do not go quite so far. They admit that history and tradition give Lebanon a slightly different character from the other Arab regions; but they do not regard this difference as forming the basis of a special mission or destiny in the present. It is nothing but a relic of a past age, an obstacle to be overcome before the Lebanese can fulfil their true function, which in the view of this as of the first group is to become a full part of the Arab people.

A third group believes in a special function for Lebanon, but a restricted one. It is to continue to provide an asylum for those whose religious loyalties or racial origins make it difficult for them to live in neighbouring regions. This,

although a noble conception, is also a limited one: first because it can only be actualized under purported foreign protection or guarantee, since the hills and valleys of Lebanon are longer render her immune from interference; and secondly, because it offers to the communities who seek refuge in her no ideal except to be left alone and to live on the margin of history, and no common aim except that of defence.

A more positive conception is that of those Christians who realize that Lebanon's being largely Christian and her being more advanced than the surrounding countries impose upon her peculiar and positive duties. There are some who maintain that Lebanon should become fully a part of the Western Christian world and that she should not be politically or in any other way a part of the Arab world, although she must retain close and friendly relations with that world. For them the ideal in the political as in other spheres is that Lebanon should be self-sufficient, but if that is impossible they would wish her to be dependent upon a Christian European State rather than be part of a Moslem Arab State.

Finally there are some who wish Lebanon to remain Christian without at the same time ceasing to be Arab. The specific duty of the Lebanese is a duty at the same time to the Christian West and to the Arabs: it is to serve as a centre from which Christian and in general Western influences can radiate to Arab Asia. If they are to perform this duty, the Lebanese must form an integral part of the Arab world, politically as in other ways, but receive a special position and special treatment inside that world. They also need the help of some Western State or institution which will take in them an interest other than purely political and self-regarding, though they must avoid becoming the clients of a Western State in a way which will alienate them from the rest of the Arab people.

The differences between these five conceptions are not closely related with the differences between the sects. Roughly however, and with considerable reservations, it may be said that the first two views are held by many of the younger generation of the Druses and Greek Orthodox Christians, but by fewer of the Maronites; the third view by those, to whatever sect they belong, who are deeply suspicious of the Sunni Moslems and at the same time conscious of their own weakness. The fourth and fifth views are of course

held only by Christians; the fourth by many of the Maronites; the fifth by those who have been moved by the nationalist sentiment without trying to make it a substitute for religious belief.

Probably the majority of French missionaries and officials in the last generation have professed the third or fourth views: that is to say, they have regarded Arabism as primarily an Islamic movement in which the Christians can have no place, and thus they have tried to make Lebanon into a place where the Christians can at least be safe and can perhaps even build up a national life of their own. Their attitude is determined partly by religious belief, partly by a sense of France's historic obligations and partly by a certain conception of French interests. As for the third party to the question, the Arab nationalists in Syria and the other Arab countries, they believe that Lebanon is a part of the Arab world and are afraid of its being used as a centre for foreign intrigues against them; but the more reasonable and responsible of them recognize the peculiar traditions and needs of Lebanon and are prepared to make special provisions for them.

8

The problem of the Shi'is is in some ways similar to that of the Christians and Druzes of the Mountain, since it arises from distinct religious loyalties complicated by a separate tradition and memories of persecution. But there is also another complicating factor: the backwardness of the Shi'is in social organization and their low standard of living. Their first need is for a reformed social organization and improved economic conditions. Once this need has been satisfied, it is possible that their outlook and feeling will be near enough to that of the Sunnis to make special treatment unnecessary.

There is one community which possesses a special relation to all the rest. The Armenians, whether Gregorians, Catholics or Protestants, have two characteristics which distinguish them from the remainder of the population of Lebanon. First, they are not Arabic-speaking, but have their own language, culture and national consciousness. Secondly, they are mainly of recent settlement there. The majority established themselves in and around Beirut in consequence of the measures taken against them by the Turkish authorities

of the population. Several of these were possessed of a local predominance in some part of the Republic: the Maronites in the north, the Druzes in the south, the Sunnis in the coastal towns of Beirut, Tripoli and Saida, and the Shi'is in the Biqa' and the extreme south. The consequences which are likely to flow from such a situation are clear. The political life of the Republic was deeply affected by the struggle for equality or superiority between a number of communities, none of them so strong as to be able to dominate all the rest. Sectarian loyalties and sectarian jealousies thus continued and perhaps strengthened themselves. In addition, the domination of the spiritual leaders over the members of their communities was perpetuated; the Maronite Patriarch in particular wielded an incalculable influence over the political life of the country.

6

The importance of communal differences in Lebanon was recognized by the Mandate. Article 8 stated the necessity of guaranteeing the most complete liberty of conscience and worship; the equal treatment of all inhabitants irrespective of differences of race, religion and language; and the right of communities to maintain their own schools. Article 6 required the Mandatory Power to respect the personal status and religious interests of the different sections of the population. These guarantees were reaffirmed in the Lebanese Constitution, promulgated in 1926, Article 9 of which declared: "Liberty of conscience is absolute. In rendering homage to the Most High, the State respects all confessions and guarantees and protects the free exercise of them, on condition that no harm is done to public order. It guarantees equally to populations belonging to every rite respect for their personal status and their religious interests."

These guarantees were respected by the Mandatory Power to a considerable extent. For example, the traditional jurisdictions of the communal courts were maintained in some matters of personal status, although a large proportion of such matters were transferred to the civil courts. An attempt was made in 1936 to define the whole position of the communal jurisdictions. The High Commissioner issued a decree in which the historic communities were given explicit legal recognition. Their statutes were given the force of law, and

It is doubtful if the system could have worked even as well as it did had it not been for the control and intervention of the Mandatory Power. But this again was a source of trouble. The French authorities were believed to be not altogether impartial in their efforts to hold the balance, and to show excessive favour to the Maronites and other Uniats. Thus the other communities became hostile both to France and to the Maronites. This hostility in its turn cemented the alliance between the two.

The situation just described had the approval of the majority of the Maronites, who chiefly profited by it. Many of the religious and secular notables of the other communities also did not disapprove of the conception of a Lebanon based upon sectarianism, either because they derived advantage from it or else because they could not conceive of any loyalty except that to the religious community. But the more thoughtful members of both the Maronite and the other sects, and especially the younger of them, saw the need for the creation of some sort of corporate consciousness or sense of solidarity. In the history of the years before 1914 this had to some extent existed; it had been based upon a common way of life and a common tradition of autonomy which all alike had valued. In the new Republic this was lacking and would have to be created. On the question of what form it should take, different opinions were held, corresponding in the main to the different conceptions of Lebanon expounded in Chapter VII. Those who regarded Lebanon as an asylum for religious minorities, together with those who regarded the Lebanese as a distinct people, wished to create a specific Lebanese nationalist spirit transcending communal differences; and they wanted the enlarged Lebanon to be an independent state, protected by or in alliance with a European Power who would take an interest in it which was other than purely political. Those who looked upon Lebanon as a point from which Christian and Western influences could radiate throughout the Arab East, wished to encourage the consciousness of Lebanon as both a distinctive unity and part of a larger unity; for them, Lebanese autonomism and Arab or Syrian nationalism were not opposed to each other but complementary, and they desired to see Lebanon, with or without the restoration of its

Neither more restricted frontiers, a self-governing member of a Syrian or an Arab federation. Those who considered Lebanon as simply one Arab province among others wished to stimulate Arab nationalist sentiments among its inhabitants and advocated its integral incorporation in a Syrian or Arab State, with only such administrative privileges as its distinctive history made necessary.

This last conception was particularly strong among the Sunni Moslems of the coast towns, most of whom clamoured either for the inclusion of Lebanon in Syria or at least for its reduction to the frontiers it had possessed before 1914. Some of them desired this because as Moslems they resented living in a State which had a mainly Christian atmosphere; others because they were totally opposed to the Lebanese particularist idea. Yet others, while conceding the claims of the Christians, Druzes and Shi'is to special treatment, did not agree that the coastal towns had any part in the natural or historical unity of Lebanon. This sentiment was strongest in Tripoli, with an almost wholly Moslem population. It was shared by the greater part of the Arab nationalists in the State of Syria. They were willing to accept a certain carefully defined autonomy for the historic Lebanon, provided its ruling would co-operate with the Syrians in matters of common interest. They bitterly resented, however, the inclusion in Lebanon of the coastal towns, especially of Tripoli, partly on grounds of principle because they interpreted it as a move in the supposed French game of dividing and weakening the Arabs, and partly because they did not like to see Tripoli and Beirut, two of the natural ports of Damascus, in any hands except their own.

For the most part these differences of opinion did not embody themselves in organised parties. The parties which dominated elections and the life of the Chambers were scarcely more than loose alliances of prominent politicians, based upon common personal interest rather than common doctrine. They were usually so organised as to include representatives of all the leading sects. The most important of them were the "Unionist" group led by Emile Edde, and the "Constitutionalists", of whom the leading member was Bishara al-Khuri. The main division between these two groups was the personal rivalry of their leaders; but on the whole the former was more intransigent in its belief in Lebanese

(b) The "[illegible]" [illegible] which was in French hands, the internal security. It had always been in French hands although in principle the local police and gendarmerie were under the control of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments.

(c) The control of the Bedouin.

(d) The censorship of the press, which was in French hands, although there was also a British military censor. (Shortly after the accession of the new Syrian and Lebanese Governments to power, they set up their own political censorships, which did not, however, replace that of the French, but were additional to it.)

Thirdly, in addition to these legislative and administrative limitations, there were various restrictions even on those powers which the Governments possessed:

(i) Their freedom of action was restricted by the great influence of the administrative and technical "*conseillers*", who, although officials of the Governments and in theory subordinate to the Ministers whom they advised, were in practice almost all-powerful in the departments to which they were attached.

(ii) Another restriction arose from the existence of the officers of the "*Services Spéciaux*" who were scattered throughout the country. In theory they were the Delegate-General's intelligence officers, but in practice they had always exercised a virtually unlimited authority in their regions: an authority which they had enforced where necessary by means of the "*Garde Mobile*", a semi-military police force which they had at their disposal. Among other things, the control of the frontiers was in their hands.

The nationalists had always demanded the recognition of the two Parliaments as the sole source of legislation; the transfer of the Common Interests and other similar services to the Syrian and Lebanese Governments; the abolition of the "Services Spéciaux" officers and a curtailment in the powers of the "*conseillers*". It was clear that these demands would be pressed with vigour by the new Nationalist Governments, partly because of the principles involved but also because of concrete advantages to be gained from them. For example, control of the customs would give them power to regulate fiscal policy and thus indirectly to assist industry and trade, and would place in their hands an important source of

powers. Control of concessionary companies would give them authority over the railway administration, the ports, the water and electricity companies and the tobacco monopoly, all of them in the hands of French companies and between them covering an important section of the country's economic life. The transfer of the "Troupes Spéciales" would make possible the creation of Syrian and Lebanese Armies.

Faced with these demands the Comité Français de la Libération Nationale (C.F.L.N.) defined its attitude sharply. In the first place, it claimed that it had inherited the Mandate from the French Republic; the Mandate conferred upon France certain obligations which neither she nor the Syrians and Lebanese were entitled to repudiate; they could only be ended or modified by the League of Nations or whatever organization might replace it. No definitive change of a radical kind could therefore be made until the League were revived or a successor to it established.

Secondly, the Committee, while admitting the possibility of a transfer of powers, sought to make it conditional on the willingness of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments to conclude with them Treaties guaranteeing on the one hand the independence of the two States and on the other the special position and interests of France. The declarations of independence had foreshadowed the conclusion of such Treaties: and it was therefore claimed that the grant of independence had been conditional upon it.

Subsequently, under the pressure of events, the Committee admitted the right of the two Governments to demand immediate legislative and administrative concessions, but emphasized that the transfer of powers should take place in a correct way. In view of the importance of the issues involved, it should only take place after negotiation and agreement with the representatives of France. Any attempt to modify the present situation by unilateral action, without such formal agreement, could only be regarded as a deliberate insult to France.

To each of these theses the Syrians and Lebanese had an answer. To the first, they replied that they had never recognized the Mandate, which had been imposed upon them against their will and without their consent being asked.

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French troops, and to the death or injury of a number of civilians. The two Ministers who had not been arrested, together with a majority of the Deputies, continued to assert their authority from a mountain retreat and began to organize an armed force.

During these critical days the Lebanese people displayed admirable unity. The national cause took precedence over dangerous sectarian conflicts, and very few even among the Moslems dissociated themselves from the united front. Edde failed to form a political cabinet, and was forced to envisage the expedient of a council of civil servants.

Nevertheless, the country remained outwardly calm. That the Lebanese did not resort to an armed rising was due in large part to the confidence of their leaders in the value of the diplomatic support which they received from the Governments of the independent Arab States, of the United States and of Great Britain. The British attitude was defined by Mr. Law in the House of Commons on November 23rd:

> "The interest of His Majesty's Government in this dispute is twofold. First of all, we have endorsed the promises of independence given to the Lebanese people by General Catroux in 1941. His Majesty's Government have followed with sympathy and interest the subsequent development of constitutional government in the Lebanon. Secondly, the Lebanon is of vital importance to the war effort both as an operational base and from the point of view of communications. Any threat of a breakdown of law and order is therefore of direct concern to His Majesty's Government."

Impressed by the gravity of the situation created by M. Helleu's drastic action, the C.F.L.N. sent General Catroux to take charge in Beirut. He arrived there on the 19th and, having examined the situation in all its aspects, recommended the reinstatement of the Lebanese President, the release of the imprisoned Ministers and the recall of M. Helleu. Acceptance of this programme was announced in Algiers on the 21st, and on the following day the Lebanese leaders returned to Beirut in triumph. It was at once apparent that the reinstatement of the Ministers, as well as of the President, was inevitable, and the French authorities agreed to this further concession. Furthermore, M. Chataigneau, who had provisionally taken M. Helleu's place as Delegate-General, cancelled the decrees

they thought fit; or in general to enter into any engagements which would place obstacles in the way of their closer association with their neighbours. Nor would they give a privileged position to any other Power. It was clear, however, that they would be willing to negotiate treaties of alliance and friendship with all the major Powers, France among them, and to take their full share in the task of guaranteeing international security, under the supervision of whatever international authority might be established. They would also be willing to recognize the position of French cultural and economic institutions functioning in the Levant States and to give guarantees for their freedom of action; for example, they would give assurances for the position of French concessionary companies and French schools, always provided that they confined themselves to their proper functions and did not use their freedom for political ends. They would also give guarantees to French officials and advisers in their service.

In the course of 1919, tentative discussions but not official negotiations took place with a view to clarifying the position of the two parties. They led, however, to no agreement between the two points of view, and at the end of 1919 the question of the treaty was no nearer settlement than it had been at the beginning.

9

The great mass of Syrian political opinion was behind the Government in its attitude towards the Army and the Treaty; if it differed from the Government, it differed in being more intransigent still but inclined to endure delays or make concessions. It was clear that, should a clash come, the French authorities could not fall back upon their old expedient of installing a "moderate" ministry of puppets. The present governing group indeed was the most moderate that could be expected. It had already lost some of its popular support and had been severely criticized in the Chamber on account of its efforts to restrain the impatience of the people, and was only kept in power by the absence of any alternative and the personal ascendancy of the President.

In Lebanon, too, the attitude defined in the preceding section was held by the greater part of the Government and of the political public, but not so unanimously and unreservedly

as in Syria; and the external question of relations with France was complicated by various internal questions.

Before 1943, there had been a reasonably clear division of opinion in Lebanon. On the one side stood the Maronites and other Uniates, with a number of the other Christians and lukewarm Moslems; they were in favour of Lebanese independence within its present enlarged frontiers and under French protection. On the other side were the greater part of the Moslems and the non-Catholic Christians, and all Christians and Moslems alike, who held Arab nationalist views. They were opposed to Lebanese independence under French protection, and in general desired the reduction of Lebanon to its old frontiers and the replacement of independence by autonomy inside the Syrian State.

In November, 1943, the greater part of both groups united in opposition to France: the second group because they had always been opposed to French domination and the first because, while they had wanted French protection, they were not willing to be treated as mere tools and were sincerely attached to their independence. Their resistance was successful, and resulted in the gradual transfer of powers to the Lebanese Government and a partial withdrawal of French influence. (This process had already begun, but was accelerated by the November crisis.) This, in its turn, modified the internal political balance of Lebanon. So long as French influence had been paramount, it had been used in order to maintain the predominance of the Maronite and pro-French element. Now that French influence was diminishing however, this element could no longer retain its dominant position. The Maronites did not constitute a majority of the population, and even inside the Maronite community pro-French feeling was not as strong as it had been. The way was open for other groups to secure power in Lebanon.

This change in the internal situation itself led to further changes in political feeling. The more extreme of the Maronites and Lebanese separatists hoped for the restoration of French influence, and were now willing, if necessary, to accept a reduction in the size of Lebanon which would give it once more a large Christian majority. At the other extreme were some of the Moslems, who were now willing to accept the independence of Greater Lebanon for tactical reasons: either from personal interest or in the hope that in a few years' time, when their

greater natural increase had given the Moslems a majority in Lebanon, they would be able to destroy the independence of Lebanon and incorporate it in Syria.

Between these two extremes there was a more balanced and moderate group. Although many of its members had opposed the independence and enlargement of Lebanon in the past, they were now willing to accept Lebanese independence within its present frontiers, but only on two conditions: the first that Lebanon followed a policy of real independence and was not subservient to France or any other Power, and the second that she co-operated closely with the other Arab States. This group included both Moslems and Christians. Its policy was based upon a number of considerations. Some of the Christians wanted an independent Arab Lebanon as a centre of Arab Christian civilization, others because they no longer believed in the possibility of French or other foreign protection and wanted an alternative. Some of the Moslems advocated Lebanese independence inside an Arab union as a means of gradually reaching the Christians to forget their fears of Arab nationalism. Others again, both Christians and Moslems, hoped that Lebanon might play a special part in the Arab world, as a centre of Western civilization and lay nationalism.

The possibility of a stable Lebanon depended entirely on this moderate group. The success of this group, in its turn, depended on its discovering some basis of unity sufficient to neutralize the centrifugal force of sectarianism. The need for such unity led to an attempt to develop a specifically Lebanese Arab nationalism. It was also one of the causes, although by no means the only one, for the spread of Communism which was one of the features of the year in Lebanon, and also to a smaller extent in Syria.

None of these groups was fully organized or articulate, and the Lebanese political scene changed continuously and rapidly. One factor however remained stable: the majority of the population no longer wanted or believed in French protection, and any attempts by France to split Lebanon from Syria on the question of the treaty were bound to fail.

10

The question of Franco-Syrian and Franco-Lebanese relations was complicated by its connexion with the question of Anglo-French relations in the Levant. Great Britain's policy

[illegible]

It is, of course, no surprise to the anthropologist to learn that acculturation in the Middle East, as elsewhere, shows that material cultural traits are more readily transmitted than non-material ones. Nor is it any surprise to him that these material traits, the automobile for example, though readily accepted, cannot be assimilated without some major social readjustments. Before the latter are completed, there is bound to be turmoil and discomfort. But the turmoil in the Middle East is greatly aggravated through education by the introduction of a motley assortment of Western ideas, ideals, and concepts which cannot be ignored yet which the average student does not have the background to evaluate. If this were not confusing enough, the Arab student has become keenly aware of the frequently extreme discrepancy between Western ideals and some Western actions.

At the village level, one effect of modern education which has been of great significance to Muwafi, is summarized by Khoury, "... the kind of education which is being offered in the public and most of the private schools tends to draw youth away from the villages and renders them unfit for work on the farms" (1951, p. 102).

In one respect, however, as we have already intimated, modern education has not, except in extreme cases, weakened the great value which the Arabs place upon their beloved native language. The very sound of the words is a profound delight to them. This has always been true, but one suspects that in recent years their pride in it as something uniquely their own has been greatly emphasized. There is one reason that the Westerner, for all their material skill and wealth, do not possess, which they can never make their own, which even Westerners who are given the opportunity fail to master even as a tool, which a few Westerners do master but only after considerable effort and application. And so, to its native speakers, Arabic is more than just a semantic tool, it is a source of everyday pleasure and enjoyment, and it is a symbol of cultural integrity.

Associated with this is the cultural trait of elaborate verbalizing. There are countless verbal formulas which cover every conceivable occasion from giving condolences to asking for, giving, and receiving a drink of water. Preferably, one does not come directly to the point on any issue; one approaches it circuitously, not because one is necessarily evasive in personality, but because it is the thing to do. And it is the thing to do because it is enjoyable. One Arab has put the matter thus: "Brevity is the soul of elegance." (Khoury, 1914, p. 208.) In the present writer's opinion, not enough thought has been given to the possibility that the great differences in this respect between Arab and, particularly, American values has been responsible for a noticeable portion of the mutual irritation and misunderstanding which has occurred in recent years.

In Muwafi, as elsewhere, Arabic retains its paramount status. The wide knowledge of English is not to be interpreted as a breach in the villagers' cultural defenses, for English is learned, used, and looked upon as a tool only.

[illegible] 9-6 (1992) 1994 [illegible]

6.16 Language spoken, Table 6P

The predominance of household heads in Jerusalem was investigated for the major languages spoken in Israel. Over one of ten speak Arabic. The largest incidence of a foreign language spoken was French (2.1%) with English next (1.1%). The historical course reflects the mandate and other historical connections with French culture as well as the fact that French is the second official language, while the latter is part of a trend to switch very easily to Hebrew with the great influx of new immigrants. Hebrew as Turkish is the fourth most prominent language reflecting the old Ottoman Empire for Jews and the bilingual spirit of the Armenian religious. Armenian (with) is the next largest language group. All other languages have numerical significance.

6.17 Language read, Table 6Q

It was expected a much smaller group (97.7%) of household heads read Arabic. The difference between speaking and reading of French and English is negligible. Private schools in both languages exist on training students in the language of the sponsoring country as well as Arabic. Indeed, many native born and bred Israeli Arabs read French more fluently than Arabic. The drop in the reading of Turkish is still unexplained, but Armenians seem to have learned both to speak and read the language well.

6.18 Languages written, Table 6Q

There is no significant difference between the reading and writing of any of the languages recorded in the survey for heads of households.

a. Among the non-

b. Of Arabic, Armenian, Greek and Russian script there is no

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Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

4.31 Number of years attended school. Table 42

The amount of schooling of spouses of female household heads is low. Most of the female household heads, almost half of whom have had no formal education. The median schooling is more or less the same, although, of those who have been to school, there is a somewhat higher average amount of schooling for the spouses.

In higher education (secondary or higher) there are about four percent of the sample, indicating again the cultural belief in the greater economic ability of schooling men. This is part of the oft expressed attitude that educating women is expensive and the benefits go to her husband, not her own family.

4.32 Type of school attended. Table 43

As with household heads, for those attending among the spouses, more go to the state schools while an additional small group went to both private and public schools.

4.33 Country of school attended. Table 44

Almost three-quarters of the women who were educated in Lebanon only. In general the pattern of schooling by type of school attended is like that of the household head.

4.34 Languages spoken. Table 45

Less spouses speak Arabic, probably due to the fact that for foreigners there is less need among women to speak the language of the country than there is for the bread winner. The order of secondary languages is again French, English, Turkish and Armenian. One peculiar difference lies in the larger proportion of men than women who speak both Turkish and Armenian.

4.35 Languages read. Table 46

Literacy is lower among spouses than household heads with over a third of the spou-

[illegible] Chi-square test [illegible] was significant. Correct answers tend to rank language category which is statistically significant.

These test reading correlate closely with the percentage of those who have not attended school.

(3.3) Languages written, Table 47

As with the cases there is no substantial difference in the ability to read and to write any of the languages recorded.

The fact that spoken language is the most common, then reading and last writing holds up in detail. The difference between reading and writing is not significant but accords with expectations.

Children of Head of Household

[illegible] A special type of table has been constructed for the children of heads of households which shows the relationships between age and status of schooling for children now in school and now out of school. The tables are broken down by sex and are also shown with sexes grouped together.

4.41 White children now not in school, Table 48

In the sample there were [illegible] male children of heads of households who are now not in school. Of these thirty-two percent were below school age which was arbitrarily set at six or less. Another fifty-four percent were above school age. Here again it was necessary to set an arbitrary age. It was set at eleven which is probably too high in terms of the actual situation. This leaves a group of male children of school age now not in school of fourteen percent.

4.42 Female children now not in school, Table 49

There were [illegible] female children now not in school. Some thirty-eight percent were below school age and forty percent above school age. There was a residue of twenty-one percent who are of school age but not in school. These

Table 38
Country of School Attended
by Household Head

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1486	100.00	
Lebanon only	995	66.96	.012
Leb. & Other Arab State	30	2.02	
Leb. & Other Eastern	10	0.67	
Leb. & Western	22	1.48	
Other Arabic	148	9.96	.008
Turkey	116	7.81	.007
Eastern	17	1.14	
Western	49	3.30	.004
Other	2	0.13	
No Answer	97	6.53	

Table 39
Languages Spoken by Household Head •

Language Spoken	Number
Total	3602
Arabic	1708
Armenian	170
French	805
English	619
Turkish	304
Hebrew	21
Other Eastern	36
Other Western	150
No Answer	7

• TWSAS [illegible] in the table and similar tables following.

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87(a)

19: Chemical 4-4 (1959) 1964 1973 Lebanon 1973

Table 40

Languages Read by Household Head

Languages Read	Number	Percent
Total	2992	100.00
Arabic	1210	40.44
Armenian	141	4.72
French	687	22.96
English	348	11.63
Turkish	122	4.08
Hebrew	7	0.23
Other Eastern	14	0.47
Other Western	108	3.61
Other	1	0.03
None	346	11.56
Don't Know	8	0.27

Table 41

Languages Written by Household Head

Languages Written	Number	Percent
Total	2981	100.00
Arabic	1194	40.05
Armenian	144	4.83
French	690	23.15
English	339	11.37
Turkish	124	4.16
Hebrew	8	0.27
Other Eastern	16	0.54
Other Western	106	3.56
Other	2	0.07
None	351	11.77
Don't Know	7	0.23

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Table 44

Country of School Attended by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Name of Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1079	100.00	
Lebanon only	702	65.06	.014
Leb. & Other Arab	18	1.67	
Leb. & Other Eastern	4	0.37	
Leb. & Other Western	6	0.56	
Other Arab	115	10.66	.009
Turkey	69	6.39	.007
Eastern	5	0.46	
Western	65	6.02	.007
Other	8	0.74	
No Answer	87	8.07	

Table 45

Languages Spoken by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Languages Spoken	Number	Percent
Total	2892	100.00
Arabic	1449	50.15
Armenian	50	2.01
French	509	20.42
English	220	8.83
Turkish	149	5.98
Hebrew	6	0.24
Other Eastern	15	0.60
Other Western	84	3.37
Other	6	0.24
No Answer	4	0.16

15 Chemistry 1-4 (1958) 1954 US Census 1951

Table 46
Languages Read by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Languages Read	Number	Percent
Total	2303	100.00
Arabic	768	33.35
Armenian	126	5.47
French	459	19.93
English	192	8.34
Turkish	53	2.30
Hebrew	5	0.22
Other Eastern	3	0.13
Other Western	65	2.82
Other	4	0.17
None	614	26.66
No Answer	12	0.52

Table 47
Languages Written by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Languages Written	Number	Percent
Total	2348	100.00
Arabic	738	31.46
Armenian	125	5.33
French	462	19.69
English	197	8.40
Turkish	48	2.05
Hebrew	33	1.41
Other Eastern	6	0.26
Other Western	63	2.68
Other	4	0.16
None	655	27.92
No Answer	15	0.64

(c) 37 ف.

US Census of Egypt 1934 Vol. I

621 it the beginning of a movement that may be
794 termed "progressive." On the other hand, one can see the dangers it implied for village solidarity.

621 A third significant point to observe is that a new
578 type of conflict arose in the village, as a result of the school incident. It was conflict between two new groups—those who wanted to have a Protestant school in the village and those who opposed the idea. It was a division that cut across the family and church groups. It was also conflict between a traditional value and a new one—between the need for the preservation of church integrity and the need for education. All of this tended to shake the village organization; all of it demanded new adjustments on the part of the people.

III

871 After the first Mission teacher left the village,
179 his students, and the village people in general, were
191 set afire by the desire for further education. Other mission teachers came to the village and
621 gave additional impetus to that desire. At the same time the first emigrants began to return to the village and tell the people about the wonders of education in that "marvellous country of America." English was the language through which they could attain some status with the American people and reap some of the gold in that country. They wanted their children to learn English and get an American type of education. The Syrian Protestant College at Beirut was beginning to flourish, and the road was now open for a village boy to become a doctor or a college teacher. All of this meant more cash income, and cash was becoming more and more the significant symbol of comfort and new forms of prestige. Village boys and girls began to come back from Tripoli with American high school certificates in their hands. They were "fully" educated and they could share in the establishment and running of an independent village school.

871 All of these factors combined to bring about the
621 fruition of the village school idea. In 1904, under
975 the leadership of the Mission's early students and some influential emigrants who had returned to the village, a fully representative society, the first in the history of the village, was formed and given the name of "Raja-el-Watan"—the hope of the country—the country here meaning nothing more than the village. The sole aim of the society was to establish and run a school for the whole village community.

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16c Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME Lebanon MEI

who hold formal authority, are still predominantly village-centered. However, the number of those living away most of the time is impressive, and it includes most of the younger heads of household. In the future, then, it appears probable that the number and proportion of those living away will increase. Yet, of the large number who live away most of the time, few if any have broken effective and affective ties with the village. This is a very important point, and more will be said about it later.

There are two reasons for the prevalence of residence away from the village: (1) education at a higher level than that provided by the two schools (one public, one private) in the village; and (2) urban occupations, qualification for most of which depends on at least a primary education. Education and nonagricultural jobs thus go hand in hand, and the basic motivation rests in the very understandable desire to make a better living than that which farming in the area is likely to provide.

The people of al-Munsif are very proud of their educational status, which they have attained by diligent effort and considerable sacrifice over a period of several decades. Nearly 100 percent literacy prevails, and in many cases it is bilingual. Forty-eight persons between the ages of 15 and 29 (43 of them between 15 and 19) were still receiving their education in 1952 — in the village schools, in boarding schools, and at the college level. Most of them are boys, but 11 girls are included. The majority of the college students attend the American University of Beirut, and there are several graduates of that institution in the population.

The segment of the population between the ages of 15 and 69 can be looked upon as the potential working force of the village. Thus, 335 people are involved, of which 171 are males and 164 are females. To arrive at the number of people who are gainfully employed outside the home, we must subtract the 48 students, the 120 females who were either housewives or girls "at home," and the 19 men who were clearly unemployed at the time of the study. The actual working force, in terms of earning capacity, therefore amounted to 148 people (115 men and 33 women).

Of these wage earners, 49 were working in the village and 99 away from it. Economically, then, the urban trend appears to be even more pronounced than the population by residence figures, alone, suggests. It must be kept in mind, however, that the majority of heads of household, whatever their primary occupation, are also landowners and derive some income from the produce of their land even though most of them do not do the farm labor themselves.

The village occupations include 10 full-time farmers (mostly middle-aged men) who operate their own farms and also perform various tasks — such as plowing — for other landowners who are not farmers. Services of this kind are paid for in cash. There are 4 other men who work as hired hands for the farmers or for non-operator landowners. Then there are

44:Matthews and Akrawi S, C-3 (1945-1946)1949 ME Middle East
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'872 education except that orientation toward the more practical side of life becomes a fundamental aim. Students are prepared in this stage for vocational schools and professional schools for teachers and for entry into life. During the first two years, therefore, the teacher is to watch the interests of the pupil in order to direct him toward that line of specialization for which he is best suited.

The Primary Program of Studies

The program for the first two years of the higher primary school is made identical with that of the first two years of the secondary program to allow the pupil to transfer without loss of time, and presumably to give him enough time to mature and for his abilities and interests to show themselves before he chooses his career. The last two years, however, differ from those of the secondary school in giving greater emphasis to the practical side of the studies. Translated into time distribution, this means one hour more to drawing and manual arts, and to science (physics, chemistry, and biology), and two hours more to mathematics in the higher primary course, while in the secondary course emphasis is laid on languages, history and geography, and morals and civics.

Table 76 shows the primary and higher primary program of studies which together make up a program of nine years.

A summary of the primary and higher primary courses of study, though separate units, will be given here in a combined form, partly to avoid repetition and partly to show the evolution of each subject through the grades.

Arabic

'872 In the teaching of Arabic special attention is paid to the difference between
● 191 the colloquial and the classical languages, and an effort made to bridge the
'276 gap between them by selecting, as far as possible, vocabulary from the colloquial and incorporating it in correct sentences in the classical style. Care is taken not to choose difficult and rare words far from the pupil's environment. In the higher primary school special emphasis is laid on composition and style on living topics, and on the development of taste in literature.

Arabic begins in the first grade with reading of elementary words and simple sentences in a method that seems to be a combination of a spelling and a phonetic method. Reading is accompanied by penmanship based on the lessons and by memorization of simple poems. In subsequent years read-

44 Matthews and Akrawi 1, C-3 (1945-1948)1949 MI Middle East
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ing of pieces with explanation of the meaning of words and comprehension is emphasized. The pieces are at first vowelled to insure correct reading, but later unvowelled pieces are introduced. Selections from contemporary writers are chosen in the first two years of the higher primary school, while in the last two years selections from various periods of Arabic literature are chosen. Memorization continues throughout with poems and, later, prose

TABLE 76

PROGRAM OF STUDIES FOR PRIMARY AND HIGHER PRIMARY SCHOOLS, LEBANON, 1946

SUBJECTS	PERIODS PER WEEK				
	Primary School			Higher Primary School	
	1st Year	2nd and 3rd Years	4th and 5th Years	1st and 2nd Years	3rd and 4th Years
In Arabic:					
Religion	1	1	1	1	1
Moral and national lessons	1½	1	1	1½	1½
Reading, memorization, penmanship copying*	6	3½	2	3	5
Composition, grammar, dictation	...	3	...	3	
Grammar, dictation	...	...	2	...	
Composition, penmanship	...	...	2	...	
Object lessons, conversation, hygiene†	2	1½	2	...	...
Arithmetic	5	5	5	...	...
History, geography	...	2	2	2½	2½
Drawing, manual arts	2	2	2	2	3
Music, singing	2	1	1	1	1
Physical education	2½	2	2	2	2
In the foreign language:					
Reading, memorization, penmanship	5	5	2	3	5
Grammar, composition, dictation			...	3	
Grammar, dictation			1½	...	
Composition, penmanship			1½	...	
Optional in Arabic or the foreign language:					
Physics, chemistry, biology	...	...	...	4	4
Mathematics	...	...	...	4	5
Total	27	27	27	30	30

* Penmanship shifted to composition after third year. Copying eliminated.
† Female assigned to conversation only in first year, hygiene added in fourth and fifth years.

pieces and proverbs of increasing difficulty. Dictation starts in the second grade with exercises already studied and continues later with unstudied selections through the third year of the higher course, with emphasis on the writing of the *hamzah*. Written composition starts in the second grade with exercises in sentence construction, leads to the writing of descriptions of simple events, stories, and letters; develops in the higher course into longer stories, writing about descriptive and moral topics, essays, development of themes, and translation. Conversation lessons are given in the second and

44:Matthews and Akrawi 3,C-3 (1945-1949)1948 M] Middle East
Lebanon MEI

'872 third primary years and are based on the observation of the immediate
•191 environment of the children—the home, the school, familiar animals, flowers
'876 and plants, fairy tales, school picnics, and trips—and in the third grade on such topics as the seasons, the story of bread, the various trades, the mail, the cleaning of the streets, transportation, and dramatized stories. In the fourth and fifth years conversation is merged with the preliminary discussion of composition topics.

Grammar begins in the second grade with the parts of speech, the singular, dual, and plural, the masculine and feminine, proper and common nouns, the adjective, the pronoun, simple conjugation, and the subject and object. In each subsequent year these topics are expanded and new topics brought in, for example, the root verb and the derivative verb, the past, present, and imperative, and their conjugation, the verbal and the nominal sentences, the active and the passive, the adverbs of place and time, number, the demonstrative nouns, and types of nominal sentences. By the end of the third year of the higher primary school almost all the topics of grammar have been studied, and some of them repeatedly emphasized.

The Arabic course culminates in the fourth year of the higher primary course with a study of Arabic literature, heroic and lyric poetry, dramatics, philosophical poetry, the story, and description. Selections from the works of two prose writers and one poet of the 'Abbasid period are studied.

History and Geography

'872 In teaching history and geography, the teacher is reminded that these
'876 subjects are of great use in developing patriotism and national spirit, that the two subjects are intimately related, that full use should be made of maps, particularly in the study of Lebanon's economic wealth and possibilities, and the lines of communication within Lebanon and between it and the Arab and other countries of the world. Special detail is to be given to the countries which have received Lebanese emigrants.

History and geography start informally in the first grade by reference to village life, the earth, the stars, and atmospheric phenomena. In the second and third years historical pictures and stories about Lebanon and the Arab countries are taken up. Beginning with the fourth year, history is divided into two parts: history of Lebanon and history of the rest of the world. In the fourth grade, early history of Lebanon is brought down to the end of the Byzantine period, and the history of the world to the discovery of America and the beginning of the Western nations is studied. In the fifth year Lebanese history to the present day is studied including

tants and less than 4,000 each of Syrian Catholics, Syrian Orthodox, Chaldean Catholics and other denominations.

In 1948, the Moslem contingent, comprising about 253,000 Sunnites and 224,500 Shiites, represented slightly less than 40 per cent of the population. The Druses, a dissident sect of Islam, dating from the 11th century, numbered around 79,700. They are scattered throughout southern and central Lebanon, but about 80 per cent reside in the province of Mount Lebanon. The diverse religious communities tend to live apart, and the close proximity of villages and towns, Christian or Moslem, is a feature of Lebanese life. In addition, about 6,000 Jews reside in Beirut and other cities; the majority are of Sephardic origin, and have been settled in the country for generations.

With the exception of the Armenians, most of whom fled from Turkish territory during the first quarter of the present century, and a few thousand each of Kurds and Assyrians, there are no linguistic minority groups. Most of the inhabitants speak Arabic or a minor dialectal variation. French and English are widely used, however, by the educated Lebanese. Small foreign communities of French, Polish, Greek, American, British and other nationalities also reside in Beirut and the coastal cities.

During the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948, Lebanon received over 170,000 Arab refugees from Palestine. In a total of 106,390 on the roster of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in 1951, about 34 per cent were housed in 15 camps located in different parts of the country, while the remainder lived in the various towns and villages.

A distinctive feature of the recent history of this region is the large-scale emigration of Lebanese to the Americas, Europe and Africa, which reached a peak in the years preceding World War I. The exact number of emigrants, most of whom sought to escape the impoverishing effects of continuing congestion on the land, is not known, but some authorities estimate that it exceeds that of the resident population. Many

last war, when they were dislodged from their original homes in the Kurdish mountains; the Chaldaeans have lived in the Mosul area of Iraq for many centuries. In 1933 a period of tension between a section of the Assyrians and the Iraqi Government ended with the killing of some hundreds of them by Iraqi troops. Several thousands in consequence crossed the frontier into Syria, and although some of them later returned to Iraq, others were settled in the Jazirah with assistance from the League of Nations. Their settlement became an integral part of the Syrian State in 1942.

A large part of the Syrian Orthodox and Catholics still speak Syriac. They have been settled since before the coming of Islam in north Syria and south Turkey, in and around the Taurus hills, against which the wave of Arab influence exhausted itself. Thus they have been able to preserve their Syriac dialect which farther south has been replaced almost everywhere by Arabic. Many are, however, bilingual in Arabic and Syriac, and others have abandoned Syriac and are now Arabic-speaking.

There are certain other groups which resemble the Armenians and Assyrians in not being Arabic-speaking, but unlike them are orthodox Moslems. The most important of them are:

(i) The Kurds, of whom there are perhaps 800,000.[1] They are mountaineers from the high country which links the Anatolian and Persian plateaux, and speak a dialect akin to Persian. Some of them have long been resident in the country, but others have emigrated in the last twenty years from their homes in the mountains of eastern Turkey, in order to escape the repressive measures of the Turkish Government. There are small numbers of Kurdish-speaking Yazidis, Alawis and Christians, but most of those who speak Kurdish as their native language are Sunnis.

(ii) The Turcomans, who number perhaps 30,000. They came originally from Central Asia, and their language is a dialect of Turkish. Originally nomads, they have now become semi-sedentary or wholly sedentary cultivators of the soil.

[1] These figures are only rough estimates; there are no official statistics for national and racial minorities.

Mutrajl is by far the largest, being at least twice as large as Jiddeyil, which is the second in size.

Al-Qurei'a a unit because its inhabitants consider it to be one. Within it, the individual villages regard themselves as independent, and the people even recognize minor cultural differences. For example, it was said that the phoneme *ain* is pronounced slightly differently in Bsebrin, Mutrajl, and Jiddeyil; that the people of one of the villages always marry people from the other villages rather than their own; that the women of one of the villages are more quarrelsome than those of another, and so on. Yet, in relation to the outside, al-Qurei'a is a unit. Why? It is not because of sheer proximity, although of course this helps. The reason is that, with minor exceptions concentrated in Jiddeyil, al-Qurei'a is exclusively Greek Orthodox in religion and is completely surrounded, in depth, by Maronite (technically Roman Catholic) villages. In 1921, Kisrawan had a resident population of 43,104, plus an emigrant population of 14,290. Of the residents, 34,193 were Maronites, 2,859 were Mirwanis (Shi'a Muslims), and 1,050 were Greek Orthodox (all figures from Hitti-Abdeh, 1936, pp. 410–11). Virtually all of the last must have been counted in al-Qurei'a.

It has not been possible to go very far into this study without encountering the phenomenon of units of loyalty and identification. Since this topic will occupy an increasingly important position as we proceed, nothing more will be said about it at this point, except this: Beyond, and except for, kinship and local connections, sectarian affiliation in the Middle East is the strongest bond which can unite a group of people and the most impenetrable barrier which can separate one group from another.

FROM BEIRUT TO MUTRAJL

Placed in its physical and cultural context, let us now turn to the village of al-Mutrajl itself. It might be asked why a community of farmers should settle in such an unfavorable environment in the first place. A tentative answer to this question will be presented in the chapter, "The Patterns of Culture Change." It might also be asked why, once established, such a community should grow greatly in size and continue to function even through periods of great economic difficulty. This is an easy question to ask. The remainder of this work is, essentially, an attempt to answer it.

Let us, now, in imagination, go to Mutrajl by automobile from Beirut. The trip will take perhaps an hour and a quarter.

Between Beirut and the mouth of the Dog River the road is lined, for the most part, with bananas and citrus plantations, and lush stands of tall reeds. Beyond the river, however, the citrus plantations cease, but the banana plantations continue. We notice that water is brought to them in open cement conduits. On the upper slopes to our right, we pass innumerable small villages and their olive and fig orchards.

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME: Lebanon ME:

It is, of course, no surprise to the anthropologist to learn that acculturation in the Middle East, as elsewhere, shows that material cultural traits are more readily transmitted than non-material ones. Nor is it any surprise to him that these material traits, the automobile for example, though readily *acquired*, cannot be *assimilated* without some major social readjustments. Before the latter are completed, there is bound to be turmoil and discomfort. But the turmoil in the Middle East is greatly aggravated through education by the introduction of a motley assortment of Western ideas, ideals, and concepts which cannot be ignored yet which the average student does not have the background to evaluate. If this were not confusing enough, the Arab student has become keenly aware of the frequently collosal discrepancy between Western ideals and some Western actions.

At the village level, one effect of modern education which has been of great significance in Munejf, is summarized by Kurani, ". . . the kind of education which is being offered in the public and most of the private schools tends to draw youth away from the villages and renders them unfit for work on the farms" (1951, p. 163).

In one respect, however, as we have already intimated, modern education has not, except in extreme cases, weakened the great value which the Arabs place upon their beloved native language. The very sound of the words is a profound delight to them. This has always been true, but one suspects that in recent years their pride in it as something uniquely their own has been greatly emphasized. Here is one treasure that the Westerners, for all their material skill and wealth, do not possess, which they can never make their own, which most Westerners who are given the opportunity fail to master even as a tool, which a few Westerners do master but only after considerable effort and application. And so, to its native speakers, Arabic is more than just a semantic tool; it is a source of everyday pleasure and inspiration; and it is a symbol of cultural integrity.

Associated with this is the cultural trait of elaborate verbalizing. There are countless verbal formulae which cover every conceivable occasion from giving condolences to asking for, giving, and receiving a drink of water. Probably, one does not come directly to the point on any issue; one approaches it circuitously, not because one is necessarily evasive in personality, but because it is the thing to do. And it is the thing to do because it is enjoyable. One Arab has put the matter thus: "Brevity is the soul of singleness." (Khairy, 1916, p. 208.) In the present writer's opinion, not enough thought has been given to the possibility that the great difference in this respect between Arab and, particularly, American values has been responsible for a noticeable portion of the mutual irritation and misunderstanding which has occurred in recent years.

In Munejf, as elsewhere, Arabic retains its paramount status. The wide knowledge of English is not to be interpreted as a breach in the villagers' cultural defenses, for English is learned, used, and looked upon as a tool only.

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197 LINGUISTIC IDENTIFICATION—dominant language or languages; affiliation with other languages; position within a linguistic stock or family; dialectic differentiation; processes of linguistic change (e. g., drift); etc. See also: Racial affinities . . . . . 166 Cultural affinities 175

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S L 161 162 chief towns of Syria and their populations are: Aleppo, 339,000 Damascus, the capital, 303,000; Hama, 134,000; Latakia, 90,000; Dair az-Zor, 65,000: of the Lebanon—Beirut, the capital, 247,000; Tripoli, 86,000; Sidon (Saida), 78,800; Zahle, 78,031. The population of each country is increasing by about 2 per cent a year. Between half a million and a million Syrians and Lebanese live abroad, mainly in the Americas and Africa; emigration continues; during 1952 about 100 Lebanese emigrated monthly, most of them to South America.

S L *Religions*

RELIGIOUS SECTS AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION

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	Syria		Lebanon	
	Population in 1947	*Seats in 1947*	*Population in 1952*	*Seats in 1952*
Sunni	2,040,908	100	573,125	9
Shia (incl. Alawis)	447,885	13	337,107	8
Druze	96,641	3	86,068	3
Maronite	14,133	1	377,544	13
Orthodox Greek	146,517	7	190,858	5
Orthodox Armenian	104,985	4	87,139	4
Orthodox Syrian (Jacobite)	43,081	2	4,560	
Catholic (Latin rite)	8,125		4,107	
Catholic (Greek rite)	49,543	2	81,784	3
Catholic (Syrian rite)	17,213	1	5,811	
Catholic (Armenian rite)	17,488	1	14,218	
Catholic (Chaldean rite)	4,881			
Protestants	11,858		12,641	
Nestorians	8,850			
Jews	30,873	1	3,888	
Others			6,885	
Minorities		3		1
TOTAL:	3,043,310	136	1,373,441	44

S L 197 162 The language of the great majority of Syrians and Lebanese is Arabic, and they think of themselves as Arabs. There are minorities of race, religion, and language:[1] the Kurds number between 100,000 and 200,000 and are mainly in northern Syria; most of them speak Kurdish but are progressively becoming less and less distinct from the Arabs. The Armenians, who live mainly in the three principal cities, now number about 140,000, although some 20,000 emigrated to Soviet Armenia in the 1940's. Most of them came as refugees from the Turks after the First World War. Other racial minorities are the Turkomans, Circassians, and Assyrians. Most of the religious sects

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[1] For further details see A. H. Hourani, *Minorities in the Arab World* (London, Oxford University Press for RIIA, 1947).

65:Landshut S-4 (no date)1950 M1 Middle East
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Lebanon that has no relatives in the United States, France, or some other Western country.

Lebanon joined the Arab League, very hesitatingly, because it wanted the League's support in its campaign for complete independence from France.

Typical of Lebanese uncertainty in support of Arab nationalism is the fact that the Maronites, who number 328,000 and are the largest single group in the country, have never shown opposition to the Zionist Movement in Palestine. Both the Maronite Archbishop of Beirut, Mgr. Ignatz Mouber, and the Maronite Patriarch have even, in the past, welcomed the progress and civilization which the Jews have brought to the Middle East.

The Lebanese Jewish community is mostly concentrated in the capital, Beirut, with a smaller number living in Tripoli in the north, and in Tyre and Sidon, in the south. They are as deeply rooted in the country as any other group, the first Jewish settlements dating back to biblical times. Like the Christian population, they have gladly accepted the influence of Western civilization. Most of them are bilingual in Arabic and French. For many years they have suffered no restrictions in either commerce or the liberal professions, and thus form a fair proportion of the middle class, some Jews holding high positions in the Government service. Jews are not confined to any special area, though most of the poorer Jews live in streets which, in former times, used to be a Jewish quarter.

As a member of the Arab League, Lebanon found itself willy-nilly bound to take part in the invasion of Israel. Once the fighting in Palestine had started, the Government was forced to apply security measures similar to those introduced in all countries of the Arab League.

All foreign Jews, including the students at the American University and the French college, were ordered to leave the country in January, 1948. When military operations started in May, 1948, about 200 political suspects were arrested. According to a Reuter message sent from Beirut at that time, however, they included only a few Jews.

The hysterical Jew-baiting which then broke out throughout the Muslim Arab countries naturally affected also Lebanese Muslims. On May 15, an anti-Jewish demonstration assembled in the early hours and a mob, armed with bricks, incendiary bombs, and whips, proceeded towards the Jewish quarter. The President of the Jewish community received a telephone call from the head of the Christian Arab community, suggesting the Jews should take steps to guard their houses.

When the mob reached the Jewish quarter, they were halted by guards who had been posted there by the Christian Arab community. At the request of the President of the Jewish community, the authorities sent armed troops, who prevented the rioters from entering the quarter.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

still rise with the sun, although they go to bed after dark. On the whole, there is no specific horological time for meals. However, the village schools operate on a definite time schedule, and this affects quite a large proportion of the resident population—the teachers and their families, the children, and their mothers who prepare their lunches. Of course, those who are, or have been, working in the city, are quite thoroughly conditioned to clock-schedules. A good deal of apparently unnecessary reference to and synchronization of watches was observed in the village. On the whole, however, it can be said that future plans which involve exact hours are made and fulfilled in a casual manner. Perhaps a valid generalization would be that the average individual regards his watch as a symbol of prosperity, an instrument, on occasion, of practical value, and an interesting toy—all in about equal measure.

Combs, toilet soap, safety and straight razors, shaving lotion, etc. (all of European or American manufacture) are universally distributed. Some people have and use toothbrushes. The women do not appear to use cosmetics to any great extent.

A variety of containers have already been described, but several more must be added. The rectangular five-gallon gasoline can, with its top cut out and fitted with a wooden handle, is widely used for carrying water, cement and other bulk materials. Various sizes of coiled baskets, cylindrical with large handles over the top, are used for carrying food. Large, flat wicker trays are used for carrying such things as bread and laundry and for the display of vegetables in the stores. Formerly, silk worm cocoons were set out on them.

Carpenter's and mason's tools—hammers, saws, planes, levels, drills, screwdrivers, chisels, and trowels—appear to be the same in form as they are in the West. Probably most of the items now used are western-made, but most of the forms are very old in the Middle East.

Agricultural tools are conservative and of very ancient form. There are no horses in the village (the Arabs use them for riding rather than for traction), and the ox is the chief draft animal. The plow consists of a wooden shaft (in several segments) to which a round iron spike is set at an agle. The thresher is a heavy sledge into whose bottom sharp volcanic stones (from the Akkar) are set. (See Thoumin, 1936, pp. 134-36, for illustrations.) Grain is winnowed by tossing it up into the air with a rather crude fork made entirely of wood. Small saws and hand-clippers (the only recent foreign element in the toolkit) are used for pruning. The last item is an iron spade, which is, if possible, manipulated by two or three men. One man grasps the handle and shaft in the usual manner, and, in effect, pushes the spade. One or two other men pull the spade by means of cords attached to the shaft just above the shoulders of the blade.

The traditional means of communication were donkeys, horses, and human backs and legs, traveling over rough stone paths. To this, can be added a nonma-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1/

202 terial means, which is still used a great deal—shouting from one section of the village to another. The horse and the donkey have given way to the automobile, 474 the bus, the truck, and the paved roads which they require. Two automobiles are stationed in the village, and a number of them are owned by villagers who live in the city. Those in the village are at least fifteen years old. One of the owners operates a regular (about three times a day) taxi service to Jbayl. The Beirut-Tripoli buses regularly stop at Ḥilwi, but the railroad trains never do. No one in the village owns a truck, but it is not difficult to hire one from Jbayl if necessary.

206 In terms of message communication, there are two new elements in the village. One is the public telephone at Ḥilwi. This does not seem to play a very important part in the life of the community. It is simply one apparatus in the network of telephones which the French Mandatory Government installed along 207 the main highways. The other is the radio. There is one at Ḥilwi and one in the village proper, both in private houses. A third, portable one was purchased during the period of study. There would doubtless be more if it were not necessary to run them on batteries. However, the villagers keep up to date on the news very efficiently. Every day several people go to and return from Jbayl in whose shops radios blare away constantly.

177.20 In the field of communication, foreign influence has been of profound importance.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

lished no identification with its urban surroundings nor to have established any strong ties with non-Munqifin. These people are, of course, by no means cut off from the village. People come and go from the village constantly for brief visits. The evening gatherings of this group are similar in form to those in the village proper.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The majority of men and women smoke cigarettes, and the rate of consumption appears to be high. European briar pipes are not smoked at all, but the old-fashioned water pipe is still enjoyed both by men and women.

It has been mentioned before that foreign influence has been particularly strong in the field of communication. Communication and means of entertainment overlap in such things as radio, the movies, books, magazines, and newspapers. Owing to its lack of electricity, Munqif has only three battery-run radios, and this instrument is not particularly important in the village as a means of entertainment. The available programs are limited in scope, consisting mostly of news and "disk-jockey" broadcasts. From his limited observation, the writer was impressed with the esthetic appeal of the spoken word (radio broadcasts are in Classical Arabic) to the listeners.

Cities like Beirut are over-equipped, if anything, with movie houses which show Egyptian, European, and American pictures indiscriminately. There is no question but that they provide welcome diversion and enlarge the villagers' horizons, although the American movies have spread some very erroneous impressions of life in America. To some degree there is a cult of movie-star worship, but this is far less pronounced than it is in America, and it appears to be limited to the leading lights of the Egyptian screen.

Illustrated weeklies and paper-bound novels are very numerous and widely distributed. Their format seems crude to eyes which are accustomed to slick periodicals. The novels, for example, tend to have garish illustrated covers which are reminiscent of "pulps." However, this impression is deceptive, for most appear to be serious works by Arab authors or translations of Western best-sellers and classics. For example, Wilder's *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* and Maugham's *Of Human Bondage* were two which were being read in the village. In addition, there is in Munqif some distribution of imported American paperbacks. No generalizations can be made here about the effect of this literature on the villagers. It can be said, however, that it seemed clear that Classical Arabic, spoken, retains a great deal of affective force which transcends the actual content of what is being said or recited. Western literature, on the other hand, is read merely out of intellectual curiosity or for sheer diversion, but it carries no emotional or esthetic charge.

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In neither country is there an officer caste or a strong military tradition, though the present Syrian regime is trving to create one.

Social Survey

The ruling class in both countries is drawn from wealthy families; titles do not exist and the 'old' rich families, whose position and wealth come from land, mix freely with the 'new' rich families, whose money comes from commerce. There is no stigma in engaging in trade and even members of the upper class are merchants. A middle class of functionaries and employees has been growing up since 1948 in the three main cities. Their flats, between the splendour of the rich quarter and the huddle of the *suq*, are being built in quantities and their new, middle-class way of life is based on European standards. The mass of the people are artisans and labourers. The urban artisan approaches the middle class and the rural labourer approaches the hard life of the nomad; for the farm labourer the standard of living is generally low.

The Press

The press of both countries is important but no one paper or group of papers has established an ascendancy. Damascus had at one time over twenty daily papers none of which could guarantee a circulation of over 3,000. The same state of affairs holds true in Beirut where most parties issue Arabic and in some cases French papers; there are also Armenian newspapers and one English daily.

Individual Lebanese have founded papers and *Le Commerce du Levant*, published in Beirut, has a standing comparable with *La Bourse Egyptienne*. In both countries press censorship has frequently closed down a paper only for it to re-emerge under another name, and in Syria the military dictatorship has reduced the press to a mere mouthpiece of official propaganda.

Education

In both countries there are primary and secondary schools, and the number of schools and students increase each year. Primary education is compulsory, and although reliable figures of literacy are not available,[1] it may be assumed that the percentage of illiterates is decreasing in both countries, but is higher in Syria than in Lebanon. In Syria, most of the schools are run by the state and of the private schools (which are

[1] An estimate for Syria for 1947 given in UN, Dept. of Social Affairs, *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation*, 1952, was 40–50 per cent.

iii. The 'Sûreté Générale', the organization responsible for internal security. It had always been in French hands, although in principle the local police and gendarmerie were under the control of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments. S L 648 625

iv. The control of the Beduin.

v. The censorship of the press, which was in French hands, although there was also a British military censor. (Shortly after the accession of the new Syrian and Lebanese Governments to power, they set up their own political censorships, which did not, however, replace that of the French, but were additional to it.) S L 648 204

Thirdly, in addition to these legislative and administrative limitations, there were various restrictions even on those powers which the Governments possessed : S L 648

i. Their freedom of action was restricted by the great influence of the administrative and technical 'conseillers', who, although officials of the Governments and in theory subordinate to the Ministers whom they advised, were in practice almost all-powerful in the departments to which they were attached.

ii. Another restriction arose from the existence of the officers of the 'Services Spéciaux' who were scattered throughout the country. In theory they were the Delegate-General's intelligence officers, but in practice they had always exercised a virtually unlimited authority in their regions : an authority which they had enforced where necessary by means of the 'Gardes Mobiles', a semi-military police force which they had at their disposal. Among other things, the control of the frontiers was in their hands.

The nationalists had always demanded the recognition of the two Parliaments as the sole sources of legislation ; the transfer of the Common Interests and other similar services to the Syrian and Lebanese Governments ; the abolition of the 'Services Spéciaux' officers and a curtailment in the powers of the 'conseillers'. It was clear that these demands would be pressed with vigour by the new Nationalist Governments, partly because of the principles involved but also because of concrete advantages to be gained from them. For example, control of the customs would give them power to regulate fiscal policy and thus indirectly to assist industry and trade, and would place in their hands an important source of S L 648 186

to lead to the following general conclusions concerning the influence of emigration upon the social organization of the village:

1. *Social control breaks down:* The influence of emigration, as a convenient escape from social control, has been discussed above. It is mentioned again, with a view to emphasizing its significance. At first, social control with its inevitable individual frustrations—was a factor in the enhancement of the emigration movement. However, once that step was taken, emigration began to react upon the social organization of the village and became a strong factor in the breakdown of its social control. The church and the kinship patterns of behavior were no longer adequate for the control of the elements in the new situation. A state of disorganization was the result.

2. *Rise of the village post office as an institution:* Prior to the emigration movement, no regular post office existed in the village, and the people were not conscious of that institution in any significant manner. There was no need for it, as very few letters were received every month or so. With the advent of emigration, the situation was completely changed. Letters exchanged between the village and abroad became very frequent and highly significant. Through those letters, the ties between the emigrants and the folks at home were preserved and the flow of cash money into the village took place. Two concepts became highly significant in the people's vocabulary, as a result of

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that flow of correspondence, "Maktoob" (letter) and "Maktoob Musowker" (registered letter). A check was always contained in the registered letter, and it became the symbol of joy and festivities for the family group.

Once or twice a week, the mail came to the village. Many hours before the arrival of the mail, people would assemble in the barber shop of Uncle Deeb (for he became the uncle of everybody) who was responsible for the distribution of the mail. For hours, before and after mail distribution, people would loiter there, exchanging the news of their emigrants and having a social time. Usually, Uncle Deeb preferred to put the registered letters aside and then give them in person to the families concerned. That was his reward—to be a messenger of joy to the people. As he went around, he spread the news of the registered letters far and wide, until everybody began to talk about them.

3. *Cash money becomes a supreme value in village life:* Through the silk industry, foreign missions and contact with the city, cash money, as a highly desirable article of value, was introduced into the village organization. In order to obtain more of this new value, emigrants were lured abroad. Through hard or easy work, straight or crooked means, they got hold of the precious cash and sent it back to their people. Without any exception, every single one of those letters mentioned above, referred to cash money that had been sent, was

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

THE MATERIAL BASE

THE PHYSICAL PATTERN OF THE VILLAGE

AS a physical site, al-Munṣif has five parts (See Fig. 2): The hamlet of Ḥilwi; the three saints' shrines each of which has been, at one time or another, the nucleus of a small house-cluster, and the village proper. The territory which belongs to the village is roughly triangular in shape. The apex of this triangle is at the eastern extremity of the village proper, the sides extend from the apex to the seashore which forms the base. The paths which lead from the village proper to the shore, via Mar Maama and Mar Mukhail, run along ridge crests. The boundaries of the village lie in the *wadis* (dry stream-beds) which are immediately adjacent to these crests, to the south and the north of them, respectively. All of the real property within the area thus defined belongs to the citizens of the village.

Ḥilwi owes its existence to its location on a main highway, near a small, sheltered cove, and, possibly, to the two springs which were mentioned in the previous chapter. The development and present significance of this hamlet will be discussed further in Part II. Here we need only mention that Ḥilwi has the most extensive fig orchards in the village, and, in a small building which is used as a store in summer, there is a public telephone. This is the only electrical appliance of any kind, dependent upon a central public power system, in the entire village.

The shrines will be discussed in the chapter, "Formal Institutions." Of the three, only Mar Mukhail has recently had any significance as a residence site. At present, one family of outsiders lives there in the winter (See next two chapter). It will be noted that the site has a special name, ʔarqbi, besides that of the shrine.

The village proper (see map, Fig. 3) is built, as has been noted before, on the flank of a crest, extending in a northwest-southeast direction for the greater part of one kilometer and steadily decreasing in altitude from 280 meters above sea level in the southeast to 180 meters in the northwest. The highest houses in the southeast are virtually on the top of the crest. As the map and figures indicate, the village is also sharply tilted in a northeast-southwest direction. For the most part, the houses, as well as the terraces, are oriented longitudinally along the contours of the ridge. In the section of the village which lies to the south of the main road there is a very full distribution of functioning terraces, but in most of the northern part, terraces are either entirely absent or (except in the eastern extremity) fallen into ruins. In its essential details, this settlement pattern belongs to a type which is commonplace in Lebanon (Thoumin, 1936, p. 283).

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

terial means, which is still used a great deal—shouting from one section of the village to another. The horse and the donkey have given way to the automobile, the bus, the truck, and the paved roads which they require. Two automobiles are stationed in the village, and a number of them are owned by villagers who live in the city. Those in the village are at least fifteen years old. One of the owners operates a regular (about three times a day) taxi service to Jbayl. The Beirut-Tripoli buses regularly stop at Ḥilwi, but the railroad trains never do. No one in the village owns a truck, but it is not difficult to hire one from Jbayl if necessary.

In terms of message communication, there are two new elements in the village. One is the public telephone at Ḥilwi. This does not seem to play a very important part in the life of the community. It is simply one apparatus in the network of telephones which the French Mandatory Government installed along the main highways. The other is the radio. There is one at Ḥilwi and one in the village proper, both in private houses. A third, portable one was purchased during the period of study. There would doubtless be more if it were not necessary to run them on batteries. However, the villagers keep up to date on the news very efficiently. Every day several people go to and return from Jbayl in whose shops radios blare away constantly.

In the field of communication, foreign influence has been of profound importance.

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near Aleppo, and at Rayaq and there are many emergency landing fields.

Sea Ports. Since 1950 Beirut has handled over 2 million tonnage of ships a year; an increase of about a quarter of a million over the pre-war figures. The port has a free zone through which goods are shipped to Syria, Iraq, and Jordan. But the Syrian Government hopes to divert some of the transit trade from Beirut and has, with the assistance of a loan of $6 million from Saudi Arabia, formed a company to develop Latakia in order to handle about a million tons of goods a year (in 1952 431,593 tons were handled). Work on the extension of the port was begun by a Yugoslav firm in April 1953. Tripoli, Sidon, and Banias are ports handling the oil from the pipelines[1] and are little used for other purposes.

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Wireless and Telephones. An automatic telephone exchange system covers most of Syria and an automatic exchange is planned for Beirut. Telephone links with Europe and America are available through Beirut and normal cable facilities exist. The Syrian state broadcasting authority has two large transmitters and broadcasts in Arabic, French, English, and Hebrew. Near Beirut there is a station which broadcasts in Arabic, French, and English.

S L 206

The 'Common Interests'

S L 648

Under the Mandate, Syria and Lebanon formed an economic and customs union, the Higher Council of Common Interests, under the direct control of France, which administered customs and excise and controlled concessionary companies, antiquities, and some other services. On 1 January 1944 the control was transferred to the Syrian and Lebanese Governments. The currencies were linked and interchangeable, and both the Syrian and Lebanese pounds were largely backed by French francs based on a rate of 8·83 to the pound sterling (then worth $4·03). In order to maintain a good profit on the exchange brought in by oil companies the Lebanese and Syrian pounds were not devalued in 1949 to follow sterling. Exchange was controlled by one department for both countries and the note issue is in the hands of the French Banque de Syrie et du Liban.

But these links were incompatible with the differences that developed in the economic policies of the two countries when they became independent. Syria, in normal years, has a large exportable surplus of agricultural products and little transit trade, whereas the debtor trade balance of Lebanon is com-

[1] See Appendix IV, p. 570 below.

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202 trial means, which is still used a great deal—shouting from one section of the village to another. The horse and the donkey have given way to the automobile, 479 the bus, the truck, and the paved roads which they require. Two automobiles are stationed in the village, and a number of them are owned by villagers who live in the city. Those in the village are at least fifteen years old. One of the owners operates a regular (about three times a day) taxi service to Jbeyl. The Beirut-Tripoli buses regularly stop at Hibri, but the railroad trains never do. No one in the village owns a truck, but it is not difficult to hire one from Jbeyl if necessary.

286 In terms of message communication, there are two new elements in the village. One is the public telephone at Hibri. This does not seem to play a very important part in the life of the community. It is simply one apparatus in the network of telephones which the French Mandatory Government installed along 287 the main highways. The other is the radio. There is one at Hibri and one in the village proper, both in private houses. A third, portable one was purchased during the period of study. There would doubtless be more if it were not necessary to run them on batteries. However, the villagers keep up to date on the news very efficiently. Every day several people go to and return from Jbeyl to whose shops radios have away constantly.

177.20 In the field of communication, foreign influence has been of profound importance.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Island no identification with its urban surroundings nor to have established any strong ties with non-Mussalim. These people are, of course, by no means cut off from the village. People come and go from the village constantly for brief visits. The evening gatherings of this group are similar in form to those in the village proper.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The majority of men and women smoke cigarettes, and the rate of consumption appears to be high. European briar pipes are not smoked at all, but the old-fashioned water pipe is still enjoyed both by men and women.

It has been mentioned before that foreign influence has been particularly strong in the field of communication. Communication and means of entertainment overlap in such things as radio, the movies, books, magazines, and newspapers. Owing to its lack of electricity, Mussalim has only three battery-run radios, and this instrument is not particularly important in the village as a means of entertainment. The available programs are limited in scope, consisting mostly of news and "disk-jockey" broadcasts. From his limited observation, the writer was impressed with the esthetic appeal of the spoken word (radio broadcasts are in Classical Arabic) to the listeners.

Cities like Beirut are over-equipped, if anything, with movie houses which show Egyptian, European, and American pictures indiscriminately. There is no question but that they provide welcome diversion and enlarge the villagers' horizons, although the American movies have spread some very erroneous impressions of life in America. To some degree there is a cult of movie-star worship, but this is far less pronounced than it is in America, and it appears to be limited to the leading lights of the Egyptian screen.

Illustrated weeklies and paper-bound novels are very numerous and widely distributed. Their format seems crude to eyes which are accustomed to slick periodicals. The novels, for example, tend to have garish illustrated covers which are reminiscent of "pulps." However, this impression is deceptive, for most appear to be serious works by Arab authors or translations of Western best-sellers and classics. For example, Wilder's *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* and Maugham's *Of Human Bondage* were two which were being read in the village. In addition, there is in Mussalim some distribution of imported American paperbacks. No generalizations can be made here about the effect of this literature on the villagers. It can be said, however, that it seemed clear that Classical Arabic, spoken, retains a great deal of affective force which transcends the actual content of what is being said or recited. Western literature, on the other hand, is read merely out of intellectual curiosity or for sheer diversion, but it carries no emotional or esthetic charge.

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WELFARE

In a very few cases of total incapacitation, individuals have had to be placed in public institutions for care. Otherwise, the village takes care of its own unfortunates, in conformance with the traditional attitudes of self-sufficiency. A unit of the Lebanese Red Cross visits the village at regular intervals to provide medical care for those who need it, but have been unable or unwilling to go to a doctor in the city. There is a regular, and entirely traditional, mechanism for caring for families who get into financial straits. A close friend of the family, who has learned of the situation because of his closeness, goes to each household in the village saying, "There is among us a family in need. I am going to give them some money; how much are you willing to give?" It is very bad form to ask for whom the collection is being made, and a contribution which is offered under such conditions may be refused by the collector. The strict secrecy which accompanies this behavior suggests that even in such a tight in-group as the village keeping up appearances is a conscious value. Clique and lineage rivalries undoubtedly contribute to this.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONS

Everyone in the village, except for a handful among the very old, are literate. A quite respectable number have received or are receiving college educations. The significance of education in the village will be discussed in the next chapter; here it is appropriate to consider only the bearing which education has on occupations.

Literacy itself is no entity in Lebanon. In fact, among the Christians, at least, one can safely say that it is the expected thing. Mere literacy alone would raise one's aspirations only above that of manual laborer, in the city. For professional status or for governmental positions college educations are prerequisite. Medicine and the law require additional training beyond college which no one in Mumjil has recently undertaken. The number of positions open to ordinary college graduates which are in line with the individual's ambitions (befitting a learned and cultured person) are rather limited in Lebanon, and many such persons must be satisfied with whatever they can find. In consequence, a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction is to be found among those who have had advanced education.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

Mumjil depends, and has always depended, upon crops which do not require rain or irrigation in the growing season. In order, the most important are olives, figs and grapes. Of these the major cash crop is olives. This has not always been true. Up to 1914 the major cash crop in the village, and in Lebanon as a whole, was the silkworm cocoon, fed on mulberry leaves. Sericulture has not died out completely in Lebanon, and it is still fairly strong in the Kisrawan, Kura, Metn, and Shouf districts (Wurst, 1948b, p. 240), but it has long since lost its economic

importance.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

position with respect to Maximal Lineages A and B, respectively, except that these shrines themselves were built after the founding of the village—"at least two hundred years ago." However, there are two kinds of *waqf*. The more common is land (or other property) given to a religious institution often in fulfillment of a vow, and its usufruct is reserved for religious purposes. In other words, it is an endowment. There is another kind of *waqf*, also, however, and this is represented in Mansūf by Mar Jurjis and its *waqf*. In this case the *waqf* is a sort of family trust. The usufruct of the land is reserved for the family or lineage (in Mansūf, A.III) which originally established it. Only when and if the lineage dies out is the property turned over to a religious institution. The Caliph Omar (A.D. 634–643) is credited with the invention of *waqf*, but actually the Byzantines had similar legal forms (Bonne, 1948, pp. 199–220). It happens that the present priest belongs to A.III, hence he would derive some income from Mar Jurjis even if he were not the priest. He is also the custodian of the other *waqf* lands, and the income from them is his. The disposition of *waqf* income is not made in this way everywhere, but this arrangement makes a sizeable contribution to the support of the priest and his family. In addition to being paid fees for performing rituals, the priest is also supposed to receive an annual contribution from each head of a household.

Some villages have religious schools attached to the church, but in Mansūf formal religious instruction is conducted by the priest periodically in the village school. For the most part the religious instruction of the children is left to their parents.

SCHOOLS

"Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to or approximates universal literacy" (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, p. 407). Mansūf is certainly one of these, and its condition is due to a long-standing emphasis on education.

In the village itself there are two schools, the government school and the "national" school. The government school is part of the government educational system. Instruction is free, except that the students must provide their own books. There are about seventy students and two teachers, both, at the moment, members of the village (A.V and C.XX).

The Lebanese public school system is based on the French, but it is incomplete. There is a fairly good distribution of public elementary schools, like that in Mansūf, which offer a six-year program (recently shortened to five years) at the end of which the student receives a *certificat*. There are some public schools (mostly in large towns and cities) which carry the process about three years further, a *brévet* being granted at the end. The student who wishes to continue his education beyond the *brévet* must do so outside the public school system, and he has three courses to choose from (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 417–18). He may choose

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
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694 counter adults who had been to Beirut or Tripoli not more than once or twice in their entire lives. As another informant said, "Everyone was *filaḥ*"—meaning, in effect, that everyone was either a farmer or had some part-time or full-time specialty which was directly concerned with rural subsistence. One person guessed that at any given time no more than ten men, and no women, in the village could read and write.

615 As the population of the village increased and the generations passed, the 621 three original lineages became segmented into sub-lineages. This was evidently a gradual process; the three original lineages did not all become completely subdivided at the same time. Eventually, the three original lineages lost nearly all their significance as in-groups since this function had been taken over by the new, smaller lineages. It has been noted before that while the name of the original lineage now identified as Maximal Lineage A is no longer used by any of the minimal lineages derived from it, the names of Maximal Lineages B and C are preserved as names of two minimal lineages. It may be that a more accurate view of this matter, of which the villagers were aware but could not explain, is as follows: The kin group now identifiable as A became completely subdivided into smaller lineages, and its name was thus eliminated. B and C, however, were never completely subdivided, possibly because of their smaller size. Thus, although several new lineages did develop from or split off from the original B and C, remnants of these latter continued on, retaining the original name. This interpretation, if valid, might explain why Minimal Lineages XII and XVI, which bear the names of B and C, show a greater diversity of patrilines than their fellow minimal lineages. In the view of the Mungifin in 1953, however, lineages XII and XVI are regarded in no different light from the other 'ayli.

177 At some time around 1880 the outside world began to force itself upon the circumscribed life of the village, in not one way, but several ways. First, American Protestant missionaries brought new education, with its prospects of prestigeful and possibly lucrative employment, within reach of everyone in the village. Then, America became known as the land where one could go for a few years to work, make more money than one could possibly earn in the village, and then return to 167 the village to live an easier, more comfortable life. Emigration, at first and for a long time conceived of only as a temporary expedient, began about 1890. And, finally, Western manufactured articles began to be imported.

175 By 1914 profound changes had been wrought in the village. Many of its 621 members had gone to America, some of them never to return. A decline in the price of silk had led many to replace their mulberries with olives, but the financial loss in this respect was overbalanced by the financial gain of money made in America, or sent from America. While the houses of the emigrants stood empty and began to fall into ruins, more and more new houses, with tile roofs glowing proudly in the sun, were being built. Native villagers had taken over the school founded by the missionaries, and others had established their own. Literacy and

7: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types, economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the importation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

3. The drift of villagers *en masse* to the city for employment—in part in consequence of factors 1 and 2.

4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

The intellectual factors in the economic change in Munjid were brought about by the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In this connection, three consequences must be noted:

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village-level urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied *both* with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well-recognized by e. say. Malinowski (1945, pp. 67–68) has remarked on its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Weulersse (1946, p. 268) refers to education as unfitting people for village life. Kunz (1946, p. 43) speaks of a prevailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Richardson and Patai say:

> Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The technical backwardness, the contrast of enormous wealth and extreme poverty, the group hatreds, suspicions, the apathy of peasant millions and overlords alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West form small lonely "middle-class" groups talking progress, but either powerless, unwilling, or thwarted in their attempts to change a millennia-entrenched system. (1949, pp. 489–90.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts in values among the Munjidis, as among other Middle Easterners. The various changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of traditional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Munjidis are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a means of sub-

4.24 **Languages spoken. Table 39**

191 The proficiency of household heads in languages was investigated for the major languages spoken in Beirut. Nine out of ten speak Arabic. The largest incidence of a foreign language spoken was French (42 %) with English next (22 %). The former of course reflects the mandate and other historical connections with French culture as well as the fact that French is the second official language, while the latter is part of a trend detectable very easily in Beirut with the great influx of Americans since the war.* Turkish is the fourth most significant language reflecting the old Ottoman Empire for Arabs and the bilingual speech of the Armenian refugees. Armenian itself is the next largest language group. No other languages have numerical significance.

4.25 **Languages read. Table 40**

191 212 As was expected a much smaller group (67 %) of household heads read Arabic. The difference between speaking and reading of French and English is negligible. Private schools in both languages insist on training students in the language of the sponsoring country as well as Arabic. Indeed, many native born and bred Beiruti Arabs read French more fluently than Arabic. The drop in the reading of Turkish is still more spectacular, but Armenians seem to have learned both to speak and read the language.**

4.26 **Languages written. Table 41**

There is no significant difference between the reading and writing of any of the languages recorded in the survey for heads of households.

* during the war.

† of Arabic, Armenian, Greek and Western script who can

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22: Churchill S-5 (1962) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

4.31 Number of years attended school. Table 42

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The amount of schooling of spouses of heads of households is less than of the household heads. Almost forty percent have had no formal education. The mean schooling in years is 3.9, but interestingly, of those who have been to school, there is a somewhat higher average amount of schooling for the spouses.

In higher education (baccalaureate or higher) there are about four percent of the sample, indicating again the cultural belief in the greater economic utility of educating men. This is part of the oft expressed attitude that educating women is expensive and the benefits go to her husband, not her own family.

4.32 Type of school attended. Table 43

As with household heads, for those responding among the spouses, nine-tenths went to private schools while an additional small group went to both private and public schools.

4.33 Country of school attended. Table 44

Almost three-quarters of the women also were educated in Lebanon only. In general the pattern of schooling by type of school attended is like that of the household head.

4.34 Languages spoken. Table 45

191

Less spouses speak Arabic, probably due to the fact that for foreigners there is less need among women to speak the language of the country than there is for the bread winner. The order of secondary languages is again French, English, Turkish and Armenian. One peculiar difference lies in the larger proportion of men than women who speak both Turkish and Armenian.

4.35 Languages read. Table 46

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212

Literacy is lower among spouses than household heads with over a third of the spou-

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ses illiterate. Fewer women read in each language category which is statistically significant.

Those not reading correlate closely with the percentage of those who have not attended school.

4.36 **Languages written, Table 47**

As with the men there is no substantial difference in the ability to read and to write any of the languages recorded.

The fact that spoken language is the most common, then reading and last writing holds up in Beirut. The difference between reading and writing is not significant but accords with expectations.

Children of Head of Household

A special type of table has been constructed for the children of heads of households which shows the relationships between age and years of schooling for children now in school and now out of school. The tables are broken down by sex and are also shown with sexes grouped together.

4.41 **Male children now not in school, Table 48**

In the sample there were 1674 male children of heads of households who are now not in school. Of these thirty-two percent were below school age which was arbitrarily set at six or less. Another fifty-four percent were above school age. Here again it was necessary to set an arbitrary age. It was set at sixteen which is probably too high in terms of the actual situation. This leaves a group of male children of school age now not in school of fourteen percent.

4.42 **Female children now not in school, Table 49**

There were 1243 female children now not in school. Some thirty-eight percent were below school age and forty percent above school age. There was a residue of twenty-one percent who are of school age but not in school. These

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Table 40

Languages Read by Household Head

Languages Read	Number	Percent
Total	2992	100.00
Arabic	1210	40.44
Armenian	141	4.72
French	687	22.96
English	348	11.63
Turkish	122	4.08
Hebrew	7	0.23
Other Eastern	14	0.47
Other Western	108	3.61
Other	1	0.03
None	346	11.56
Don't Know	8	0.27

Table 41

Languages Written by Household Head

Languages Written	Number	Percent
Total	2981	100.00
Arabic	1194	40.05
Armenian	144	4.83
French	690	23.15
English	339	11.37
Turkish	124	4.16
Hebrew	8	0.27
Other Eastern	16	0.54
Other Western	106	3.56
Other	2	0.07
None	351	11.77
Don't Know	7	0.23

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Table 46

Languages Read by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Languages Read	Number	Percent
Total	2303	100.00
Arabic	768	33.35
Armenian	126	5.47
French	459	19.93
English	192	8.34
Turkish	53	2.30
Hebrew	5	0.22
Other Eastern	5	0.22
Other Western	65	2.82
Other	4	0.17
None	614	26.66
No Answer	12	0.52

Table 47

Languages Written by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Languages Written	Number	Percent
Total	2346	100.00
Arabic	738	31.46
Armenian	125	5.33
French	462	19.69
English	197	8.40
Turkish	48	2.05
Hebrew	33	1.41
Other Eastern	6	0.26
Other Western	63	2.68
Other	4	0.16
None	655	27.92
No Answer	15	0.64

p. 32 (c)

16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

who hold formal authority, are still predominantly village-centered. However, the number of those living away most of the time is impressive, and it includes most of the younger heads of household. In the future, then, it appears probable that the number and proportion of those living away will increase. Yet, of the large number who live away most of the time, few if any have broken effective and affective ties with the village. This is a very important point, and more will be said about it later.

There are two reasons for the prevalence of residence away from the village: (1) education at a higher level than that provided by the two schools (one public, one private) in the village; and (2) urban occupations, qualification for most of which depends on at least a primary education. Education and nonagricultural jobs thus go hand in hand, and the basic motivation rests in the very understandable desire to make a better living than that which farming in the area is likely to provide.

The people of al-Munsif are very proud of their educational status, which they have attained by diligent efforts and considerable sacrifice over a period of several decades. Nearly 100 percent literacy prevails, and in many cases it is bilingual. Forty-eight persons between the ages of 15 and 29 (43 of them between 15 and 19) were still receiving their education in 1952 — in the village schools, in boarding schools, and at the college level. Most of them are boys, but 11 girls are included. The majority of the college students attend the American University of Beirut, and there are several graduates of that institution in the population.

The segment of the population between the ages of 15 and 69 can be looked upon as the potential working force of the village. Thus, 335 people are involved, of which 171 are males and 164 are females. To arrive at the number of people who are gainfully employed outside the home, we must subtract the 48 students, the 120 females who were either housewives or girls "at home," and the 19 men who were clearly unemployed at the time of the study. The actual working force, in terms of earning capacity, therefore amounted to 148 people (115 men and 33 women).

Of these wage earners, 49 were working in the village and 99 away from it. Economically, then, the urban trend appears to be even more pronounced than the population by residence figures, alone, suggests. It must be kept in mind, however, that the majority of heads of household, whatever their primary occupation, are also landowners and derive some income from the produce of their land even though most of them do not do the farm labor themselves.

The village occupations include 10 full-time farmers (mostly middle-aged men) who operate their own farms and also perform various tasks — such as plowing — for other landowners who are not farmers. Services of this kind are paid for in cash. There are 14 other men who work as hired hands for the farmers or for non-operator landowners. Then there are

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

other business activities with the West; modern technology and means of communication; and, finally, the rise of political consciousness, culminating recently in national emancipation.

Each of these factors for change has been potent, introducing far-reaching influences in the life of the people. The educational movement has brought a rate of literacy, estimated at 70 percent, which is unequalled in any other rural area of the Middle East. The rate is even higher for the more advanced mountain region considered separately from the coastal and urban areas of Lebanon. Here we find a school in practically every village, catering to the needs of both boys and girls. From the elementary schools, village youth has flowed in increasing numbers to high schools and colleges. As a result, the horizon of the village has been widened intellectually and economically, causing the farming folk to question their way of life and to seek greater opportunities in the outside world.

As mentioned before, Lebanese emigrants, mostly from the rural areas, left in relatively large numbers to the Americas and other parts of the world. Practically every farm-family unit has one or more of its members residing abroad. Through correspondence, the press, and literature, through clubs and societies, through visits back home, and by means of the substantial sums of money sent to their families, these emigrants have contributed heavily to the widening of the village horizon and to the changing of its pattern.

Perhaps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities.

The village community of Lebanon is now going through a stage of rapid transition and difficult adjustment. Its traditional organization, with its institutional pillars of family, land, and religion, is being severely challenged. New ways of doing things

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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In neither country is there an officer caste or a strong military tradition, though the present Syrian regime is trying to create one.

Social Survey

The ruling class in both countries is drawn from wealthy families; titles do not exist and the 'old' rich families, whose position and wealth come from land, mix freely with the 'new' rich families, whose money comes from commerce. There is no stigma in engaging in trade and even members of the upper class are merchants. A middle class of functionaries and employees has been growing up since 1948 in the three main cities. Their flats, between the splendour of the rich quarter and the huddle of the *suq*, are being built in quantities and their new, middle-class way of life is based on European standards. The mass of the people are artisans and labourers. The urban artisan approaches the middle class and the rural labourer approaches the hard life of the nomad; for the farm labourer the standard of living is generally low.

The Press

The press of both countries is important but no one paper or group of papers has established an ascendancy. Damascus had at one time over twenty daily papers none of which could guarantee a circulation of over 3,000. The same state of affairs holds true in Beirut where most parties issue Arabic and in some cases French papers; there are also Armenian newspapers and one English daily.

Individual Lebanese have founded papers and *Le Commerce du Levant*, published in Beirut, has a standing comparable with *La Bourse Egyptienne*. In both countries press censorship has frequently closed down a paper only for it to re-emerge under another name, and in Syria the military dictatorship has reduced the press to a mere mouthpiece of official propaganda.

Education

In both countries there are primary and secondary schools, and the number of schools and students increase each year. Primary education is compulsory, and although reliable figures of literacy are not available,[1] it may be assumed that the percentage of illiterates is decreasing in both countries, but is higher in Syria than in Lebanon. In Syria, most of the schools are run by the state and of the private schools (which are

[1] An estimate for Syria for 1947 given in UN, Dept. of Social Affairs, *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation*, 1952, was 40–50 per cent.

44:Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945-1946)1949 Ml Middle East
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Chapter 24

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

TWO UNIQUE features of education in Lebanon distinguish it from education in the rest of the Arab world. Lebanon has the highest rate of literacy among the Arab states. It is estimated that between 70 and 75 percent of the children of primary-school age are attending school—a considerably higher rate than in the neighboring countries. This rate would have been higher had it not been for the addition to Lebanon after World War I of some regions which were much less advanced educationally than the original Mount Lebanon. Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to or approximates universal literacy.

The second remarkable fact is that this comparatively advanced stage has been accomplished largely through the efforts of private and foreign schools rather than through publicly supported schools. Indeed, before World War I, autonomous Lebanon had only one public school, the Daudiyah at 'Abay, which was supported by the Lebanese government for the education of the children of that predominantly Druze region.[1] The private and foreign schools were largely sectarian. This gave education in Lebanon a predominantly sectarian character, emphasizing sectarian differences, the remnants and effects of which are felt to this day.

Even in 1945–46 the number of pupils enrolled in the public schools was smaller than the number of those enrolled in either private schools or foreign schools. Higher education is conducted entirely in foreign institutions. Secondary education is shared between private and foreign schools, the Lebanese Ministry of National Education having no complete secondary schools. Primary education is conducted in all three types of schools—public, private, and foreign—with the public schools in the third place in enrollments. In addition to primary schools, the Ministry of Na-

[1] Government schools existed in those parts of the present Lebanese Republic which were parts of the neighboring Ottoman provinces. Among these were the cities of Beirut (now the capital of Lebanon), Tripoli, Sidon, and Tyre, as well as such districts as 'Akkar, Buqa', and Marju'yun.

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have retained close contact with their homeland, a factor which has had a profound influence on the social and the economic development of the country. 186 167

Unlike the neighboring Arab states, Lebanon is a compact territory. The density of population in the four administrative provinces, exclusive of Beirut district, averaged over 300 per square mile in 1948. It was 484 per square mile in Mount Lebanon, 356 in North Lebanon, and 291 in South Lebanon, but declined to 101 in the potentially fertile districts of the Bekaa. About 60 per cent of the inhabitants live under rural conditions in some 2,300 large or small villages. Urbanization has increased progressively within recent years, however, and almost one half of the population is now concentrated within easy access of Beirut. The city, which is not only the capital and the industrial metropolis of Lebanon but the principal port for the Levant states, had a population of 300,000 to 400,000 in 1950. Tripoli, the second largest city and the terminus of the pipeline from the oil fields in northern Iraq to the Mediterranean, had a population of roughly 78,000. Numerous towns in the southern and the central portions of the Lebanon range are popular resorts, with an annual influx of summer residents. 161 635 162 369

The fact that Beirut has become one of the leading cultural and educational centers of the Near East has stimulated the spread of education in the rest of the country. The literacy rate is consistently higher among the men than among the women: it probably averages from 75 to 90 per cent in Beirut and the neighboring districts of Mount Lebanon and from 40 to 60 per cent in the other provinces. The expansion of education has been influenced by the activity of French, American and other foreign groups, but the division between the different systems has hindered the development of a unified national program. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory, although the facilities are inadequate, especially in the rural areas of the south. 871 212 562 871 648 185 872 369

p. 111(A)

44:Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945-1948)1948 ME Middle East
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course. Instruction is given in piano, violin, viola, cello, voice, ensemble, theory of music, solfeggio, harmony, history of music, and musical forms. Although the normal duration of the regular course covers six years (two years for each stage), advancement depends upon proficiency and may be more or less rapid. Graduates receive either a certificate or a diploma; the certificate is awarded for satisfactorily meeting the standard requirements of the curriculum, the diploma for satisfying the following requirements in addition: (1) giving an instrumental recital; (2) playing in ensemble; (3) completing specified required courses; and (4) giving a specific performance, the exact type depending upon the instrument used.

The Institute of Rural Life.—In addition to its regular schools and courses, the University maintains an Institute of Rural Life in conjunction with the Near East Foundation, an organization which succeeded the Near East Relief after 1928. The work includes teaching improved agricultural methods to school children and farmers in five villages in the Buqa', health work among the farmers, work with village girls, extension activities, and a program of scholarships. The Institute issues pamphlets on agricultural and health subjects, and a reader for illiterates written by a professor at the University has been in use for some time. Summer camps in the Buqa' region are held every year by volunteers from the faculty and students from the University. This provides experience for students in rural life and problems. The health service employs a full-time doctor and some nurses. The sociology and agricultural departments of the University have played an active role in conducting the Institute. Recently some scholarships have been offered to students from Iraq and Syria for study at the Sanitary Inspection Institute in Cyprus, and a nurse from Iraq was given a scholarship to study public health and home welfare in Jerusalem.

The University issues various series of research studies in archeology, Oriental studies, social science (including economics), the medical sciences, and natural sciences. It has a main library of about 50,000 volumes. There are branch libraries at the International College and the intermediate section. There are also the Nickoley Library in economics and political science, the extensive Islamic library, the philosophy seminar library, and the medical library, the latter comprising about 14,000 volumes, of which more than 9,000 are bound volumes of medical journals. The medical library subscribes to 218 different journals.

The University has a museum with sections of archeology, geology, botany (including an extensive herbarium), and zoology.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: THE SUBSIDIARY GROUPS

621 The group called *Peripheral to the Core* is rather heterogeneous, and it is not internally unified. It includes three house servants, one of whom is a Druze, another a Maronite, while the religion of the third was not ascertained. Each of the labourers in the village has a professional helper and both of these men are included in the Peripheral Group. One is a Maronite from Jbeil, and he is the brother of the husband of a member of one of the Affiliate Families of the Core Group. The other is a Sunni Muslim who has his wife and one small child with him in the village.

These members of the Peripheral Group are outsiders to the village in terms of religion and local origin. There is only one affinal tie with the Core Group, and it is with a family whose Core Group status is marginal.

The remaining seven members of the Peripheral Group consist of a single nuclear family, parents and five children. This group is Greek Orthodox in religion, and it came from Syria about five years previous to the study. The father does agricultural wage labor. Between this family and the Core Group there is no religious barrier, but it is not a part of the Core Group because of its immediate outside origin and because it has no kinship or marriage connections with the Core Group. Its very presence in the village was discovered only after the period of study had been under way for some time, and explanations were supplied by Core Group informants only in response to questions put by the investigator.

621 231 289 543 The B'nayeen are all Maronites (Lebanese Roman Catholics). They are sheep and goat herders who regularly drive their flocks down to Mamjid every October from the two high villages of which they are members, which are buried in snow all winter. They return to the high slopes in April. They are all united by their religion, and each village group is particularly cohesive because it is a village group and because of kinship and marriage ties. From the village of Jaaj there are three residence units: (1) a nuclear family consisting of father, mother, one son, and two daughters; (2) an adult, single man and his mother; (3) a brother of this single man, his wife, five sons and three daughters. From the village Ehmij there are, first of all, two independent nuclear families. One of these (parents, one son, and two daughters) lives in the village proper; the other (parents and several children) lives at 'Ayqa. Also from Ehmij is a family which is headed by two adult brothers and a known, as a group, by the name of their father. One brother lives in the village proper with his wife and, sometimes, two sons and their wives. The other brother lives at Hbeir with his wife and several children. It was stated that the members of this family are *shirkeyn* (partners), that is to say, the property of the brothers is not divided and they pool their resources.

621 643 The *Mawali* (designation of the Lebanese Shi'a Muslims) consist of three house-

of the Wiremen and the Mirvil as groups. The Wiremen are tradesmen, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thesiger, 1936, pp. 156-57). According to Core Group informants, they, or other Maronites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily in their own interest which is the need for winter patronage for their sheep and goats. However, the Core Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The Beds furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mirvil are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mirvil as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a percentage rent to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this rent is agreed upon with a view to the Core Group rendered getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mirvil, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the kilns or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or laundresses. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of superiority-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one economic dominant over another. The critical factor is simply the relative degree of economic superiority and local establishment which exists in the particular area. In other words, as has been suggested above, Munsif is simply one localized example of the operation of Core's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way colored by group avoidance or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in all social relationships in the village is equalitarian, emotional, to be sure, with the various hostilities which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of itinerants: (1) Tinkers and scissors grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the liveliness of the streets in cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright; others seek, perhaps discreetly, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawar (Gypsies). One group of them was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular head-dress, their faces tattooed, marching up the road with

were classified into the six categories in the headquarters office. It would be interesting to find out the reasons why they stay in Beirut. It is presumed that the fourth category, namely, they like it better, would be a relatively high category, considering the well-known attractions of metropolitan living as compared to rural living in other countries.

3.411 Distribution of summer migrations to villages, Table 72

One of the best known phenomena of residents in Beirut is the tendency on the part of those who can afford it to return to the villages during the summer months, particularly mountain villages.

It may be seen in the Table that about one-third of the sample return to villages during the summer. It would be interesting for further study to find out what proportion returns to escape the heat of the coast and what proportion returns for economic reasons, either to reap the benefit of the summer harvest or to engage in service occupations for the summer vacationists.

3.412 Month of migrations to villages, Table 73

Those who do return to the village in the summer were asked what month they usually returned. It may be seen from the table that the exodus gets under way to the tune of one-third

p. 14(A)

• See Table 72 — Reasons for moving to Beirut.

•• See Tab'e 73 — Summer migration to village.

of the sample in June, and rises to a peak with about one-half of the sample in July, with the rest, who are unable to make it earlier, leaving in August.

5.63 Month of return to Beirut from village. Table 74

As the Beirutis go early, so they return late to Beirut from the village. About four-fifths of the sample returned to the pleasant fall climate in October. City institutions are geared to this return. For example, the schools do not open until October. A few, fifteen percent, returned in September - probably as late as possible in the month, while only a fraction, four percent, returned in July or August.

5.7 Place of residence considered home. Table 75

Overwhelmingly Beiruti residents considered their home to be in Beirut. This result is particularly surprising in view of the well-known verbal tendencies of Beirutis to identify themselves with their village of origin. Evidently this feeling for the village is more verbal than actual, a conclusion which, however, is in accordance with the attractions of cities as noted in other places.* Other indications, however, are that the village is still highly attractive, especially in the summer.** Perhaps the safest conclusion would be that the Beirutis are schizo-home.

p. 14(a)

Table 73

Incidence of Seasonal Migration to Village

Migration	Number	Percent	Sig.
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
No	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
No response	[illegible]	[illegible]	

Table 74

Month of Migration to Village

Name of month	Number	Percent	Sig.
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
July	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
August	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
No response	[illegible]	[illegible]	

[illegible]

Table 74

Month of Return to Beirut from Village

Name of month	Frequency	Percent
Total	634	100.00
July	3	0.47
August	23	3.63
September	94	14.83
October	503	79.34
No answer	11	1.73

Table 75

Place of Residence Considered Home by Head of Household

Location	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1859	100.00	
Beirut	1554	83.60	.008
Other urban in Lebanon	9	0.48	
Village	101	5.43	.005
Foreign	49	2.64	.004
No answer	146	7.85	

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5741

p. 44 (c)

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

226 Fishing is important as a means of livelihood only at Sarafand. The village proper lies a couple of miles inland but a suburb has grown along the coast where a fishing community exists. The industry, primitive and using only row boats, employs some 200 persons on a part or full-time basis. The gross take is estimated at LL. 80,000 ($22,000) annually. These fishermen often own small plots of farm land, which accounts for many of the 300 small farms reported for Sarafand.

382 464 The Trans-Arabian Pipe Line (Tapline) has its Mediterranean terminus at Saida which lies just north of the area under discussion. About 600 Lebanese workmen are employed by the company, some of them coming from the villages under study. No statistical data are available on this question but it does not appear that employment by Tapline affects the five villages to any great extent.

It is reported that some of the member companies of Tapline are planning to erect an oil refinery near their present operations. During construction employment opportunities for local unskilled labor will probably occur. When the plant is in operation, two or three hundred men will be required, hence continuing employment opportunities will be available. It may be that small industries will be established to use some of the products of the refinery. This would offer an opportunity for limited industrial development. Such diversification is very desirable for this otherwise agricultural community.

Domestic Water, Sanitation and Health

000 Technical details concerning pollution of wells, types of diseases prevalent in the project villages, and similar data will not be found in this report. This aspect of the problem falls within the jurisdiction of the specialized and highly trained public health technicians attached to the Technical Cooperation Service, Lebanon.

312 An ample and safe supply of drinking water is not available for any of the five villages included in the improvement project. En-Nasriyah depends upon a covered shallow well for its domestic water supply, the other villages have access to springs. In most cases these sources are adequate as to quantity except during the summer months. In all cases the purity is questionable. Village

463
441 were too small to be thought of in this category. They represent almost six percent of the sample.

Personal services

463
445 The category "personal services" was composed of the sub-groups, barbers, cooks, customs releasers, waiters, servants and miscellaneous occupations of similar calibre. Customs releasers, of whom seven were interviewed, is an occupation which would not have been thought of in most indexes of occupations, but constituted a significant part of our personal services sample category. Their occupation involves dealing with the customs officials as a service which relieves travellers and businessmen from the tedious procedures of customs.

Only twelve servants were found in the sample. This figure is misleading unless it is remembered that the servants are primarily women or young girls and they are not heads of families. The incidence of servants is better represented in the household composition chapter. The group accounts for over five percent of the sample.

Protective services

463 Protective services include policemen, firemen, gendarmes, guardians and soldiers. Firemen are not a significant part of the protective services, because a stone and concrete city has little call for their services. The biggest group is that of policemen and gendarmes. A surprisingly large number of soldiers were interviewed, considering the small military establishment in Lebanon. The entire category was only slightly over four percent.

Agricultural occupations and fishing

463
226 Agricultural workers are sub-divided into the workers proper who do not own land and owners who work on their land. Shepherds and fishermen were also included. It is interesting to note that, for a seaboard city, more shepherds were found than fishermen, although this is probably an accident of sampling. However, fishing is less of an occupation than might be supposed since fish are in short supply near the

12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

463 226 city and are very expensive as a result. Otherwise the sample is small as might be expected in a city.

Processors of food and other agricultural products

463 The category of processing of food and agricultural products includes such sub-groups as bakers, meat cutters, and those engaged in tobacco and textile manufacturing. About three percent of the sample are in this category.

Clothing fabrication

Those who are engaged in the fabrication of finished clothing include such sub-groups as dressmakers, knitters and tailors. They represent almost five percent of the sample.

Fabricated wood and wood products

463 335 Sub-groups include carpenters, paper-manufacturing employees, and others engaged in final processing of wood products. Carpenters were included in this category rather than in the construction industry, since the use of wood is almost negligible in the construction industry. Indeed, almost nothing but doors are made of wood. The principal work of carpenters is in building furniture and cabinets. They almost invariably work out of small shops. The group includes less than three percent of the sample.

Printing

463 Less than half of one percent of the sample were engaged in the printing trade. This is probably an underestimate.

Potters and allied trades

About one percent of the sample was engaged in the making of pottery and the fabrication of other stone and clay products.

Metal working

Metal working occupations were sub-divided into blacksmiths, jewelers, machinists, and tinkers. Jewelers are primarily gold and silver craftsmen which accounts for their inclusion in

p. 17(A)

16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

in the genealogy, but there is no disagreement on their ultimate origin in the same man, often referred to as "our forefather." On the basis of the number of generations accounted for in the chart, it appears that the founder was probably born sometime late in the 16th century. Historical material is available which gives a clue to the reason for the founding of the village and at the same time supports the estimate of the date suggested by the genealogy. The reign of the Amir Fakhr al-Din II (1590–1635) is known to have been a period in which many Syrian Christians sought refuge in Lebanon to escape Turkish persecution. It is reasonable to suppose that the founder of al-Munsif, a Greek Orthodox Christian, was one of these. The probable date of the establishment of the village suggests, further, the reason for the selection of a site which is far from ideal for agricultural purposes: the better-favored areas in Lebanon had already been occupied by other groups.

Once established, what manner of village was al-Munsif? Everything that can be learned about "the old days" indicates that it must have been typical of the traditional pattern of village life in the Middle East, which in turn fits the criteria of the "folk community," as understood by sociologists in general.[1] Life in al-Munsif, then, prior to the last quarter of the 19th century when the great cultural changes began, was focused on four major themes:

1. *Devotion to the Land.* Agriculture was the economic base of the community, the occupation of all its members except for a few specialists who also were often part-time farmers.

2. *Religious orientation.* Religious attitudes permeated all aspects of life; religious behavior was integrated with economic and family behavior. The religious affiliation of the village was sharply defined.

3. *Predominance of kinship statuses* in the patterning and regulation of interpersonal affairs, for example in mutual aid arrangements. The kinship group was a focus of intense loyalty for its members, so much so that members of the same lineage were often preferred in marriage.

4. *Extreme localism* of knowledge, interests, and loyalties. This was reflected in the prevalence of inter-village feuds and in the clear preference for the marriage of an individual to a member of his or her own village rather than to an outsider. (Village endogamy.)

In the case of al-Munsif, there were a few variations on this normal structure. On the economic side, first, a certain amount of fishing has always been done right from the village itself. Second, the necessity of importing wheat has always made some money income imperative. It was therefore common for village men to do wage labor in other communities in slack seasons. Sponge diving was one such seasonal occupation, profitable but hazardous.

[1] See Afif I. Tannous, "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 48 (1942), pp. 231–39; "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution 1943* (1944), pp. 524–43.

16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEl Lebanon MEl

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3. *Predominance of kinship statuses* in the patterning and regulation of interpersonal affairs, for example in mutual aid arrangements. The kinship group was a focus of intense loyalty for its members, so much so that members of the same lineage were often preferred in marriage.

4. *Extreme localism* of knowledge, interests, and loyalties. This was reflected in the prevalence of inter-village feuds and in the clear preference for the marriage of an individual to a member of his or her own village rather than to an outsider. (Village endogamy.)

In the case of al-Munsif, there were a few variations on this normal structure. On the economic side, first, a certain amount of fishing has always been done right from the village itself. Second, the necessity of importing wheat has always made some money income imperative. It was therefore common for village men to do wage labor in other communities in slack seasons. Sponge diving was one such seasonal occupation, profitable but hazardous.

[1] [illegible], "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 48 (1942), pp. 231–39; "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution 1943* (1944), pp. 520–43.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

WELFARE

In a very few cases of total incapacitation, individuals have had to be placed in public institutions for care. Otherwise, the village takes care of its own unfortunates, in conformance with the traditional attitudes of self-sufficiency. A unit of the Lebanese Red Cross visits the village at regular intervals to provide medical care for those who need it, but have been unable or unwilling to go to a doctor in the city. There is a regular, and entirely traditional, mechanism for caring for families who get into financial straits. A close friend of the family, who has learned of the situation because of his closeness, goes to each household in the village saying, "There is among us a family in need. I am going to give them some money; how much are you willing to give?" It is very bad form to ask for whom the collection is being made, and a contribution which is offered under such conditions may be refused by the collector. The strict anonymity which accompanies this behavior suggests that even in such a tight in-group as the village keeping up appearances is a conscious value. Clique and lineage rivalries undoubtedly contribute to this.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONS

Everyone in the village, except for a handful among the very old, are literate. A quite respectable number have received or are receiving college educations. The significance of education in the village will be discussed in the next chapter; here it is appropriate to consider only the bearing which education has on occupations.

Literacy itself is no rarity in Lebanon. In fact, among the Christians, at least, one can safely say that it is the expected thing. Mere literacy alone would raise one's aspirations only above that of manual laborer, in the city. For professional status or for governmental positions college educations are prerequisite. Medicine and the law require additional training beyond college which no one in Munṣif has recently undertaken. The number of positions open to ordinary college graduates which are in line with the individual's ambitions (befitting a learned and cultured person) are rather limited in Lebanon, and many such persons must be satisfied with whatever they can find. In consequence, a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction is to be found among those who have had advanced education.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

Munṣif depends, and has always depended, upon crops which do not require rain or irrigation in the growing season. In order, the most important are olives, figs and grapes. Of these the major cash crop is olives. This has not always been true. Up to 1914 the major cash crop in the village, and in Lebanon as a whole, was the silkworm cocoon, fed on mulberry leaves. Sericulture has not died out completely in Lebanon, and it is still fairly strong in the Kisrawan, Kura, Meten, and Shuuf districts (Février, 1949b, p. 249), but it has long since lost its economic preeminence.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

used as fuel in the city. In the village, brushwood is collected for fuel in addition to the importation of kerosene.

Animal manure is not used extensively as plant fertilizer because it is scarce. Recently this meager supply has been supplemented by British-made chemical fertilizers. Night soil is not used at all.

Animal husbandry is very limited. Each farmer has a yoke of oxen for traction and some have a few cows for milk. There are one or two donkeys in the village. Two farmers keep bees. The hives are formed in the large water jars (*jarra*) described earlier. Several of these, each split horizontally across the middle, are set in a row. The bees enter and go out by the narrow open neck. The honey is removed by separating the two halves of the jar, and half the honey is left for the bees. Some fowl are kept in the village, primarily for their eggs. Dogs are kept by some householders, and cats by more, for guarding and mousing, respectively. They are not treated as pets, or objects of affection.

It is the lack of water which so seriously limits agricultural productivity in the village. The possibility of drilling successful wells, even with modern equipment, is, as was noted in the first chapter, very remote. Irrigation lines, which affect the coastal strip lower than forty meters above sea level, have been extended almost to Ba'ishta from the River Ibrahiim to the south, and to the village of Madfuun, just north of Burbara, from the River Jawz. The Qurni has the misfortune of being halfway between these rivers, at the end of the line in both directions. It is also unfortunate in that since its coastline is more precipitous than surrounding areas, it has a smaller area of potentially irrigable land than the surrounding areas. Nevertheless, it would be of great help to the village if irrigation water could be brought to it.

CONCLUSION

This chapter can fittingly be closed with a series of quotations which summarize, high-light, or give wider perspective to some of the points which have been made. They do not require any comment except that of drawing the reader's attention to their dates, especially those of the last three.

> 1. It is probable . . . that it was on the slopes of the originally forest-clad mountains of ancient Phoenicia that rain agriculture began. (Lowdermilk, 1944, p. 415.)
>
> 2. The effort of the Lebanese has made this country capable of nourishing a relatively dense population. There are few mountainous regions so little favored by nature from which man has drawn such a great agricultural return. (Thoumin, 1936, p. 126; translation mine.)
>
> 3. The Syrian peasant is more like a miner than a farmer. (Himadeh, 1936, p. 92.)
>
> 4. Elsewhere man has cultivated the land: in the Lebanon he has made it. Elsewhere the harvest is the produce: here it is the soil. Man collects and carries to

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

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LAND USE

Land use in the eight project and control villages

231

LIVESTOCK

Total number of livestock in five project villages

Each unit 100 head

GOATS..... Total xxx

CATTLE..... Total xxx

SHEEP..... Total xx

DONKEYS..... Total xx

Farm Organization

The isolated farmhouse, typical of agriculture in the United States, is rarely seen in Lebanon. In the five project villages nearly all farmers live in the *dai'ah* or built-up area. Their wooden plows, harrows, and other farm equipment are stored each day in their houses in the *dai'ah*. Often a stable is connected to or is part of the living quarters to take care of the family cow or other livestock. The concentration of dwellings in our area in the Middle East often results in a considerable expenditure of time in walking to fields located sometimes two to five miles from the village. In the project villages the land lies in a narrow strip. Farms at the far ends require an hour or more to reach by walking.

The share-tenant or small landowner has a cow or two which he depends on for draft and milk, a simple wooden plow, and a few other simple hand tools. These comprise his capital equipment. The field work is shared by all the members of the family, although in the *dai'ah* section of the area there is a fairly rigid division of labor between the sexes. Plowing is a man's work, while rarely will a man be seen carrying water from the village fountain.

In the project area no evidence is seen of tractors, harrows, mechanical threshers, or other mechanized farm equipment except on one or two large farms operated by non-resident owners. None of the project villages has electric power. Farm organization is based upon an intensive use of labor rather than capital. Low wage rates and an ample supply of laborers combine to make the use of labor more advantageous than mechanization. In 1932 the prevailing rate for farm laborers was L.L. 3 (about 85 cents) for men and half that for women per 12 to 15 hour day.

Most of the project villages have a plot of land called the *baidar* where the villagers, often working in common, thresh their grain. Here the wheat or other seed crop is placed after it is brought from the fields. For month after month in the summer, one finds the oxen pulling behind them a *mauraj*, a flat board the underside of which is dotted with protruding stones or jagged pieces of metal. The farmer's wife or a small boy rides on this and with a stick directs the oxen over a layer of grain. In this way the kernels of grain are loosened and the straw is cut fine for fodder. In order to separate the kernels of grain from the chaff, the farmer tosses the mixed grain and chaff

Wheat was listed among the four most important agricultural items in every one of the eight project and control villages. Barley was included among the four most important crops for the villages of Sabadaiyah and Chiftlik. Reference has already been made to the prevailing types of crops grown in the villages, depending on whether the area is predominantly dry or irrigated.

Livestock

The livestock owned by villagers or landlords and kept upon the lands of the villages included cows, goats, sheep, donkeys and chickens. No camels or horses were reported in the five project villages. It was not possible to estimate the number of chickens in each village. Goats formed the largest numerical group, numbering 1,000 animals. Eight hundred and eighty cows, 333 sheep and 62 donkeys were reported (Table IV). According to value, cattle were by far the most important animals.

In the village of Sabadaiyah, Mr. Fuad Mikati owns a herd of sheep head of Holstein. The herd is valued at L.L. 100,000 (about $28,000) and it was claimed that milk from the cows is sold for L.L. 40,000 (about $11,000) annually. In addition to milk, a small amount of meat, goat hair, wool and manure is sold by the villagers. Due to the lack of pasture land, the herds of village livestock are fairly small. By and large the livestock in this region are for the purpose of local power and consumption. Cows provide the farmer with a draft animal and milk; goats furnish milk, goat hair and meat; donkeys furnish transportation for water, produce, and the farmer's family; while the wool from the sheep is utilized by the industrious housewife to furnish clothing for the family, stuff mattresses, or act as a barter item at the market. Mutton is important in the diet of the average family.

Land Ownership

Statistics are presented for only the five project villages regarding land ownership and agrarian distribution. It is, however, evident from available data that the patterns found in the project area applies to the three control villages.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(1) Due to the urgency of this report it was not possible to obtain detailed information on the villages in the control area regarding livestock.

McCulloch E-5 [1914]1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

boundaries. The principal source of this cash income used to be the silkworm cocoon, supplemented by wage labor. Third, in regard to kinship groups, there appears always to have been a tendency to minimize (in comparison to other villages) the distinctiveness of the various lineages. Since, however, all village members recognized the same common ancestor, and were therefore all related, this tendency does not necessarily indicate that the principle of kinship grouping, in itself, was unimportant in the village.

Finally, extreme localism was to some degree modified in al-Mansif. Some of the seasonal wage laborers brought back brides from the communities in which they worked — a violation of the principle of village endogamy. However, these cases were rare, and in every one the outsider was at least a coreligionary of her husband. Al-Mansif also had, and still has, a sort of second line of defense, or buffer, between it and the outside world. This is the group of villages, seven of them including al-Mansif, which has been alluded to earlier. This cluster of villages has a name which is used by its inhabitants, symbolizing its unity. Visiting has always been common among the villages, and ties of friendship are many. Furthermore, there has always been a certain amount of intermarriage among the villages. Each case of this was, technically speaking, a violation of village endogamy, but it was a very different matter, in the villagers' eyes, from marrying "a stranger." The unity of the seven villages can be ascribed largely to the fact that the same sect affiliation — Greek Orthodox — is predominant in all of them while the surrounding region is predominantly Maronite. But all these modifications do not detract very much from the picture of the al-Mansif of former times as being a typical "folk" community: predominantly agricultural, inward-oriented, consistent and self-contained in its system of values.

III

The changes which have occurred in al-Mansif began about 1880. By 1914 all the trends were apparently set which have since gathered momentum and wrought considerable modifications in the traditional patterns of life in the village.

In the latter part of the 19th century, three new factors came to bear on the culture of Lebanon which had profound effects. These can be analyzed specifically in the case of al-Mansif, but were certainly felt in many other Lebanese villages.

1. Factory-made articles from Europe began to be imported, with two consequences: first, the lessening in importance (and eventual extinction) of village handicrafts; and second, a newly developed demand for European articles, such as furniture, obtainable only on payment of cash. Thus, an already tight economic balance in the village threatened to become an extremely serious squeeze. Doubtless the situation would have become really

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Table 44. Lebanon: Agricultural Production and Consumption, 1959
(Thousands of metric tons)

Product	Area (hectares)	Production	Consumption	Deficit	Surplus
Vegetable products					
Cereals	258.0	222.0 a/	277.0	175.0	
Legumes	17.1	11.7	45.3	33.7	
Vegetables	15.1	207.8	169.7	5.2	43.3
Fruit	13.3	240.1	198.5	0.6	86.6
Industrial crops	14.1	77.2	98.1	28.9	9.0
Livestock products					
Meat	---	1.3	22.7	16.4	
Milk products	---	6.3	78.4	40.0	
Eggs	---	1.5	2.1	0.6	
Fish	---	3.0	3.5	0.5	
Forest products					
Charcoal	---	27.0	27.0	-	-
Firewood	---	81.3	81.3	-	-
Timber	---	175.0	200.0	25.0	

Source: Lebanese Delegation to Fourth Regional Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Beirut, 13 to 27 September 1959, "Le développement de l'alimentation et de l'agriculture au Liban" (mimeographed).

a/ Total cultivated area, 273,000 hectares, including 9,000 hectares under other crops and 15,000 hectares of fallow land. Total forest area, 74,000 hectares.

b/ Wheat accounted for almost one-half and barley for one-quarter.

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Livestock production is still far from meeting local needs, and the lack of good natural pasture or fodder crops, together with the poor quality of breeds, limits the supply of animal products; these products account for only 8 per cent of net agricultural production. Recently, however, an improvement has taken place, owing to the importing of selected breeding-stock by the Government and farmers, reduction of the incidence of disease and of cotton-seed cake (soybean) meat-meal, pulp and other concentrated foodstuffs. b/

b/ Lebanese Delegation to Fourth Regional Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Beirut, 13-15 September 1959, "Le problème de la production animale".

424 ent farmers. Large holdings, owned by
427 absentee landlords and worked according to the share-tenancy system, predominate, however, in the Bekaa valley, in the Akkar plain and in the province of South Lebanon.

290 A diversity of crops is grown in different parts of the country. The subtropical climate of the coastal plain permits the cultivation of citrus fruits and bananas, while olives, grapes, apricots and other fruits flourish on the terraced mountain slopes. Cereals and legumes are the chief crops of the Bekaa, but cotton, tobacco and numerous types of vegetables are also produced.

259 Large numbers of goats, as well as sheep, cattle and other livestock, are raised, pri-
231 marily as food or draft animals. Sericulture is carried on in many mountain villages, but the competition of artificial silks has contributed to its decline within recent years.

457 The government encourages the expansion
463 of agriculture through the promotion of co-operative credit and marketing facilities. There are no experimental farms or research stations, but instruction in modern methods of farming is provided by the agricultural division of the government's vocational school in Beirut and by the American University.

135 The mineral resources of the region are
316 negligible. Small deposits of lignite, located
317 in the hills above Beirut and Tripoli, are
491 worked intermittently. Salt is also extracted in evaporating beds along the coast north of Beirut. The development of modern industry received some impetus during the war years 1941-45, but is handicapped by the scarcity of raw materials and the limitations of the internal market. Numerous small plants exist for the processing of consumer goods, including the manufacture of textiles, cement, soaps, distilled liquors, leather goods, cigarettes, olive oil and various foodstuffs. The Iraq Petroleum Com-
372, 315 pany has recently established a refinery at Tripoli, the terminus of its pipeline from the oil fields in the Kirkuk region. The chief exports are olives and olive oil, textiles, silk, fruits and petroleum products.

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sporadic cases of kala-azar. *P. papatasi* also transmits sandfly fever, which is endemic throughout this region.

Lice. The human lice, *Pediculus humanus corporis*, *P. humanus capitis* and *Phthirus pubis*, infest the inhabitants in some of the poorer urban and rural communities. *P. humanus corporis* is the vector in occasional outbreaks of louse-borne typhus and louse-borne relapsing fever.

Fleas. The human flea, *Pulex irritans*, and the rat and the dog fleas, *Ctenocephalides felis felis* and *C. canis*, are common. The rat flea, *Xenopsylla cheopis*, infests the domestic and the wild rodents, and is implicated in the transmission of sporadic cases of murine typhus and plague. *Xenopsylla cheopis* is indigenous in Palestine, and probably occurs throughout the coastal area, where it is a potential vector of plague.

Bedbugs. The bedbug, *Cimex lectularius*, is an annoying pest in all sections of the country.

Ticks and Mites. Numerous species of ticks infest the livestock. The dog tick, *Rhipicephalus sanguineus*, is widespread. It has been implicated in the transmission of cases of Mediterranean spotted fever. *Ornithodoros tholozani* is found in certain isolated localities, and is probably the vector in a few recognized cases of tick-borne relapsing fever.

The human itch mite, *Sarcoptes scabiei*, is widely distributed. It was exceptionally prevalent during the war years 1941-45. The grain itch mite, *Pediculoides ventricosus*, is plentiful in the grain-producing districts. It produces a troublesome rash when it attacks man.

Scorpions and Spiders. Species of *Buthus* and *Scorpio* are sometimes seen, particularly in the interior, but serious cases of scorpion sting apparently are unusual. The poisonous black spider, *Latrodectus tredecimguttatus*, is reported from Syria and Israel, and may exist in adjacent portions of Lebanon.

Reptiles. Poisonous snakes are relatively rare, but the vipers, *Vipera lebetina leb-*

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944 organization in Beirut and of the government authorities in other parts of the country. Shops dispensing foods are required to have a permit, but the enforcement of sanitary regulations is lax in many towns and villages. Although the law provides for the registration of food handlers at 3-month intervals, the routine examinations are often cursory and of little value. The establishments are inspected from time to time, not only by the health officers, but also by agents of the Lebanese tourist department.

Most animals are inspected, before and after slaughter, by veterinary officers in the municipal abattoirs in Beirut and the principal cities. There is no regular supervision, however, of the meat supplies in the rural areas. A large percentage of the meat used in Lebanon is imported from Syria or Turkey, and is not subject to routine inspection locally.

944 There are two small pasteurization plants 2.346 in Beirut which process limited amounts of 1649 milk, butter and cheese. Although the plants 2.32 are supervised by the municipal authorities, no control is exercised over the sanitary quality of the raw product. Pasteurized milk is bottled; all other milk is sold in bulk. Milk is customarily boiled before use in each household, but butter and cheese are potential sources of human infection. Brucellosis is endemic among the cattle and the goats. The extent of bovine tuberculosis is not known.

HEALTH SERVICES AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

Ministry of Health

949 The public health organization which had evolved before Lebanon became an independent republic in 1943 was reorganized in 1953, and its responsibilities were defined by law. At that time, its name was changed from that of Ministry of Hygiene and Public Assistance to the Ministry of Public Health. The Ministry, which has its headquarters in Beirut, is administered by a Minister of Public Health who is assisted

p- ME(A)

in the Bekaa they averaged less than 1 per cent.

Schistosomiasis. Schistosomiasis apparently is not endemic, but the infection has been demonstrated among Palestinian refugees living in camps near Tyre. In the examination of urine specimens from 15 boys, from 6 to 12 years of age, in a school at Tyre in 1950,[9] the eggs of *Schistosoma haematobium* were found in 47 per cent. A second series of urine samples, taken a few months later from 25 refugee boys, from 7 to 14 years of age, revealed eggs in 16 per cent. All the boys came originally from the Haifa and the Acre regions in Palestine. The infection was still localized in 1951, as shown by the fact that urine specimens from 1,000 boys enrolled in different schools in the the same camp were completely negative for *S. haematobium*.[10] No evidence of infection has been found in the course of limited surveys among Lebanese children in the vicinity of Tyre, and the disease was formerly unknown in the local population.

The intermediate snail host, *Bulinus* [illegible], inhabits streams and irrigation canals near Tyre and Sidon, and has been collected from one farm in the middle reaches of the Litany River. It is feared that the disease may become established and spread in the irrigated districts of the coastal plain between Tyre and Sidon.

Taeniasis. Three outbreaks of trichinosis have been recorded—in 1894, 1939-40 and 1941. The second outbreak occurred in Beirut district, where most of the pig farms are concentrated. The number of recognized human cases was small, but in the examination of about 1,000 pigs on several farms in the neighborhood of the slaughterhouse, 15 to 26 per cent were found to be infected with *Trichinella spiralis*. A high rate of infection was also discovered among rats trapped in the area. The mass slaughter of the pigs on the affected farms and the incineration of infected carcasses were ordered by the health authorities. In the 1941 outbreak, 30 human cases, with 2 deaths, were reported, all traceable to infected meat from

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a single farm near Zahle. The rate of porcine infection probably totals less than 2 per cent under normal conditions. Pork is consumed only in Christian households, and human cases are seldom observed.

Other Helminth Infections. Infection with one or more species of intestinal worms is prevalent among both rural and urban populations. Ascariasis is widely distributed, with the lowest infection rates in the cultivated areas of the coastal plain between Beirut and Sidon and the highest in the Bekaa. The infection, which is more frequent among children than adults, probably averages 25 to 50 per cent in the country as a whole. Enterobiasis and trichuriasis are common, but strongyloidiasis is relatively rare.

Taeniasis, caused by the beef tapeworm, *Taenia saginata*, is second to ascariasis in prominence. The infection rates range from 5 to 15 per cent in different localities, but are highest in the vicinity of towns and cities, where the consumption of beef exceeds that in the rural villages. The use of raw meat in the preparation of the popular national dish, *kubbi*, is a factor in the spread of the disease. Infection with the pork tapeworm, *T. solium*, is sometimes seen in the Christian communities. The dwarf tapeworm, *Hymenolepis nana*, is encountered occasionally, especially in children.

Echinococcosis is sporadic. The prevalence of the disease in the general population is not known, but it apparently is far from negligible. According to the records of the American University hospital in Beirut, 140 persons, mainly from Lebanon and Syria, were treated for hydatid disease in the 22 years 1926-48. The rate of canine infection is high throughout most of this region. The examination of 237 stray dogs, collected on the streets of Beirut in the summer of 1948,[39] revealed that about 21 per cent harbored adult forms of *Echinococcus granulosus*. Surveys have also demonstrated the presence of hydatid cysts in a large percentage of the meat animals slaughtered in the abattoirs in Beirut. In

p. 124(C)

1934-35, infection was detected in 22 per cent of 1,156 sheep and goats examined and in 45 per cent of 201 cattle.[48] The degree of infection varies, as shown by the subsequent investigation in 1948,[49] in which cysts were found in 7 to 12 per cent of 2,600 sheep carcasses examined, in 47 per cent of 514 cattle and in 67 per cent of 34 camels. The presence of a greater preponderance of cysts with viable scolices in the sheep carcasses, coupled with the fact that mutton is used more extensively than beef, suggests that sheep represent the chief reservoir of infection. Infection with the liver flukes, *Dicrocoelium dendriticum* and *Fasciola hepatica*, is frequent among the sheep and other domestic animals, and cases are seen occasionally in man.

Brucellosis. Brucellosis is enzootic among the cows and the goats. Little raw milk is used, but sporadic human cases result from contact with infected animals or from the consumption of contaminated cheese and butter. In an investigation conducted in the bacteriologic laboratory of the American University hospital in 1948,[50] agglutination tests were performed on 1,370 samples of whey from the milk of animals in localities where the existence of the human disease was suspected. A positive agglutination reaction was obtained in 17 per cent of the samples of milk collected from 206 cows in Beirut and in 22 per cent from 162 cows in Mashghara, a village in the Mount Lebanon area. Similarly, positive reactions were observed in 15 per cent of the milk samples from 330 goats in Beirut, in 26 per cent from 82 goats in Tripoli and in 16 per cent from 190 goats in Lakhish, in the mountains between Beirut and Tripoli. Four strains of *Brucella abortus* and 6 of *Br. melitensis* were isolated from the milk samples; 2 each from the cows in Beirut and Mashghara and from the goats in Beirut, Tripoli and Lakhish. Evidence of persistent human infection was indicated by the results in a series of agglutination tests on blood serums from 640 patients registered in the hospital and the clinics of the

American University in Beirut. About 6 per cent gave a positive reaction with *Br. abortus* and *Br. melitensis*. Sporadic cases of infection with *Br. suis*, as well as with *Br. abortus* and *Br. melitensis*, are diagnosed in the course of routine serologic examinations in the Institute de Bactériologie of the Faculté Française de Médecine.

Other Infections. Food poisoning caused by the consumption of cheese and other foods contaminated with toxic strains of *Staphylococcus* is common.

Diseases Spread Chiefly Through the Respiratory Tract

Tuberculosis. Tuberculosis is prevalent, but the extent of infection is not accurately known. In the 6 years 1943-48, the reported deaths from tuberculosis averaged 254 a year, or roughly 21 per 100,000 population. The validity of such mortality statistics is questionable, however, due to the deficiencies in reporting and the tendency to conceal the presence of infection.

Several tuberculin test surveys have been made on small selected groups of the population, but with considerable variation in results. In 1949, the first representative survey was undertaken in Beirut and the surrounding suburbs by the Ministry of Public Health, in co-operation with the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and associated organizations. From October, 1949, to the middle of March, 1950, tuberculin tests were performed on a voluntary basis on about 43,000 individuals of all ages, 29,500 of whom were subsequently inoculated with BCG vaccine. The proportion of persons giving a positive reaction to tuberculin was estimated at 14 to 22 per cent. Among the schoolchildren, who comprised the largest group, the reaction rate averaged 5 per cent at 6 years of age and 17 per cent at 18 years of age. A comparable series, made up of the persons attending a testing center in one of the poorer districts of Beirut, showed 7 per cent positive reactions among children 6 years of age and 26 per cent at 18 years of age.

752 758 743 164

Other Infections. Canine rabies is common, and human cases are observed from time to time. In each of the 4 years 1947-50, from 469 to 621 persons from Lebanon and Syria received prophylactic treatment for the prevention of rabies at the Institut Antirabique of the Faculté Française de Médecine at Beirut. Either the Semple or the Fermi type of vaccine was employed. From 2 to 6 deaths were recorded each year, usually among individuals who had been bitten by wild animals or who had delayed treatment. About 75 per cent of the persons registered within this period were bitten by dogs and 20 per cent by rats; the remainder by cats, wolves, hyenas and other animals.

[NLS]

184 252

Anthrax is enzootic among the sheep, and human infections occur occasionally. Sporadic cases of rat-bite fever are recorded.

Leptospirosis is not reported, but the infection is known to be enzootic among the local rats. Using a combination of staining, darkfield illumination and culture technics, *Leptospira icterohaemorrhagiae* was demonstrated in 8 out of 65 specimens of *Rattus norvegicus* trapped in Beirut in 1945.[33] Five rats of the species *R. rattus alexandrinus* were studied at the same time, but none was found to be infected.

Diseases Spread by Arthropods

184 744

Malaria. Malaria has long been a disease of major health and economic importance in Lebanon. As a result of anopheline control programs, it has recently dropped from first to second place among the disease problems of the country. Nevertheless, at least one fifth of the inhabitants live in endemic or hyperendemic regions, and are potentially exposed to infection each year. The trend over the last decade has been downward; the official statistics suggest that the peak of prevalence occurred in 1942-44, coincident with the military operations in the area and the influx of persons from other countries. The recorded cases, which represent a small fraction of the total, diminished from over 21,000 in 1943

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

[Mumsif]

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: THE SUBSIDIARY GROUPS

621 THE group called *Peripheral to the Core* is rather heterogeneous, and it is not internally unified. It includes three house servants, one of whom is a Druze, another a Maronite, while the religion of the third was not ascertained. Each of the bakeries in the village has a professional baker and both of these men are included in the Peripheral Group. One is a Maronite from Jbeyl, and he is the brother of the husband of a member of one of the Affiliate Families of the Core Group. The other is a Sunni Muslim who has his wife and one small child with him in the village.

These members of the Peripheral Group are outsiders to the village in terms of religion and local origin. There is only one affinal tie with the Core Group, and it is with a family whose Core Group status is marginal.

The remaining seven members of the Peripheral Group consist of a single nuclear family, parents and five children. This group is Greek Orthodox in religion, and it came from Syria about five years previous to the study. The father does agricultural wage labor. Between this family and the Core Group there is no religious barrier, but it is not a part of the Core Group because of its immediate outside origin and because it has no kinship or marriage connections with the Core Group. Its very presence in the village was discovered only after the period of study had been under way for some time, and explanations were supplied by Core Group informants only in response to questions put by the investigator.

621 221 233 568 The *Winters* are all Maronites (Lebanese Roman Catholics). They are sheep and goat herders who regularly drive their flocks down to Mumsif every October from the two high villages of which they are members, which are buried in snow all winter. They return to the high slopes in April. They are all united by their religion, and each village group is particularly cohesive because it is a village group and because of kinship and marriage ties. From the village of Jaaj there are three residence units: (1) a nuclear family consisting of father, mother, one son, and two daughters; (2) an adult, single man and his mother; (3) a brother of this single man, his wife, five sons and three daughters. From the village Hrajil there are, first of all, two independent nuclear families. One of these (parents, one son, and two daughters) lives in the village proper; the other (parents and several children) lives at ʾAraḍi. Also from Hrajil is a family which is headed by two adult brothers and is known, as a group, by the name of their father. One brother lives in the village proper with his wife and, sometimes, two sons and their wives. The other brother lives at Hilwi with his wife and several children. It was stated that the members of this family are *shirikiyyi* (partners), that is to say, the property of the brothers is not divided and they pool their resources.

621 563 The *Mansi* (designation of the Lebanese Shi'i Muslims) consist of three house-

188 ent farmers. Large holdings, owned by
427 absentee landlords and worked according to the share-tenancy system, predominate, however, in the Bekaa valley, in the 'Akkar plain and in the province of South Lebanon.

244 A diversity of crops is grown in different parts of the country. The subtropical climate of the coastal plain permits the cultivation of citrus fruits and bananas, while olives, grapes, apricots and other fruits flourish on the terraced mountain slopes. Cereals and legumes are the chief crops of the Bekaa, but cotton, tobacco and numerous types of vegetables are also produced.

253 Large numbers of goats, as well as sheep,
231 cattle and other livestock, are raised, primarily as food or draft animals. Sericulture is carried on in many mountain villages, but the competition of artificial silks has contributed to its decline within recent years.

654 The government encourages the expansion
652 of agriculture through the promotion of cooperative credit and marketing facilities. There are no experimental farms or research stations, but instruction in modern methods of farming is provided by the agricultural division of the government's vocational school in Beirut and by the American University.

135 The mineral resources of the region are
316 negligible. Small deposits of lignite, located
317 in the hills above Beirut and Tripoli, are
491 worked intermittently. Salt is also extracted in evaporating beds along the coast north of Beirut. The development of modern industry received some impetus during the war years 1941-45, but is handicapped by the scarcity of raw materials and the limitations of the internal market. Numerous small plants exist for the processing of consumer goods, including the manufacture of textiles, cement, soaps, distilled liquors, leather goods, cigarettes, olive oil and various foodstuffs. The Iraq Petroleum Com-
382 pany has recently established a refinery at
315 Tripoli, the terminus of its pipeline from
439 the oil fields in the Kirkuk region. The chief exports are olives and olive oil, textiles, silk, fruits and petroleum products.

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39: Allen et al S-3 (1952-53) 1953 MI Middle East
Lebanon MEI

II. LEBANON

(Visited 1 - 15 December 1952)

1. The total area of Le .non is about 4,300 square miles, the population being estimated in 1940 at one and-a quarter million, of whom a high proportion live in the principal towns. For many years there has been considerable migration to foreign countries, and it is said that as many Lebanese live abroad as are to be found in their native land.

2. Lebanon is mainly a fruit-growing agricultural country, but pipelines from Middle East oil fields are being laid across the country to connect with newly constructed installations and harbours on the coast. In due course this development may influence the economy of the country.

3. Great hopes of agricultural expansion - to be accompanied, it is claimed, by schemes of rural community developments - are based upon the Litani Dam and irrigation project. At the time of our visit this project was under discussion between the Government and the United States Technical Cooperation Administration (Point IV), but matters had not advanced sufficiently to justify our attempting to follow in detail the intentions with regard to community welfare centres.

4. The agency of the Lebanese Government responsible for social affairs has only recently (1951) been raised to the status of Ministry. Until rec .ently, there had been a change of government and the new Minister of Social A .airs also held two other portfolios. The Director-General of the Department whom we met had not been continuously in office over the past years. No reply had been returned by the relevant Department to the Secretary-General's request (at the end of 1951) for information on community welfare centres. Background information was difficult to obtain. A decree which would have permitted the provision of multi-purpose community centres and enabled government support to be given in cash or by way of services, had been promulgated in 1951 (Appendix I). The decree had not, however, been put into operation. The initiative in instituting or developing such multi-purpose activities as we had the opportunity of seeing at Chtaura, Anjar and Jibrail had come mainly from voluntary agencies.

5. We visited the Chtaura Demonstration Centre and Anjar project on the 4th and 12th of December. The purpose of the original centre was to provide for Armenian refugees from World War I and in the earlier stages both the Near East Foundation and the Stewart Herzegovinian Commemorative Corporation shared responsibilities for financing and management of settlements in this area. More recently, the Near East Foundation decided to concentrate on activities in Syria and Greece and brought its work at Chtaura to a close. Mr. Feldmahn of the Near East Foundation, who had had a long experience between the wars in community organization in Bulgaria before coming to Chtaura, then transferred to the Herzegovinian Corporation. With his wife, he now supervises the various activities in a group of villages located in the Bekaa Valley between Beirut and Damascus. These activities include control of malaria, recreational programmes, organization of marketing, provision of seedlings and plants, poultry breeding, milk co-operatives and educational projects.

6. At the time of our visit an illustrated lecture by an American veterinary expert (Point IV) was in progress. The co-operative milk marketing scheme appeared to be successful and to make a useful contribution to the milk supply of Beirut. The housing provided for the settlers and the general appearance of the village at Anjar were satisfactory. That of the Arab village of Medjel-Anjar some distance away was less so. In a former disused school house there was a primitive maternity and child

in the form of cheese, buttermilk and *laban*, the last a fermented product made from cow's milk. Fresh milk is rarely used, however, except in limited sections in the larger cities. In the rural districts, milk is obtained chiefly from sheep and goats, less frequently from cows. Legumes, potatoes, onions and other vegetables are widely cultivated. Green, leafy varieties are scarce in the inland districts, but wild herbs are often utilized as substitutes. Many types of fruits are abundant, especially in the coastal valleys. They form important supplementary items of diet when in season.

Much of the meat is imported from Syria or Turkey, but relatively little reaches the people outside the larger towns. The average villager seldom consumes meat more than once a week. Mutton and, secondarily, beef are used most extensively. Both are employed, in a cooked or a raw state, in *kubi*, a national dish prepared from meat and *burghul*. Goat meat is found everywhere, while pork is available in the Christian communities. Poultry and eggs are plentiful in most localities and fish in the coastal region. Olive oil and butter are the primary sources of fats.

In spite of the generally satisfactory level of nutrition, a definite decrease in the consumption of protective foods is apparent in the inland districts and in South Lebanon. In 1950, the Lebanese government appointed a Nutrition Committee to promote a better understanding of the elementary principles of nutrition among the people. The different religious customs of the Moslem and the Christian communities influence their nutritional habits and limit the application of mass educational measures.

Housing

Lebanon has a large so-called middle class, and the disparity between the living conditions of the rich and the poor is less pronounced than in most of the neighboring countries. Moreover, many families maintain financial and social contacts with

63 Simmons et al G-4 (1961-1962) 1964
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organization in Beirut and of the government authorities in other parts of the country. Shops dispensing foods are required to have a permit, but the enforcement of sanitary regulations is lax in many towns and villages. Although the law provides for the registration of food handlers at 3-month intervals, the routine examinations are often cursory and of little value. The establishments are inspected from time to time, not only by the health officers, but also by agents of the Lebanese tourist department.

Most animals are inspected, before and after slaughter, by veterinary officers in the municipal abattoirs in Beirut and the principal cities. There is no regular supervision, however, of the meat supplies in the rural areas. A large percentage of the meat used in Lebanon is imported from Syria or Turkey, and is not subject to routine inspection locally.

There are two small pasteurization plants in Beirut which process limited amounts of milk, butter and cheese. Although the plants are supervised by the municipal authorities, no control is exercised over the sanitary quality of the raw product. Pasteurized milk is bottled; all other milk is sold in bulk. Milk is customarily boiled before use in each household, but butter and cheese are potential sources of human infection. Brucellosis is enzootic among the cattle and the goats. The extent of bovine tuberculosis is not known.

HEALTH SERVICES AND MEDICAL FACILITIES

Health Organization

The public health organization which had evolved before Lebanon became an independent republic in 194 was reorganized in 1951, and its responsibilities were defined by law. At that time, its name was changed from that of Ministry of Hygiene and Public Assistance to the Ministry of Public Health. The Ministry, which has its headquarters in Beirut, is administered by a Minister of Public Heath who is assisted

1934-35, infection was detected in 22 per cent of 1,156 sheep and goats examined and in 45 per cent of 201 cattle.[48] The degree of infection varies, as shown by the subsequent investigation in 1943,[49] in which cysts were found in 7 to 12 per cent of 2,600 sheep carcasses examined, in 47 per cent of 324 cattle and in 67 per cent of 24 camels. The presence of a greater preponderance of cysts with viable scolices in the sheep carcasses, coupled with the fact that mutton is used more extensively than beef, suggests that sheep represent the chief reservoir of infection. Infection with the liver flukes, *Dicrocoelium dendriticum* and *Fasciola hepatica*, is frequent among the sheep and other domestic animals, and cases are seen occasionally in man.

Brucellosis. Brucellosis is enzootic among the cows and the goats. Little raw milk is used, but sporadic human cases result from contact with infected animals or from the consumption of contaminated cheese and butter. In an investigation conducted in the bacteriologic laboratory of the American University hospital in 1940,[50] agglutination tests were performed on 1,370 samples of whey from the milk of animals in localities where the existence of the human disease was suspected. A positive agglutination reaction was obtained in 17 per cent of the samples of milk collected from 336 cows in Beirut and in 22 per cent from 312 cows in Mashghara, a village in the Mount Lebanon area. Similarly, positive reactions were observed in 11 per cent of the milk samples from 330 goats in Beirut, in 26 per cent from 82 goats in Tripoli and in 16 per cent from 190 goats in Lakhesh, in the mountains between Beirut and Tripoli. Four strains of *Brucella abortus* and 6 of *Br. melitensis* were isolated from the milk samples; 3 each from the cows in Beirut and Mashghara and from the goats in Beirut, Tripoli and Lakhesh. Evidence of persistent human infection was indicated by the results in a series of agglutination tests on blood serums from 640 patients registered in the hospital and the clinics of the

American University in Beirut. Almost 4 per cent gave a positive reaction with *Br. abortus* and *Br. melitensis*. Sporadic cases of infection with *Br. suis*, as well as with *Br. abortus* and *Br. melitensis*, are diagnosed in the course of routine serologic examinations in the Institute de Bactériologie of the Faculté Française de Médecine.

Other Infections. Food poisoning caused by the consumption of cheese and other foods contaminated with toxic strains of Staphylococcus is common.

Diseases Spread Chiefly Through the Respiratory Tract

Tuberculosis. Tuberculosis is prevalent, but the extent of infection is not accurately known. In the 4 years 1945-48, the reported deaths from tuberculosis averaged 234 a year, or roughly 31 per 100,000 population. The validity of such mortality statistics is questionable, however, due to the deficiencies in reporting and the tendency to conceal the presence of infection.

Several tuberculin test surveys have been made on small selected groups of the population, but with considerable variation in results. In 1949, the first representative survey was undertaken in Beirut and the surrounding suburbs by the Ministry of Public Health, in co-operation with the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund and associated organizations. From October, 1949, to the middle of March, 1950, tuberculin tests were performed on a voluntary basis on about 45,000 individuals of all ages, 29,000 of whom were subsequently inoculated with BCG vaccine. The proportion of persons giving a positive reaction to tuberculin was estimated at 14 to 21 per cent. Among the schoolchildren, who comprised the largest group, the reaction rate averaged 1 per cent at 4 years of age and 17 per cent at 10 years of age. A comparable series, made up of the persons attending a testing center in one of the poorer districts of Beirut, showed 7 per cent positive reactions among children 4 years of age and 36 per cent at 10 years of age.

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Egypt	MR1
Turkey	MB1
Iraq	MH1
Syria	MD1
●Lebanon	ME1
Historical Palestine	MF2

/For an account of the organization of agriculture and forms of land tenure and an historical summary of changes in agricultural systems and methods in the countries of the Middle East, see 66: Bonné, M1 Middle East, category 116 as follows: Egypt - pp. 127-129, 192-196, Turkey - pp. 129-130, Iraq - pp. 130-133, 189-192, 202-203, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine - pp. 133-135, 188-189, 203-204./

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For information on the topography, climate, agriculture, mineral wealth, railways, settlement pattern, productive capacity of the economy, and trade of the Levant coastland, see MI Middle East, cat. 116, 2d: Fisher, pp. 371-434.]

the distinction between "unemployed" and "retired" among the older men is not at all easy to make. It depends, essentially, on the attitudes of the men themselves and their family. In the second place, among the younger men especially, the distinction between "village worker" and "unemployed" is not entirely clear. The "village workers" mostly are either hired farm hands or assistants to "village specialists." In most cases, it was not easy to tell, however, how steady their work was. In the third place, it is quite possible that some of those in the "city worker" class are actually unemployed most of the time.

The class of "farmer" (*fellah*) is very distinct. A farmer is a man who not only owns his own property, but works it for the support of himself and his family. Most of the farmers in Mismiyeh also tend the agricultural property of fellow villagers who are not farmers. This is done, apparently, largely on a cash basis. The standard fee for a day's plowing, for example, was reported to be ten Lebanese pounds (about two dollars and a half).

It was said, "Before (i.e., before emigration and city jobs), we were all *fellahin*." Now there are only ten farmers, and all of them except one are middle aged or elderly men. The exception is a young man of twenty-eight, a member of lineage XX, who evidently intends to make farming a career. He has made a realistic appraisal of the very difficult agricultural conditions in the village itself, and has acted accordingly with considerable initiative. Shortly after World War II he bought some unused land on the southern rim of Wadi Ba'labin, just outside the Quru, close to the present terminus of the irrigation channel which brings water from the River Bostrous (see Figs. 1 and 2). Considerable blasting with dynamite was necessary in the preparation of terraces, and much land to be conquered in the barren orchard which presumably has brought quick profits (*cf.* Kent, 1949, p. 82), and he said that he plans to expand in the near future. It is significant that he had to go outside the village territory to accomplish his ends.

The nature of the "village specialist" class can better be understood when it is broken down into subcategories, with the number of persons involved in each, as follows:

Mayor	1	Fishermen	3
Taxi driver	1	Surveyor	1
Barber	2	Mason	2
Priest	1	Carpenter	2
Storekeeper	3	Teacher	4

Part-time jobs held by various men most of whom are included in the tabulation above are: storekeeper (the priest), two bakery owners (a teacher and a farmer), and a camp guard (mayor, traditionally a very important position). Two men, still living, were once shoemakers, and another was a midwife part-time. In the population as a whole there are at least six farmer teachers and five farmer owners

[illegible] "The Americans" as the villagers call their relatives in the United States, are concentrated in and around Vicksburg, Mississippi. There are families, also, in Shreveport, Louisiana, and in Marshall, Texas. There are a few in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Australia. One returnee, in particular, spoke English with a noticeable Southern accent. The records of another returnee indicated an identification with the Southern whites as a caste as against the Negroes.

LAND OWNERSHIP, UNEMPLOYMENT, RETIREMENT

[illegible] Mousa Jarjis el-Khouri, the founder of the village, divided the village territory into three equal sections, one for each of his sons. He did this by, as it were, trisecting the triangle at its apex (the eastern extremity of the village, now occupied by the houses). The three triangular strips running down to the sea which were thus created provided the land-property basis for the mentioned lineages. To some extent, the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects this division, with Mousaad Lineage B concentrated in the north, C in the south, and A in between. (see Fig. 1). The corresponding pattern for the village territory as a whole, however, has long since been obliterated by sales and extra-mentioned lineage inheritance. The land-holdings are not clustered by mentioned lineage either. Most of the land in the village is held in individual private ownership (*mulk*), and nearly all the adult males own property in this manner. Along the shore there are some plots which are *waqf*-s (communal) land to the mentioned lineages. "They were never divided because they are worthless: the salt kills the plants." There are four large sections of *waqf* land which has been put in trust. These will be discussed in the next chapter.

[illegible] From what has been said before in this chapter, it can be deduced that most [illegible] However as far as could be determined, each landowner, even though he may be a white-collar worker in the city, maintains his plots (*qat'a*), which are usually widely scattered over the village territory, with the assistance of a resident farmer or village worker.

[illegible] Many of those of whom it was said "he does nothing" (unemployed) or "he no longer works" (retired) actually derive some income by this means, but probably very few in the village could entirely support themselves and their families without money from other sources as well. The young unemployed, as has been mentioned, are from a superficial perspective difficult to distinguish from village workers if they are unmarried and living with members of their family. There are a few cases of heads of households who clearly depend on the help of other members of the family in supporting it. We can say that a man has retired when he does nothing and when no hopes of employment are held. A large number of the men in their sixties and all those over seventy were in this class. Nevertheless, most of these retired men continued to putter about their terraces, pretty actively in some cases.

WELFARE

In a very few cases of total incapacitation, individuals have had to be placed in public institutions for care. Otherwise, the village takes care of its own unfortunates, in conformance with the traditional attitudes of self-sufficiency. A unit of the Lebanese Red Cross visits the village at regular intervals to provide medical care for those who need it, but have been unable or unwilling to go to a doctor in the city. There is a regular, and entirely traditional, mechanism for caring for families who get into financial straits. A close friend of the family, who has learned of the situation because of his closeness, goes to such household in the village saying, "There is wrong on a family in need. I am going to give them some money; how much are you willing to give?" It is very bad form to ask [illegible] whom the collection is being made, and a contribution which is offered under such conditions may be refused by the collector. The strict anonymity which accompanies this behavior suggests that even in such a tight-knit group as the village keeping up appearances is a conscious value. Clique and lineage cohesion undoubtedly contribute to this.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONS

Everyone in the village, except for a handful among the very old, can literate. A quite respectable number have received or are receiving college educations. The significance of education in the village will be discussed in the next chapter; here it is appropriate to consider only the bearing which education has on occupations.

Literacy itself is no entity in Lebanon. In fact, among the Christians, at least, one can safely say that it is the expected thing. More literacy alone would raise [illegible] in the city. For professional status or for governmental positions college educations are prerequisite. Medicine and the law require additional training beyond college which no one in Musqif has recently undertaken. The number of positions open to ordinary college graduates which are in line with the individual's ambitions (befitting a learned and cultured person) are rather limited in Lebanon, and many such persons must be satisfied with whatever they can find. In consequence, a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction is to be found among those who have had advanced education.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

Musqif depends, and has always depended, upon crops which do not require rain or irrigation in the growing season. In order, the most important are olives, figs and grapes. Of these the major cash crop is olives. This has not always been true. Up to 1914 the major cash crop in the village, and in Lebanon as a whole, was the [illegible] cocoon, fed on mulberry leaves. Sericulture has not died out completely in Lebanon, and it is still fairly strong in the Kisrawan, Kura, Metn, and Shuf districts (Feraut, 1948b, p. 249), but it has long since lost its economic

[illegible, CAGE]

circumstances. Of the present conditions in Musrifi the following could be an adequate description:

> In spite of its present unimportance, the mulberry has not deserted the Lebanese countryside. Many houses, and some of the more humble ones, are always surrounded by tiny terraces each one bearing one or two trees of these trees, with their low, truncated trunks and dense foliage, which, formerly, in the eyes of the peasant, were the chosen symbol of fortune. (Hitti, 1948b, p. 342; translation mine.)

Mulberries are grown in the plain, the deep, fertile soil near the houses. Other crops grown here are onions, potatoes, and legumes. The most important small cash crop is tobacco, grown under the restrictive quota system of the official tobacco monopoly.

Figs, olives, and grape vines are, for the most part, outside the village house-cluster. The figs are concentrated at 1500m, but there are some higher up, where all the olives are.

Generally, an individual will have all figs or olives in one plot, but since one man's plot adjoins another's on the same terrace with no property marking of any kind, some terraces are confusingly mixed in appearance. There are some apricots and almonds, but they are apparently not too profitable. The fruit of the occasional date palms and prickly pears are harvested, but no particular care is taken of the plants, although on one occasion a man was observed fertilizing a female palm tree with the pollen of a male one.

Wheat is grown in limited amounts, chiefly in plots on which it is not considered worthwhile to spend the time and money required to develop a good orchard.

During the rainy season, the earth is plowed twice, primarily to keep it aerated and loose. In April and June it is plowed again, primarily to cultivate out weeds. After June, the hot, dry sunshine withers all small plants which are not

In the spring, figs, olives and vines are pruned and cinched (or more pests of which the only one observed was a species of weevil which bores under the bark. Inspection of, and necessary repairs to, terrace walls are carried on throughout the year.

Apricots ripen and are harvested in May. Almonds and figs come in June and July, and this is also the time for wheat harvesting and threshing. Grapes are harvested in August and September, olives in September and October. The last is the real harvest of the village, in which everyone who is able turns out into the fields to help. Men and boys climb into the trees to shake them or beat them with sticks. Women and girls do a large part of the gathering. The men press those which have been allocated for the purpose into oil. The olive mash which remains after the pressing is either used locally as fertilizer or it is sold to dealers who either resell it as fertilizer or have it made up into paper packets which are widely

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used as fuel in the city. In the village, hardwood is collected for fuel in addition to the importation of kerosene.

Animal manure is not used extensively as plant fertilizer because it is scarce. Recently this meager supply has been supplemented by British-made chemical fertilizers. Night soil is not used at all.

Animal husbandry is very limited. Each farmer has a yoke of oxen for traction and some have a few cows for milk. There are one or two donkeys in the village. Two farmers keep bees. The hives are formed in the large water jars (jares) described earlier. Several of these, each split horizontally across the middle, are set in a row. The bees enter and go out by the narrow open neck. The honey is removed by separating the two halves of the jar, and half the honey is left for the bees. Some fowl are kept in the village, primarily for their eggs. Dogs are kept by some householders, and cats by many, for guarding and rousing, respectively. They are not treated as pets, or objects of affection.

It is the lack of water which so seriously limits agricultural productivity in the village. The possibility of drilling successful wells, even with modern equipment, is, as was noted in the first chapter, very remote. Irrigation lines, which affect the coastal strip lower than forty meters above sea level, have been extended almost to Ba'albek from the River Bostrion to the south, and to the village of Medfoun, just south of Bedwen, from the River Jawz. The Qasmiyeh has the misfortune of being halfway between these rivers, at the end of the line in both directions. It is also unfortunate in that since its coastline is more precipitous than surrounding areas, it has a smaller area of potentially irrigable land than the surrounding areas. Nevertheless, it would be of great help to the village if irrigation water could be brought to it.

CONCLUSION

This chapter can fittingly be closed with a series of quotations which summarize, highlight, or give further interpretation to some of the points which have been made. They do not require any comment except that of drawing the reader's attention to their dates, especially those of the last three.

> 1. It is probable . . . that it was on the slopes of the originally forest-clad mountains of ancient Phoenicia that vine agriculture began. (Lowdermilk, 1944, p. 413.)
>
> 2. The effort of the Lebanese has made this country capable of nourishing a relatively dense population. There are few mountainous regions so little favored by nature from which man has drawn such a great agricultural return. (Thoumin, 1936, p. 126; translation mine.)
>
> 3. The Syrian peasant is more like a miner than a farmer. (Himadeh, 1936, p. 92.)
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> 4. Elsewhere man has cultivated the land; in the Lebanon he has made it. Elsewhere the harvest is the product: here it is the soil. Men collects and carries to

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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the hollow of the rock the vegetable mould; then hedges raised with stones his wife of cunning fertility to conceal and increase them. From below you gaze upwards at barrenness: from above you look down on an arabesque of verdure: the rosy hues of the fresh turned furrows, the soft green of sprouting crops, nestling within the parkwings, grey and brown, of layers of limestone cut up on end, the faces of which are worn like glaciers. This is their arable land in the central range. (Kinglake, 1848, Vol. I, p. 1.)

3. One gets the vivid impression that the farmer of Bsharreen has lost heart and has lost faith in farming. He is looking somewhere else for a possible solution of his problem, which is now the problem of his growing children—employment outside the village, engaging in business, or emigration. (Tannous, 1941, p. 602.)

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4. Nowadays young men, especially Maronites and other Christians, many of whom are educated, are unwilling to work on the land. They prefer jobs in the towns, and failing that many of them would rather live with their families, unemployed and destitute. So, too, the women of the more sophisticated villages no longer work long hours in the fields. A great part of the income of the Lebanese villages is currently derived from sources other than farming—from trainings in the towns, for example, or emigrants' remittances, or the renting of houses to visitors in the mountain summer resorts. (Lewis, 1955, p. 3.)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

3. The change is not in conflict, functionally or symbolically, with other, firmly established or unchanging norms.

The second condition provides the adequate motivation essential to learning, and, as Hallowell (1945, pp. 183-83) has pointed out, "learning is the psychological crux of acculturation." Using Barnett's terms (Barnett, 1940, p. 31), we can say that if the *function* of the new item is apprehended and appreciated by the villagers, they will accept it, provided that it does not involve too much expense, does not necessitate elaborate readjustments in otherwise stable systems, and that its meaning is neither odious (for example, a part of foreign imperialism) nor in conflict with the meanings of other, stable traits.

Perhaps this analysis will be clearer when we consider two areas of "material culture" which have remained almost wholly unchanged. One of these is diet which has remained unchanged because any fundamental alteration in it would meet with situations which would be contrary to any or all of the three conditions which are necessary to successful change. It would be enough to say that change in diet would involve extra expense and a major alteration in eating habits and cooking methods (violation of conditions 1 and 3). But besides this, the villagers see no purpose in changing their basic diet. It satisfies them physically and gastronomically (violation of conditions 2 and 3). It is probable also that they derive no little spiritual satisfaction in being able to maintain old patterns in this area of behavior where no change is forced upon them.

The other area of material conservatism is in farming techniques. Although farming itself has demonstrated modernity in terms of the number of men who practice it (a negative sort of change), farming techniques remain the same. This is largely because conditions 1 and 2 do not obtain. To introduce, for example, tractors and modern plows and harrows, into a remote village like Mrusjil, would not only involve great expense, it would also be rather absurd from a practical point of view. There would be the problem of moving the equipment from one terrace to another, and most of the terraces are so small and irregular in shape that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to use when it was in place. Chemical fertilizers have been adopted to some extent, probably limited by expense. Certainly the villagers are most eager to obtain an irrigation system, but here their desires are thwarted by external conditions.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

In the economic or subsistence sphere, the village has obviously undergone a profound change. A number of rural specialties, such as weaving and shoemaking, have completely gone out of existence. Farming, formerly *the* primary occupation, now occupies a very small number of men. A large proportion, if not most, of the village income is now derived from urban occupations.

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Physical Description of Area

361 The coastal plain in the Kamsie area is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea on the west and
182 the Lebanon range on the east. The climate is Mediterranean with dry summers, nearly all of the
184 rain falling between October and May. The soil is chiefly a heavy clay. Much of this coastal area
241 is suitable for irrigation. While some of the land is rocky and in the United States would not be used for farm land, nearly all land capable of cultivation has been brought under the plow. The steeper slopes are protected from serious erosion by rock wall terraces. The climate is favorable to the growth of temperate and sub-tropical crops. Citrus fruits, bananas, vegetables, and cereal crops are found in abundance.

361 The major markets for the products of the five villages are Beirut and Saida. All of the project
491 and control villages are linked to the Tyre-Saida-Beirut main coastal road by gravel surfaced roads
487 except for Loubieh and Sahmarieh, which are dependent upon trails. In no case is the dirt sub-mount
494 from two miles from the main road. The traffic on this road is heavy and trucks and buses are frequently available for taking products to Saida or Beirut. These towns are 18 and 42 miles respectively distant from Adloun, the most southerly village.

Village Government

632 The five villages included in the Kamsie Rural Improvement Project have a similar form of
638 local government. Each village has a mukhtar (mayor) who is elected in a more-or-less democratic
491 manner. In each village there is also a board of aldermen or village elders. This board is also
658 elected in effect and is composed of from two to six members. The mukhtar is generally the largest landowner or sharecrop and one of the wealthiest men in the village. The aldermen as well are among the more well-to-do villagers. However, the concept of wealth is relative. Often the holdings owned by local villagers may be large in comparison with others in their own community, but small indeed when compared to the size of holdings in the village controlled by persons living outside the village. The common fellah does not enjoy representation by his peers in this area whether he has such supervision is not known.

Farm Organization

The isolated farmhouse, typical of agriculture in the United States, is rarely seen in Lebanon. In the five project villages nearly all farmers live in the *dai'ah* or built-up area. Their wooden plows, harrows, and other farm equipment are stored each day in their houses in the *dai'ah*. Often a stable is connected to one part of the living quarters to take care of the family cow or other livestock. The concentration of dwellings in one area in the Middle East often results in a considerable expenditure of time in riding to fields located sometimes two or five miles from the village. In the project villages the land is in a narrow strip. Farms on the far ends require an hour or more to reach by walking.

The share-tenant or smallholder has a cow or two which he depends on for draft and milk, a simple wooden plow, or a few other simple hand tools. These comprise his capital equipment. The field work is shared by all the members of the family, although in the *dai'ah* sections there is a fairly rigid division of labor between the sexes. Plowing is a man's work, while rarely will a man be seen carrying water from the village fountain.

In the project area as elsewhere in most of tractors, harrows, mechanical threshers, or other mechanized farm equipment except on one or two large farms operated by non-resident owners. None of the project villages is electric power. Farm organization is based upon an economy of labor rather than capital, low wage rates and an ample supply of laborers combine to make the use of labor more advantageous than mechanization. In 1952 the prevailing rate for farm laborers was L.L. 3 (about $1/2) for men and half that for women per 10 to 12 hour day.

Most of the project villages have a plot of land called the *baidar* where the villagers, threshing in common, thresh their grain. Here the wheat or other seed crop is placed after it is brought from the fields. For each after month in the summer, one finds the men pulling behind them a massive, a flat boardlike underside of which is covered with protruding stones or jagged pieces of metal. The farmer rides or a small boy rides on this seat with a stick drives the oxen over a layer of grain. In this way 1 hectolitre of grain are loosened until the straw is cut fine for fodder. In order to separate the kernels grain from the chaff, the farmer tosses the mixed grain and chaff

over the air. A slight breeze is all that is necessary to blow the chaff to the side while the heavier grain falls to the north. Later the kernels of grain are hand-sieved to remove rocks and other debris. The harvesting of grain entails a tremendous amount of the villagers' time and effort but, since he usually has nothing else to do, this method of harvesting is less costly to him than mechanical methods.

Land Utilization

311 No reliable statistics are available in Lebanon concerning the breakdown of the land area according to the use to which it is put. From published information it is not possible to obtain a breakdown of the area in each village devoted to dry crops and irrigated crops, or as to land devoted to pasture, forests or waste. For this reason it was necessary to depend on the muktars and other village leaders for these estimates. It is evident, therefore, that the data contained in Table III on land use distribution is not exact, but only the calculated estimates of reasonably well-informed sources. The discrepancies between the muktars' estimates and figures given by the cadastral office could not be checked without a land use survey. As in the case of population figures, such comparisons will have to proceed with caution in using these figures.

The muktars of the five project villages estimated the total area of these villages to be 28,000 metric dunums[1] (2,800 acres). In order to check this figure, the total area of the five villages was obtained from the cadastral office. While these files did not give the land-use breakdown, they showed the total area as 30,600 dunums. There is a discrepancy of 2,600 dunums between the figures supplied by the muktars and those obtained from the government. This may be due to a failure on the part of the muktars to include waste land in the total village area.

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[1] A metric dunum is equivalent to 1,000 square meters or approximately one quarter of an acre.

Irrigation and Crop Pattern

342. The percentage of land under irrigation varies considerably among these five villages (see Table III, column 6). While 80 percent of the total land area of 'Adloun is estimated to be under irrigation, only 2 percent of the total land area of Sarafand to the north is irrigated because the irrigation canal now stops at the village limits of Sarafand. Lands of Loubya, and Ein Nourieyeh do not extend into the irrigated coastal strip.

241 In the project villages of 'Adloun and Sahmaniyeh, where a considerable portion of the land is under irrigation, the principal products by value are bananas, oranges and tomatoes. Other products grown on the irrigated land include okra, eggplant, squash and cucumbers. As the village lands in the project area only recently have been brought under irrigation, the emphasis at present is on the production of bananas and the establishment of citrus groves. The farmers in many cases has interplanted citrus trees with bananas. Bananas shoots planted in February will produce fruit the following November, but it takes from six to eight years for an orange tree to mature. Where dry farming is the predominant system, as in Sarafand, Loubya, and Ein Nourieyeh, the emphasis naturally switches to crops requiring less water. Here the principal crops according to value include wheat, barley, corn, olives, watermelon, and figs.

312 In the project area already serviced by the Kassmie Irrigation Canal, 5,500 dunums are under irrigation. Of this total irrigated area, only 413 dunums are irrigated by pumps, the remainder being irrigated by gravity. Supplementary sources other than the Kassmie Irrigation Canal are used to a very limited extent to irrigate the fields. Sarafand pumps water from local wells. Sahmaniyeh utilizes water from the Hamadiyeh spring and Loubya spring. Loubya, as well, obtains irrigation water from the Loubya spring. Ein Nourieyeh, with lands located above the canal, irrigates a few hundred dunums with water pumped from two wells. 'Adloun uses water from the spring of 'Adloun. Small areas of good quality land among the dunes along the shore are irrigated by pumping water from the canal.

Further north in the coastal area, which has not as yet been reached by the irrigation canal, the irrigated land is almost wholly devoted to pumping. These are Ein Bedjjeriyeh, El-'Addaseriyeh and El-Ghaziyeh where 1,100 dunums are under irrigation, over 90 %, of the irrigated area is served by pumps. The balance is irrigated by gravity from small springs.

Wheat was listed among the four most important agricultural items in every one of the eight project and control villages. Barley was included among the four most important crops for the villages of Sahmdoiyah and 'Aabrum. Reference has already been made to the prevailing types of crops grown in the villages, depending on whether the area is predominantly dry or irrigated.

Livestock

The livestock owned by villagers or landlords and kept upon the lands of the village included cows, goats, sheep, donkeys and chickens. No camels or horses were reported in the five project villages. It was not possible to estimate the number of chickens in each village. Goats formed the largest statistical group, numbering 1,000 animals. Eight hundred and eighty cows, 550 sheep and 62 donkeys were reported (Table IV). According to value, cattle were by far the most important animals.

In the village of Sahmdoiyah, Mr. Fuad Iqbayd owns a herd of ninety head of livestock. The herd is valued at L.L. 100,000 (about $30,000) and it was claimed that milk from the cows is sold for L.L. 60,000 (about $11,000) annually. In addition to milk, a small amount of meat, goat hair, wool and manure is sold by the villagers. Due to the lack of pasture land, the herds of village livestock are fairly small. By and large the livestock in this region are for the purpose of local power and consumption. Cows provide the farmer with a draft animal and milk; goats furnish milk, goat hair and meat; donkeys furnish transportation for water, produce, and the farmer's family; while the wool from the sheep is utilized by the industrious housewife to furnish clothing for the family, stuff mattresses, or act as a barter item at the market. Manure is important to the diet of the average family.

Land Ownership

Statistics are presented for only the five project villages regarding land ownership and operation distribution. It is, however, evident from available data that the pattern found in the project area applies to the three control villages.

[following p. 241(A)]

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Egypt, Turkey, and Lebanon, it is the agricultural village that is paramount. The Lebanese, it is true, are generally known abroad as a trading people, whose shipmasters sailed throughout the Mediterranean world since ancient times. But this urban, merchant community has always been linked by the rural community of the Mountain.

In few other countries do we find the village-community type of human settlement so firmly established and so influential in the development of national life as in Lebanon. The village has existed continuously there since ancient times. Despite great upheavals, the farmer of Lebanon has patiently and persistently cultivated the soil, produced his crops, and raised his livestock. He has found in the rugged mountains a refuge from persecution and oppression. He has adapted himself efficiently to the difficult terrain, blasting the rocks and erecting the steep slopes in order to make room for his trees, vine, and grains. Over many centuries of adjustment to his particular physical and cultural environment, he has succeeded in developing a closely defined and firmly established way of life. He stands at present as the main pillar of national life in the mountains of Lebanon, the embodiment of a long and rich cultural heritage.

In appraising the significance of the village community in the life of present-day Lebanon one can readily point out three major contributions. The first of these is biological: the replenishment and revitalization of the population in general, and of the urban population in particular. A study of the development of Lebanon over the past hundred years reveals clearly that rural areas have been mainly responsible for the building up of the flourishing urban or partly-urban centers of Sidon, Beirut, Tripoli, and Zahleh. They have maintained a high birth rate, unlike the trend prevailing in most rural areas of the Middle East. Due to a healthful climate and relatively high standards of sanitation, infant mortality is here lower in Lebanon than in the other countries of the Middle East. The result has been a constant stream of vigorous emigrants moving from villages into urban centers.

Some fifty years ago this population overflow produced such pressure on the limited land and technological resources of

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Lebanon that it could no longer be absorbed within the country. The village folk had the choice of submitting to a life of poverty or of emigrating abroad, seeking new opportunities and fortunes. The first alternative was incompatible with their cultural heritage. They were mostly independent farm owners, not share croppers; they were awakened by a comparatively high degree of learning; they were exposed to influences of the West; and they had a long history of struggle against great odds, demanding initiative and enterprise on the part of the individual and the group.

Consequently, they resorted to emigration for relief. Some sought opportunities in the urban centers of neighboring Arab countries. They established themselves there as merchants, publishers, doctors, and as government officials in various capacities. Most of them, however, turned toward the promising New World, north and south. It is estimated that these emigrants, together with the families they have reared, now exceed in number the population resident in Lebanon itself.

Recent estimates put the population of Lebanon at 1.2 million, of whom about 75 percent are rural. There seems to be no slackening in the high rate of increase. The density of population, one of the highest in the world, amounts to about 300 per square mile of total area, and 1,000 per square mile of cultivated area. In the Middle East it is exceeded only by Egypt, which holds the world record with a density of about 2,000 per square mile of cultivated area.

This biological resource of the village community constitutes both a serious problem and a challenge to Lebanon. Emigration possibilities for the surplus population are no longer as readily available as they were prior to a decade or two ago. A realistic, long-range solution lies in the application of an enlightened population policy and developmental program that would result in controlled growth on the one hand, and in the efficient development of the country's natural resources on the other.

The second major contribution of the village community to the country is economic. This is readily apparent and needs little elaboration. Dwellers in the villages are the farming folk of Lebanon. Their agricultural activity is the mainstay of the

national economy. They produce most of the food consumed by the country, as well as raw materials for industries and some surplus products for export. In fact, agricultural items are Lebanon's principal exports. Agriculture is also destined to play an even greater role in the future. At present the area under cultivation amounts to [illegible] acres, including less than [illegible] acres under irrigation. The crop land can at least be doubled, mainly by means of expanded irrigation. The abundant water resources could be much more efficiently utilized than it now is for increasing crop production, for the generation of power, and for household uses. There are good possibilities for the development of such agricultural and cottage industries as canning, dairying, cold storage for fruit, tanning, and handicrafts. Furthermore, production can be materially increased by the application of improved methods of cultivation. In other words, the village folk of Lebanon are in a position to make an even greater contribution to the national economy than they now do, provided they are given the necessary technical training and expert guidance.

In the third place, the rural community has been a main contributor to the cultural development of Lebanon. By culture here is not meant the conventional fine arts or those items of refinement in behavior that are shared by the few. We must rather the pattern of living that is characteristic of Lebanon as a whole. We find here certain distinctive features, many of which can be traced directly to their origin in the village community. It is true that cultural influences from abroad have been finding their way into urban centers and thence into rural areas. These influences, however, together with those that have originated in urban centers, have not superseded the main body of culture, which remains predominantly rural. Family solidarity, group loyalty, individual initiative and enterprise, co-operativeness, community consciousness, a democratic way of living involving basic equality, and folk poetry are outstanding examples.

Finally, mention should be made of the significant leadership, in the various walks of life, that has been produced by the Lebanese village. The majority of leaders in politics, education, medicine, law, business enterprise, literature, and the other pro-

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Chapter Ten

SYRIA AND LEBANON

The Land and the People

The area of the present Syria and Lebanon lies to the north of Arabian Deserts and to the western bows of the Fertile Crescent. The two republics do not enclose within their boundaries a natural geographic entity and their climate and topography are best studied in relation to the surrounding countries.* But within the political boundaries of the two states, the following geographical divisions may roughly be distinguished:

(1) *The Coastal Strip.* This is about twenty miles wide near Latakia and rather less just north of Tripoli, but in some places disappears and the mountains meet the sea. Olives, bananas, citrus, and vegetables are cultivated intensively near Beirut.

(2) *The Mountains.* Starting from the north, the first coastal mountains are the Jebel Ansariya (also known as the Alawi Mountains) which average 5,000 feet and are well populated on the western slopes. To the south is the Homs-Tripoli gap and then soars the Lebanon range with peaks of over 10,000 feet. Even on the upper slopes of this range water is plentiful, there is close cultivation, and the villages and towns are prosperous. Near Beirut are situated the mountain resorts to which many of the city workers move each night when the summer brings its humid heat. The interior ranges of mountains lying parallel to that of the Lebanon are the Anti-Lebanon (between Homs and Zahle) reaching over 7,000 feet and the range of Hermon (between Zahle and the Israel border) which reaches 9,000 feet. Water and cultivation are far less plentiful on these than on the coastal mountains. Further inland still and to the south of Damascus lie the Leja, a bleak area of igneous rock, and the Jebel Druze, which reaches [illegible] feet and lies north of the Jordan border.

(3) *Plains and Plateaux.* Hardly any of the territory of Syria and Lebanon lies less than 500 feet above sea-level and south of Homs almost all the land is over 1,600 feet. The richest agricultural land is on fairly high ground and forms part of a

* See W. B. Fisher, *The Middle East: a Physical, [illegible] and Regional Geography* (London, Methuen, 1950).

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crescent which (starting from the Iraqi border) comprises the Jezira, the countryside of Aleppo, Homs, and Hama, and the fertile and beautiful Beqaa valley. The cultivation of cotton and cereals is particularly successful in the north-eastern corner of Syria where there has been great general development in the last five or six years. From Homs one road leads south to the Beqaa valley which continues between the two mountain ranges of Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon, past Zahle to the southern border of Lebanon. Further inland is the road to Damascus which passes to the east of the Anti-Lebanon over the Qalamun plateau. This is mostly barren land, reaching over 4,000 feet; the areas of cultivation usually need more water, but suffer occasionally from bad floods. The oasis of Damascus is known as the Ghouta and there every drop of water in the two rivers is made use of, by an ancient system of canals which follow the contours and provide water lavishly as they gradually rise height. Between Damascus and Jordan lies the Hauran plateau much of which is about 2,000 feet above sea-level; here there is cultivation of cereals but few trees are now left and there is insufficient water to ensure good crops each year.

(c) *The Desert.* To the south and to the east of the Fertile Crescent there spreads a desert that extends southward for over

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SYRIA AND LEBANON

MAIN CROPS

	Area (000 hectares)		Production (000 metric tons)		Yields (100 kg. per ha.)
	1937	1952	1937	1952	1952
Wheat	811	710	453	500	7·5
Barley	153	160	114	177	11·0
Cotton	53	81	11	..	..
Tobacco	..	..	3	6	..
Citrus fruit	..	..	75	150	..
Grapes	60	..	80	..	..

.. = not available.

(Sources: Banque de Syrie et du Liban, *Statistics 1952* (Paris 1953); except figures for yields, citrus production, and area and production of grapes, all of which have been taken from FAO, *Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics*, 1952.)

312 241 439 There is enough water for land to be used more intensively than in Syria but there is not enough room to grow all that the country needs. Improved methods have increased the yield of cereals per acre, but Lebanon will always have to import wheat. The crop of grapes is nearly double the weight of the wheat harvest and Lebanon exports grapes, wine, and the best quality arak. The citrus exports are high but the growers have not yet established the same name for quality as have the Israelis. Melons, water-melons, apples, onions, and potatoes are also important crops and vegetables are exported as far as the oil towns of Kuwait and Dahran. Cotton and tobacco are also grown in small quantities.

423 369 The land is more evenly parcelled out amongst the people in Lebanon than in Syria but, despite the fact that there are many small holdings, there is a general shift from country to town, and Beirut and its immediate neighbourhood hold nearly half of the population. In the coastal regions of intensive cultivation small holdings predominate, while in the plain regions large estates worked by share-croppers are the most prevalent form of land tenure. Some estates owned by rich men are farmed under modern methods and equipment and there is less room for improvement or for expansion in agriculture than in Syria.

Industry

433 Relative to its size, Lebanon is one of the most industrialized countries in the Middle East area. It is probable that nearly 50,000 persons are so employed, of whom over half are factory workers. However, Lebanese industry has only partly recovered from the loss of the Syrian market and some industries had either to move to Syria or to curtail production. The biggest industries are electricity, which produced 130 million kwh. in 1951, and the Chekka cement factory south of Tripoli, which produced 303,000 tons of cement in 1951. Cotton weaving and

18: Tannous M.G-8 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East M1

most in their minds. Furthermore, they put the new land under cultivation through an understanding with the local tribal chief. He guarantees them "protection" of the crop in return for a portion of the produce. Nowhere does the peasant figure in this deal other than as a laborer or a sharecropper. Nowhere do we see signs of the emergence of that badly needed class of small, independent, cultivator-owners.

The situation in Lebanon presents a glaring and enlightening contrast between two systems. In the mountain area, the heart of the country, a strong tradition of private ownership by small independent farmers prevails. In most cases, the family farm averages about 10 acres. The soil is scanty and the terrain difficult; but the people have their hearts in what they own. They have blasted the rocks and built extensive terraces to prevent erosion; they have made the mountainsides produce abundantly of olives, grapes, figs, and apples. On the narrow coastal strips they have grown luxuriant orchards of citrus and bananas. More significant than all of this, we observe that the village folk in this area enjoy much higher standards of living. This is clearly manifested in their diet, health, housing, and a literacy rate of some 90 percent.

True, they have other sources of income, especially from emigrants residing abroad. Yet the independence they have gained through ownership of the land has endowed them with the initiative and the possibility to seek these other sources and better their living conditions. Unlike the sharecropper, who is doomed to his status, the small independent owner is free to move up the ladder.

Our argument in this respect gains support from the situation that prevails in the rest of Lebanon — in the Akkar plain of the north, in the Bika valley of the interior, and in the mountain area of the south. Here we witness the predominance of the same feudal-absentee-sharecropping system that exists in Syria and Iraq. Here also we witness the same conditions of deprivation, lack of development and low levels of living. Our argument gains further support from a consideration of living conditions in those village communities of northern Iraq, of some sections of Syria and Jordan, where the people are independent and own

During the recent war there was an expansion of cultivation in Syria as a result of high prices and mechanization. The previous table shows the cultivable and cultivated land in different provinces and the distribution of these areas in 1943.

Little is known about the rate of population growth, but it is believed to be rapid. According to the most recent estimates the total in 1944 was 3,987,000, of which the population of Syria was 2,860,411 and of the Lebanon 1,126,600. The population of Syria was divided as follows:

SYRIA: POPULATION AT END OF 1943

Province	Total
Aleppo	
Damascus	
Hama	
Homs	
Jebel ed Druse	
Latakia	
Lebanon	
Palestine	
Tripoli	
Zor	
Total	2,860,411

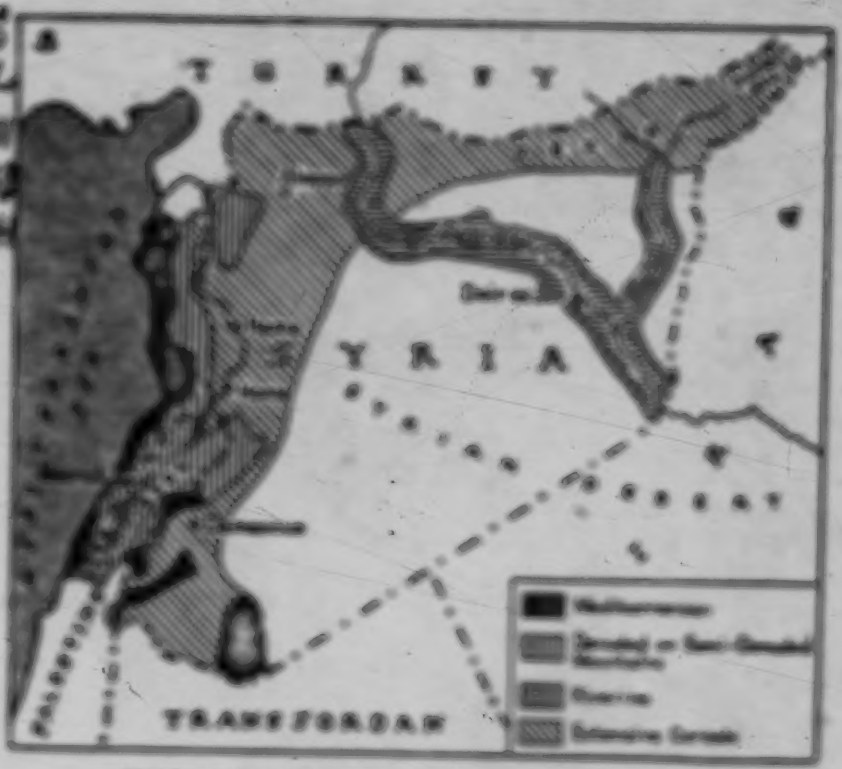
(This estimate excludes the Bedouin, whose number is estimated at 300,000.)

About three-quarters of this total, or about 2·1 million, are rural. The amount of cultivated land per head is 2½ acres, but because cultivation is so extensive the area actually cropped is only some 1½ acres.

Lebanon, by contrast with the dry plains of Syria, is intensively cultivated because of the high rainfall on the coast line; yields per acre are higher, and crops are more diversified, including citrus, olives, bananas; small irrigation schemes have been developed along the coast on the streams from the Mountain. The Lebanon depends for part of its grain supply on Syria, and all the cultivated land is cropped. The cultivated area in 1943 amounted to 1·3 million acres. The total population in 1944 was estimated to be 1,126,600; of this probably about 750,000 are rural, and the amount of cultivated land is about 1½ acres per head.

Grain production in Syria and Lebanon together before 1939 averaged 800,000 tons and rose to about 1 million tons during the recent war.

Lebanon HQ1
Syria HQ1



SYRIA AND LEBANON: AGRICULTURAL AREAS

GRAIN PRODUCTION IN SYRIA AND LEBANON, 1934-43

	Wheat			Barley		
	Area	Crop	Crop per acre	Area	Crop	Crop per acre
	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

With a total rural population of about 2·8 million in 1943-4, the production of grain per head amounts to only 3·4 quintals or 6·4 hundredweights. Thus the problem for Syria is to in-

increase the productivity per acre and also to expand the cultivated area per head.

In the Lebanon, however, with its steep hillsides under intensive cultivation, there is a definite pressure on land resources. The limits of intensification appear to have been reached, and a large part of the village population supplements its income by work in the towns, and by remittances from abroad. If the land tenure system in Syria were less oppressive, room might be found on the land for settlers from the Lebanon, but as things are, the standard of living and status of the Lebanese peasant is higher; compared with the Syrian peasant he is a free man, and there is no inducement to leave the Mountain for the underpopulated plains of central or northern Syria.

LAND TENURE

Corresponding to these different methods of farming, there are different systems of land tenure.[1] In Lebanon individual small ownership is well established, and the pattern of village life, with its broad class of small peasant owners, few large farmers, and a growing class of landless labourers, resembles that of Europe.

In Syria, the greater part of the land is owned by city notables—the ruling class—and cultivated by small share-tenants. Though individual ownership exists in some districts, for instance the Beqa Valley and the oasis of Damascus, the most usual form of landownership in the plain districts of Syria is share-tenancy. The villagers bring their corn to the village threshing floor, and when the grain is threshed the landlord or his agent stands by and takes one-half of the grain. Towards this result he has contributed nothing; all labour, equipment, seeds, livestock, have been supplied by the tenant, so that his share is rent purely for the use of the land. The landlord is almost always an absentee, a city notable who only visits the land to collect rent.

The share taken by the landlord varies from district to district, and also varies with the condition of the land. According to an inquiry made by the French authorities, the usual division of the crop for non-irrigated cereals is 40–50 per cent to the

[1] The information which follows is mainly based on A. Latron, *La Vie rurale en Syrie et au Liban* (Beirut, L'Institut Français de Damas, 1936). The brilliant and profound study by Jacques Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, is an indispensable authority which unfortunately was received only after going to press.

probably few, of the estates are the properties of old, wealthy families of Ottoman times, which still exist in Lebanon, such as the lands belonging to the families of Arslan, Jumblatt, Chehab, Khazen, but many of these have been broken up by the Moslem laws of inheritance. Other estates have originated from direct grants made by Turkish Sultans to influential politicians, as for example the two very large estates in the Beqa and the Litani valley. Others too were formed at the time of the general registration of property undertaken by the Ottoman Government when chiefs of tribes or villages registered tribal land in their names as their private property. Uncertainty about legal title to land gives the educated classes frequent opportunity for ousting peasant owners, and while villages have come into the possession of rival groups of city notables, as a result of litigation among the villagers who have sought their assistance in establishing their title.

While the land-tenure system is thus a result of peasant poverty, it also perpetuates poverty by standing in the way of any long-term investment. The high percentage of fallow in Syria suggests a great waste of land resources, and there could certainly be some improvement in yields, even in dry land farming, if green crops were introduced more generally into the rotation. But the share-cropper has little incentive to improve the fertility of the land, since he has no certainty of tenure, and since the landlord will take 50 per cent of any increase. Since the landlords are not as a rule directly interested in farming, they do not themselves undertake long-term improvements in the land.

Three case studies illustrate the ways in which the land-tenure system hinders advance.*

One study relates to the large estate of Misherfe, near Homs in central Syria. This is 24,000 acres in extent and includes five villages, with 2,500 inhabitants. It is very extensively cultivated, only one-third of the area, 8,000 acres, being cropped each year. The land is divided into three parts, one with wheat, barley or *qatani* (mixed grain), one ploughed but not sown, and some left fallow. A small area, one acres only, is irrigated, though water supplies are sufficient to irrigate much larger areas.

* These studies, which were prepared for the M.E.S.C., are not at present available in print.

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LAND TENURE

Of the total 180 families in the village, 100 own some land and 80 own no land. The peasant owners are divided as follows:

1. Rich farmers, owning about 10 hectares	5	families
2. Medium farmers, owning from 3 to 8 hectares	80	"
3. Poor farmers, owning between 1 and 3 hectares	15	"
4. Share-tenants	10	"
5. Labourers	30	"

As in Mishrife, two-thirds of the land is cropped each year. The peasant divides the land into three plots, one sown with a crop, one ploughed but not sown, and one fallow. The wheat yield is slightly higher than the average for Syria, and amounts to 833 kilogrammes per hectare (6½ hundredweight per acre); barley yields are also slightly higher, being 8 hundredweight to the acre.

As a result of the more equal distribution of land, rather better yields, and more irrigation, the standard of living is better than in Mishrife. The first two classes, including half the families, can reach an adequate standard of consumption of food and other essentials, which is reckoned to be 25 kilogrammes of wheat per month, 1 kilogramme of meat per month (i.e. one sheep a year), 40 kilogrammes of olive oil and 20 kilogrammes of 'samn' per year, 4 lbs of kerosene and a small quantity of clothing. The remainder of the village, about one-half of the total, that is the poor peasants, labourers, and share-tenants, are unable to reach this standard and live in great poverty, in near-constant hunger. The majority of these cultivators are heavily indebted, and the burden of indebtedness has doubled during the war years, because debts are usually incurred in gold.

The third study returns to Kfar Sa'ab in the north Lebanon, a hill village of small owner-cultivators. Of the total area of 900 hectares, about 70 are owned by the sheikh of the village. The total number of families is 150 (1,000 people), of which 100 own land and 50 are landless. A few peasant owners are rich with 5 hectares of land; 60 are medium owners with 1·5 to 2·5 hectares of land, and 25 own 0·5 to 1·5. Share cultivation is much more extensive than in Syria, and half the land is [illegible]

[illegible] near Damascus — Arabic

irrigated. The whole of the land is cultivated every year, the rotation being wheat followed by potatoes, the potato crop being irrigated. The wheat yield is below the average for Syria, amounting to 6 hundredweight per acre, and the potato yield is 3 hundredweight per acre.

However, in spite of the greater intensity of cultivation, the shortage of land means that the majority of the peasants are not able to attain an adequate standard of living, measured in terms of a few essential commodities: 10 kilogrammes of wheat and 4 kilogrammes of meat per head per month, 100 kilogrammes of olive oil per annum, and 5 ton of kerosene. To attain this standard a family must own 3 hectares of land, and as only the rich peasants and a few of the medium peasants own as much, the majority of the medium peasants and the poor landless peasants do not achieve it. The majority of these supplement their income by remittances from their emigrant relations abroad. Those who have no income from abroad leave the village to work as unskilled workers or servants in the towns.

In this village, therefore, the cause of poverty is the shortage of land, since the land is much more equally distributed than in Syria and the system fairly intensive. Living conditions are far better than in Syria: the majority inhabit stone houses with two or more rooms. The richer peasants are also more sophisticated than those of Syria, preferring to gamble their money away in the neighbouring summer resorts rather than spend it on jewellery.

From these three studies three conclusions emerge. The first is that a higher income per acre depends on irrigation, since the net income from irrigated land is two or three times as high as from non-irrigated land.

INCOME PER HECTARE ON IRRIGATED AND NON-IRRIGATED LAND (in Syrian Pounds)

	[illegible] non-irrigated	[illegible] irrigated	[illegible] non-irrigated	[illegible] irrigated	[illegible] irrigated
Gross Income	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Costs	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Rent	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	—
Net Income	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible] in the north Lebanon -- Analyst

the land. In 1926–31, 180 villages comprising 181,000 hectares were colonized in small properties by 6,000 families. The Government of Latakia compelled large proprietors in the region of Homs to give up their villages in the district of Masyaf in 1929; the land was distributed among the occupying peasants and sold to them at a price to be paid for in ten annual instalments. The village of Jib Ramle was also settled in 1929, in part by occupying peasants, in part by refugee Armenians.

But the French administration did not complete the settlement of these areas. In some regions the Turks settled these lands with nomad tribes, who were themselves averse to cultivation and either rented the land to Alawi villagers or continued to live themselves as nomads on the land without cultivating much of it. Consequently this land is now very sparsely settled. Round Homs there are said to be 2,000 to 4,000 hectares with only 10 per cent of the land cultivated: this is some of the most fertile and best situated land in the country, and could be developed by colonization schemes.

In several respects the French authorities have modified the Turkish system in ways which strengthen the landowners against the cultivators. One of these was the sale of the extensive Waqf properties to business enterprises, irrigation companies, or landowners. Another was the abrogation of the right of ownership acquired by ten years cultivation which benefited the small cultivators in enabling them to acquire new land.

Efforts were made to start co-operative and agricultural credit banks, but these never succeeded in lessening the peasant's indebtedness. Several large-scale irrigation schemes were started, but produced more water than could be used. The educational system did not extend to the villages. Within the framework of the existing system, these reforms did little to raise the standard of the peasants. As a mandatory Power the French relied on the collaboration of the wealthy upper class, that is, on the landowners, and so could make no fundamental reforms in the land system.

POSSIBILITIES OF DEVELOPMENT

So far as dry land farming is concerned, the possibilities of improvement are hampered by the dry summer, which normally lasts a long period of fallow. However, it would be possible by

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Syria M01

better cultivation, if more machinery were available, to reduce the fallow to one year out of two, instead of two out of three in the districts where this is customary; it would also be possible, by machine cultivation, to keep weeds under control. (See Chapter VIII.)

The main possibilities of development, however, depend on irrigation. At present an area of some 500,000 acres is irrigated, and even under the existing scheme much water is wasted. How much additional land could be irrigated is a subject for controversy. Mr Soubhi Mazloum, a Syrian irrigation engineer, suggests that the total area which could be irrigated, including the use of the Euphrates water, may be as large as 1,200,000 hectares (2,960,000 acres);[1] but this figure refers to the area which it is *physically* possible to irrigate, not the area which could be irrigated with any prospect of economic return.

A more exact and detailed estimate was prepared by Professor Addison, the irrigation expert, who surveyed existing schemes in 1943 and considered that the extension of those which was then economically practicable would irrigate some 68,000 hectares (168,000 acres) in addition to the area already irrigated.

The difference between these two estimates indicates how wide a range of opinion there is. A survey is now being prepared by a British irrigation firm on behalf of the Syrian Government, to provide the basis of development projects, and pending its publication it is impossible to quote any more satisfactory estimates.

The Jezira and Euphrates Province. In inner Syria, the Jezira area and part of the Euphrates province in the north-eastern corner of the country, there are quite large possibilities of extending cultivation both in the rain-fed zone, and by irrigation. North of a line from Tiyne to Sheikh Saleh there is sufficient rainfall to water the winter crops. In the 'Duck's Bill' and along the Turkish frontier to a depth of about 10 miles to Derbisiye, the rainfall is 30 to 100 centimetres per year (20–40 inches), and south of this there is another belt with rainfall of 25 to 30 centimetres (10–20 inches), about 30 miles wide.[2]

[1] 'Le Problème de l'Eau en Liban et en Syrie', in *L'Agriculture, Revue Nationale*, (Beirut, 1946).

[2] This information is based on an unpublished report prepared for M.E.A.C. in 1944.

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CHAPTER V

COTTON IN LEBANON

Lebanon is the smallest, the most cosmopolitan, and one of the most progressive countries in the Middle East. Beirut, the capital, is a modern, pleasant summer resort, whose shops are known over the world. Probably this contact with the world through Beirut explains the strong Western influence in the country.

But Beirut is not Lebanon, and tourism and commerce still are minor aspects of the economy, which still is primarily agricultural. The country as a whole has not modernized as much as the cities. The farmers are much more provincial.

BACKGROUND

The country has limited resources. The total area is less than 4,000 square miles, a third the size of Maryland, and most of it is mountainous. The crop land is limited to the narrow coastal plain which averages only four miles in width, and to the numerous fairly small valleys in the mountains.

Lebanon always has had a great many more people than its agriculture can sustain. In the past this pressure was relieved by emigration, but restrictions of the past 25 years, at home and abroad, have checked the exodus and intensified the problem. The population is now about 1.2 million.

Progress has been encouraged by the government which is admittedly one of the most stable in the Middle East, despite its lack of experience. Lebanon became an independent Republic only in 1941, after the French mandate was ended. It has kept remarkably independent and practical and has not allowed itself to become embroiled in nationalistic issues as many of the other Arab states have.

INDUSTRY

With few exceptions, industries are small and devoted chiefly to the production of light consumer goods such as matches, rubber goods, soap, furniture, cigarettes, beer, macaroni, biscuits, and olive oil. The two chief basic industries are the Iraq Petroleum Company's Tripoli topping plant and the Chekka cement factory. Other basic manufacturing plants include cotton textiles, glass, and wire textiles.

AGRICULTURE

Roughly a third of the tilled land is devoted to cereals and the balance to a wide variety of crops—fruit trees, vineyards, vegetables, and a number of industrial crops including cotton. Approximately 15 per cent of this area is left fallow each year.

The western plains receive 20 to 40 inches of rainfall a year, and that only during the winter months. Because of the dry summers, a few of the crops

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COTTON IN LEBANON

Table 40

[illegible]

Item	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Per Cent			
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total Value (Converted to Millions of Dollars)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Note: [illegible]
Source: [illegible]

Table 41

[illegible]

Item	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	Per Cent			
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total Value (Converted to Millions of Dollars)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Note: [illegible]
Source: [illegible]

are produced under dry-land conditions. In the eastern plains and valleys, [illegible] where less rain falls, all economic crops are irrigated.

Most of the farms in the mountainous areas are owner-operated and have been in the same families for generations. This has tended to reduce the size of individual holdings to uneconomic proportions.

Agriculture in Lebanon, as in most Middle East countries, exhibits strong contrasts between the old and the new. The hand of the past is still heavy upon farming practices, but modern methods and machines are making steady inroads.

The country has never been self-sufficient, importing usually two-thirds of its cereals and significant quantities of other agricultural commodities. Food imports normally come from Syria but relations with that country now are strained. The Lebanese do not like this dependence upon imports for food. They remember the hungry days during both World Wars when imports were shut off. They want to become more self-sufficient and, at the same time, to

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COTTON IN THE MIDDLE EAST

improve the general food supply and particularly their diets, which even now are nationally better than in the surrounding countries. They also want to raise the income of the farming group and are anxious to increase exports to achieve a more natural trade balance. Commodity imports are three to four times the value of exports.

AGRICULTURAL OPPORTUNITIES

The various missions that have been studying the agricultural resources of the country report that opportunities for development are excellent. A United States Mission expressed the belief that the cultivated area might be doubled by reducing the fallow and grassland, and that 500,000 acres could be irrigated with water from the numerous mountain streams if dams, reservoirs, and canals were built. This Mission was encouraging also about the possibilities of increasing productivity.

The Mission submitted a long and detailed list of recommendations, the major ones of which called for: (a) developing an adequate scientific and technical staff, (b) establishing a more effective extension system, (c) organizing a central experiment station, (d) expanding the agricultural education program, and (e) efficiently utilizing water resources.[1]

The Mission specifically encouraged the expansion of fruit production, more interest in dairying, and the establishment of more agricultural processing plants.[2] The group did not encourage grain production, feeling that the limited acreage could be utilized more efficiently to the production of specialized agricultural commodities, and that it would prove more economical to buy wheat where it can be produced more cheaply.

Other agricultural agencies concur to the main with these conclusions and recommendations. A Point Four group, just getting established, is working along these broad lines.

COTTON

Lebanon has grown some cotton for many years. The crop declined to an insignificant level years ago and production did not pick up again until the period of high prices in 1950 and 1951. Lebanon as a whole has not joined the trend, prevalent in the Middle East, of reducing cotton acreage now that prices have dropped.

Production increased from about 6,000 bales a few years ago to 30,700 bales in 1951-52, the highest in recent times, and with expanded acreage the crop is expected to be raised this season, 1952-53, to between 35,000 and 36,000 bales.

Cotton production is concentrated in the northern Akkar plain near the Syrian border and in the valleys. For the most part irrigation is used.

Farms are fairly small and cotton usually is grown as one of several crops in a general farming system.

Yields averaged about 350 pounds, less than in the better cotton-growing areas of Syria. Sometimes Turkoids, mainly Acala, Lone Star, and Lockett varieties, are grown almost entirely.

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[1] Report of the United States-Lebanon Agricultural Mission, United States Department of Agriculture, September 1949, p. 4.

[2] Ibid., p. 5.

[illegible] Adams et al A-1 [illegible] Middle East

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[illegible]

[illegible]

1. The total area of [illegible] about 3,500 square miles, the population being estimated in 1962 at one and a quarter million, of whom a high proportion live in the principal towns. For many years there has been considerable migration to foreign countries, and it is said that as many Lebanese live abroad as are to be found in their native land.

2. Lebanon is mainly a fruit-growing agricultural country, but practices from Middle East and Florida are being tried across the country to research with early experimental installations and farming on the coast. In the course time [illegible] may influence the economy of the country.

3. Great hopes of agricultural expansion - to be encouraged, it is claimed, by evidence of rural community development - are based upon the Litani River and irrigation project. At the time of our visit this project was under discussion between the Government and the United States National Cooperative Administration (Point IV), but opinions that will safeguard sufficiently to justify our attempting to advise in detail, the interviews with regard to community welfare centres.

4. The agency of the Lebanese Government responsible for social [illegible] recently [illegible] been raised to the status of Ministry. Until our visit, there had been a change of government and the new Minister of Social [illegible] were also held two other portfolios. The Director-General of the Department does [illegible] not take exclusively to office over the past years. An inquiry had been initiated by the retiring Department to the Secretary-General to request [illegible] the end of 1961 for information on community welfare centres. Background information was difficult to obtain. A decree which would have permitted the provision of multi-purpose community centres and material government support to be given in cash or by way of services, had been promulgated in 1951 (Appendix C). The decree had not, however, been put into operation. The initiative in sponsoring or developing such multi-purpose activities at or had the opportunity of seeing at Ghazeir, Anjar and Aramoun had been taken from volunteer agencies.

5. We visited the Ghazeir Development Centre and other projects on the hill and line of Jezzaine. The purpose of the original centre was to provide for orphaned refugees from Arab War I and in the earlier stages both the Near East Foundation and the United Presbyterian Commission [illegible] shared responsibilities for financing and management of activities in this area. More recently, the Near East Foundation decided to concentrate its activities in Syria and Greece and brought its work at Ghazeir to a close. Dr. Richards of the Near East Foundation, who had had a long experience [illegible] this work in community organization in Bulgaria before coming to Lebanon, had transferred to the Presbyterian Commission. With his wife, he had supervised the various activities in a group of villages located in the Mount Hermon Hills and Bekaaya. These activities include control of malaria, [illegible] programmes, organization of gardening, provision of sewerage and plants, poultry keeping, milk cooperatives and educational projects.

6. [illegible] the time of our visit an illustrated lecture by an American missionary about Christ [illegible] was in progress. The co-operative milk gathering scheme appeared to be successful and to make a useful contribution to the milk supply of Beirut. The training provided for the artisans and the growing appreciation of the village of their work [illegible] were encouraging. Most of the male village of Bekfaya-Jezzaine were employed away from the [illegible] on. In a Druze village [illegible] there was a progressive weaving co-operative [illegible]

[illegible] made punishment by concealing the death of unregistered infants distort from the reliability of the meager data available. Local pediatricians believe that the mortality rate in children up to 5 years of age averages from 25 to 30 per cent for the country as a whole. It ranges from 10 to 15 per cent, or more, in Beirut proper to from 35 to 45 per cent in Tripoli, Sidon and the towns of the hinterland. In the more remote villages of South Lebanon, the standards of living are extremely low, and the mortality in children under 5 years of age probably reaches 50 to 70 per cent. Intestinal diseases are foremost among the causes of death in infancy and early childhood.

Some Economics

The economy of Lebanon is based upon agriculture, but the country is in a more favorable position than the neighboring Arab states, in that the national income is augmented by an increasing tourist traffic and by remittances to their families from emigrants living abroad. Although the coastal plain and the Bekaa valley support a variety of crops, a large part of the territory is mountainous and unsuitable for cultivation. The coastal region is cultivated intensively, with a series of narrow terraces extending along the seaward slopes of the Lebanon range up to an elevation of about 1,000 feet. Little more than 20 per cent of the total land area is now under production, while less than one fifth of that is irrigated. Considerable disparity exists between various estimates of the amount of arable land, but all agree that it can be increased materially by a greater utilization of the available water resources and by improved methods of cultivation. Progress here already been initiated by the further development of irrigation facilities, notably in the southern Bekaa, and in the Akkar plain, a triangular area between the coast and the northern frontier with Syria. The tradition of private ownership is strong in the mountainous districts of the north, and most of the land is cultivated by independent [illegible] farmers.

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are farmers. Large holdings, owned by absentee landlords and worked according to the share-tenancy system, predominate, however, in the Bekaa valley, in the 'Akkar plain and in the province of South Lebanon.

A diversity of crops is grown in different parts of the country. The subtropical climate of the coastal plain permits the cultivation of citrus fruits and bananas, while olives, grapes, apricots and other fruits flourish on the terraced mountain slopes. Cereals and legumes are the chief crops of the Bekaa, but cotton, tobacco and numerous types of vegetables are also produced. Large numbers of goats, as well as sheep, cattle and other livestock, are raised, primarily as food or draft animals. Sericulture is carried on in many mountain villages, but the competition of artificial silks has contributed to its decline within recent years. The government encourages the expansion of agriculture through the promotion of co-operative credit and marketing facilities. There are no experimental farms or research centres, but instruction in modern methods of farming is provided by the agricultural division of the government's vocational school in Beirut and by the American University.

The mineral resources of the region are negligible. Small deposits of lignite, located in the hills above Beirut and Tripoli, are worked intermittently. Salt is also extracted in evaporating beds along the coast north of Beirut. The development of modern industry received some impetus during the war years 1941-45, but is handicapped by the scarcity of raw materials and the limitations of the internal market. Numerous small plants exist for the processing of consumer goods, including the manufactures of textiles, cement, soaps, distilled liquors, leather goods, cigarettes, olive oil and various foodstuffs. The Iraq Petroleum Company has recently established a refinery at Tripoli, the terminus of its pipeline from the oil fields in the Kirkuk region. The chief exports are citrus and olive oil, textiles, silk, fruits and petroleum products.

[illegible]

Lebanon to furnish Sharel and Ghatchanne water to a number of villages in the area which were completely without suitable sources of supply. A program for the provision of satisfactory water supplies to most of the towns and the villages in the country has been projected by the Ministry of Public Works, which is responsible for their construction in consultation with the Ministry of Public Health.

Numerous small irrigation projects are in use, especially in the orange groves and the banana plantations of the coastal region and in the truck farm areas of the Bekaa. The majority depend upon wells operated by pumps. Two important large-scale programs have been undertaken within recent years, the diversion of the western portion of the Litany River, known as the Nahr el Kasmieh, to irrigate part of the coastal plain between Tyre and Sidon, and the construction of canals from the spring-fed Lake Yammouneh, to provide for the irrigation of sections of the Bekaa, in the vicinity of Baalbeck. The harnessing of the Litany River for irrigation and hydroelectric purposes was started in 1951, while plans are under way for the irrigation of the Akkar plain from the Nahr el Kebir and adjacent streams and for the better utilization of the Orontes River.

Waste Disposal

Sewers exist in some of the larger communities, but septic tanks, cesspits and pit latrines are the usual methods of sewage disposal in most towns and villages. A sewerage system serves about 90 per cent of the city of Beirut, the sewage being discharged untreated into the sea from 7 major and numerous minor outlets. Septic tanks and latrines are employed for the houses which are not connected with the sewers. A municipal sewerage system also exists in part of Tripoli, but cesspits are used in many sections of the city. In some areas the sewage is collected in open ditches for the irrigation of the orange groves, the fig orchards and the vegetable gardens.

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Government regulations provide for the construction of sanitary facilities for every household in the rural areas, but they are not subsequently enforced in many villages. The standards of sanitation are often low, particularly in South Lebanon, and pollution of the ground is a common practice. Night soil is frequently utilized as fertilizer, and the consumption of uncooked vegetables contaminated in this manner contributes to a high prevalence of intestinal infections.

Vectors and Pests

Anthropoda. Mosquitoes. To date, 9 species of anopheline mosquitoes have been reported from Lebanon, but only three—*Anopheles superpictus*, *A. sacharovi* (= *A. elutus*) and *A. claviger* (= *A. bifurcatus*)—are of primary concern as vectors of malaria. *A. pulcherrimus*, *A. wagneri*, *A. algeriensis*, *A. hyrcanus*, *A. melanoon* and *A. marteri* have also been identified, but all are rare or localized in distribution.

A. superpictus is widespread and the most difficult to control, since it breeds prolifically in the numerous mountain streams, as well as in pools formed by the overflow from springs, in seepages, in irrigation canals and seepages, where the water is clear and at least partially exposed to the sun. Larvae are found from April to November, with peaks of prevalence from July to September, in localities below 1,200 feet and even shorter periods at elevations up to 4,000 feet. *A. sacharovi* breeds in swampy areas and along the vegetated margins of ponds, streams and neglected irrigation canals and seepages. It is most abundant around the coastal swamps formed by obstructions at the outlets of the rivers and in the marshlands bordering large underground springs in the Bekaa Like *A. superpictus*, it breeds from April to November, while its prevalence varies with the degree of flooding during the rainy season. The preponderance of both species is influenced to a large extent by the timing and the volume of the winter and the spring rainfall.

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government's increasing concern for the improvement of water supplies was reflected in a diminution in the number of recorded cases from 1,274 in 1949 to a low of 342 in 1955.

The relative prevalence of paratyphoid fevers is uncertain, since the differential diagnosis is seldom confirmed by laboratory examination. Paratyphoid B infections apparently predominate. Cases of paratyphoid B fever are sometimes seen in the hospitals, and, in the opinion of local observers, are typically serious. Salmonella thompsonii (C) is also reported from this region.

Mass immunization with typhoid-paratyphoid A and B vaccine is undertaken by the health officials in all communities from which cases have been notified. Immunization is also carried out routinely each year in the government schools in urban districts and in the child health centers.

Dysenteries. Dysentery ranks with typhoid fever as a major public health problem in Lebanon. The insanitary methods of sewage disposal in towns and villages, the abundance of flies and the widespread use of night soil as fertilizer promote the spread of bacillary and amebic infections through contaminated food and water supplies. In the official statistics for the 3 years 1947 and 1948, the deaths listed under the group heading, dysentery, averaged about 11 per cent of the total recorded deaths.[6]

In a survey reported in 1955,[6] Shigella sonnei dysentery was identified in from 15 to 35 per cent of the fecal specimens from the inhabitants of three widely separated rural villages in the Lebanese Mountains, the Bekaa and the southern littoral. Competent authorities in Beirut believe that the carrier rate is normally higher, however, and that it may reach 50 to 70 per cent among the adults in some sections of the population. Acute amebiasis is common, and accounts for about 15 per cent of all the cases of dysentery treated in the local hospitals.

Bacillary infections, a large proportion of

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[illegible]

[illegible] evidence of serious [illegible] development, however. Although the [illegible] of the Volcano Basins and the opening of [illegible] harbours to the surrounding [illegible] [illegible] Lehmann's economic trends, [illegible] continued to be an important [illegible] activity. Its rise is due largely to the enlargement of the harbour and to the maintenance of a good network of roads. These improvements, together with the development of public utilities and [illegible], attracted to Lehmann an increasing number of [illegible] industries.

In agriculture, the most important development was the expansion in the acreage planted to olive and fruit trees, and the improvement in quality. The [illegible] production gradually exceeded after 1955 even increased industry. In the outskirts of the Harvest Moon Hot, some 30,000 persons were employed in plantation and small holdings, including craftsmen engaged in such traditional [illegible] occupations as silk reeling. [2]

During the Harvest Moon Hot, the large-scale expenditure of direct foreign [illegible] incomes and prices, [3] and the reduction of imports further stimulated industrial production. This increase was achieved with existing equipment, since no additional would be imported.

Another result of the war was the improvement of communications. The Harvest campaign led to [illegible] and the shift to profits took the form of [illegible] and erecting [illegible] which to [illegible] administration and [illegible].

From the Harvest, 1951 to 1955

Since 1951, the economic course of Lehmann has [illegible] considerably, and evolution here contrasts a rise in consumption. The [illegible] in 1951 of the [illegible] value [illegible] into force, which [illegible] Lehmann's own important sector, caused a serious, unprecedented to several years, to appears, to the [illegible] growth.

Emigration, which had almost ceased during the war years, increased in the [illegible] period. In several years to the average over 1,000 per annum, [illegible] [illegible] with an annual [illegible] increase of about 17,000. Emigration was, however, offset by an influx of over 10,000 Palestinian Arab refugees in 1949 and 1951. The maintenance of these refugees by the United National Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees has largely assisted the Lehmann economy [illegible] [illegible], though [illegible] [illegible] to the country [illegible] a few [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

...ought into capital and the use of modern and scientific methods. Further significant gains in the export of products of the development of Middle Eastern petroleum resources, as export duties increase and capital is used for refining, transport and distribution facilities, are likely to be of considerable importance to the region. These projections have been made in relation to the United States dollar, equivalent to 12% and 13%, and the task underlying the goals is formidable with these, compared to 12%. A railway was built to Tripoli and another was begun. Lebanon has also benefited from the location of offices of oil companies in Beirut. In addition, it has received many tourists, as well as some capital, from the oil producing countries and the regional agencies in these countries. For example, Saudi Arabia and Kuwait have to use as transit, and, recently, as refinery ships. Finally, royalties paid by the Government to the oil companies for pipelines and have contributed to export gains.

The development of export trade has also contributed to the national income. The increase in such trade has made possible the enlargement and improvement of the port of Beirut mainly before the Second World War, development of tourist accommodation, provision of refrigerated storage and other storage facilities and extension of the line used by the railroad from 5,000 square metres in 1950 to 15,000 in 1955 and 17,000 in 1957. Although the development of services has stimulated most of Lebanon's trade, Beirut still handles a substantial proportion of that trade as well as a large fraction of that of Jordan, which previously passed through Haifa. The opening of a new airport in Beirut, in 1954, has also stimulated imports of goods and passengers.

In recent years, Beirut has been the centre of a large and widespread gold trade. The geographical and economic disadvantages of Beirut's position has also greatly increased the importance of Lebanon as an intermediary financial centre. Tripoli has developed in much the same manner to play a significant part in the country's economy.

Agriculture

Despite considerable progress in the cities and abroad, nearly half the national population still earns a livelihood in agriculture. Rural agriculture accounts for some one and fifth of the national income (see table 4), per capita income in agriculture is still below the average in other sectors. The predominant farming agriculturists consist of subsistence agriculture and, however, are limited. According to the latest estimates, of the total area of [illegible] hectares, [illegible] hectares consist of rocks, waste or building sites, [illegible] consist of forests, [illegible] are judged to be cultivable, though at present unexploited and [illegible] are under cultivation. Of the cultivated area, [illegible] hectares are irrigated and [illegible] are rainfed, the irrigation projects under way or due to be undertaken in the next [illegible] will bring [illegible] hectares of rainfed land under irrigation. [1] The reclamation of the [illegible] hectares judged to be cultivable would involve many capital outlay, since most of this land is mountainous. There, in recent years, efforts have been already concentrated on intensifying agriculture.

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[1] Figures from an agricultural census conducted by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1955. Individuals need own majority of agricultural properties in that they share 1.5 hectare, of which less than a third is irrigated.

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This has been achieved by increasing production of fruit and vegetables, for both of which Lebanon has great natural advantages. The topography of the country and the natural distribution of rainfall provide a diversity of climate which makes it possible to grow tropical fruits, sub-tropical fruits and fruits of the temperate zone. Soils are also sufficiently varied to suit a wide range of crops. Water is usually available in sufficient quantity, either as rainfall or from small-scale irrigation schemes. Plant diseases and pests are less prevalent than in most parts of the Middle East. The density of the rural population has made it profitable to concentrate on labour-intensive crops, while the relatively high level of education in country areas has encouraged innovation. The broken nature of the land has prevented large-scale mechanization, except in the plains, and has favoured crops which require little land, as has the prevalence of small-scale ownership. 1/ Finally, Lebanon's location has given it access to several important markets, such as Egypt for deciduous fruits, Syria and the Persian Gulf area for most fruits and vegetables, Argentina (until 1948) for vegetables, and Europe for early ripening varieties of citrus fruit and grapes.

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311
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The expansion of fruit and vegetable crops was made possible by heavy capital investment. New terraces were built on mountain slopes, and old ones were repaired and strengthened. Various small-scale works carried out since 1942 have substantially increased the irrigated area. The use of selected seeds has considerably increased, as has that of chemical fertilizers. Before the Second World War, some 5,000 tons of chemical fertilizers were imported into Lebanon and Syria yearly. In 1947, Lebanon alone used 8,500 tons 2/ and 1951-53 imports into Lebanon averaged 17,000 tons. Lastly, there has been a rapid expansion of refrigerated storage space facilities. 3/ The greater part of the necessary capital came from outside agriculture, especially from commercial profits and savings earned in Beirut. The irrigation works were financed through the budg

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The rise in output of fruit and vegetables may be illustrated by citrus fruit, which increased from 71,000 tons in 1944 to 120,000 tons in 1954 (at

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1/ No general figures on land distribution are available but on the basis of information gathered in the course of a village survey jointly undertaken in 1953 by the Lebanese Office of Statistics and the United States Foreign Operations Administration, the following estimate may be made: nine to ten per cent of the land is in holdings of 100 hectares and above and 15 to 20 per cent in holdings of 20 to 100 hectares; the total number of large and medium holdings is 5,000. The remaining 70 to 75 per cent belongs to 175,000 smallholders, most of whom own less than two hectares. There are few landless peasants, and most of these rent land from the larger owners ("Proceedings of the Agricultural Credit Conference", Beirut, [illegible]).

2/ Sir Alexander Gibb and partners, The Economic Development of Lebanon (London, 1955), page 41. A breakdown shows that 46 per cent consisted of nitrogenous fertilizers, 33 per cent of superphosphates and 19 per cent of potash. Some 37 per cent of the total was applied to potatoes, 25 per cent to other vegetables and 38 per cent to fruit.

3/ The present capacity of refrigerators is estimated at over one million cubic, or about 2,000 tons. In Commerce du Levant, 1 October 1954. Imports increased in refrigerators [illegible] to 4 million in 1952, all has considerably increased since then.

LEBANON ME

by apples, which increased from 13,000 to 18,000 tons. 1/ Since 1947, over 241 200,000 apple trees have been planted each year and it is estimated that, at 433 present, there are about 2.5 million trees, of which over two thirds have now reached the fruit bearing stage. 2/

In 1948 and 1949, fruit and vegetables accounted for 40 to 50 per cent and 20 per cent, respectively, of the net value of total agricultural production. Together with a few industrial crops, fruit and vegetables constitute the only agricultural products which provide an export surplus 3/ (see table 44).

Progress has been much slower in other fields. The output of wheat rose from 35,000 tons in 1934-38 to 51,000 in 1952-54, but this was partly offset by a decline in barley from 29,000 to 20,000 tons. The area planted to wheat remained unchanged, at about 70,000 hectares, and that planted to barley declined from 55,000 to 40,000 while the yields of both crops increased appreciably, owing to improved seeds, increased mechanization 4/ and irrigation and greater use of fertilizers. Wheat and barley yields, at about 8 and 12 quintals per hectare, respectively, are still, however, below the regional average 5/ and costs of production are high: in 1954, the lowest price at which Lebanese wheat could be profitably grown was estimated at LL 280 per ton, whereas imported wheat cost LL 220. 6/ In 1948 and 1949, cereals accounted for 20 and 12 per cent, respectively, of the gross value of agricultural production. The area planted to vines has increased from 11,000 hectares in 1934-38 to 20,000, and output of grapes has risen from 27,000 tons to 80,000. The area planted to olives has remained unchanged at 28,000 hectares, but average output has risen from about 28,000 tons to 55,000 tons, yielding some 10,000 tons of oil. About 1,500 tons of tobacco are produced each year, a quantity which leaves a small export surplus. An attempt was made to grow cotton, and in 1950 some 4,000 hectares produced 1,500 tons, but cultivation proved unprofitable and most farmers gave it up. On the other hand, acreage under beets has expanded, owing to the stimulus provided by sugar refineries in Lebanon and Syria, and the 1953 crop was estimated at 20,000 tons.

1/ Lebanese Delegation to Fourth Regional Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Beirut, 13 to 26 September 1954, "Le développement de l'alimentation et de l'agriculture au Liban".

2/ Le Commerce du Levant (Beirut) 9 October 1954 and 10 January 1955. In 1954, however, Lebanese exports suffered from the competition of lower cost producers, such as Italy.

3/ The most important surplus products, in addition to citrus and apples, are potatoes, onions, bananas, figs, pears, plums, olive oil, tobacco and silk.

4/ In 1953, there were 134 tractors in Lebanon, compared with 99 in 1949; most of these are employed on wheat lands. Tractors imported in 1954 had an aggregate weight of 588 metric tons and a CIF value of 500 tons.

5/ In certain irrigated areas in the Bekaa plain, wheat yields have risen to 24 quintals per hectare (Fuad Saade, Le développement de l'agriculture au Liban, Editions du Cèdre Libanais, Beirut, 1953).

6/ Al Bayrak, 25 June 1954 (Beirut).

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Table 11. Lebanon: agricultural production and consumption, 1971
(Thousands of metric tons)

Product	Area 1/ (hectares)	Production	Consumption	Deficit	Surplus
Vegetable products					
Cereals	225.1	131.3 2/	275.0	275.0	
Legumes	17.1	11.1	43.3	32.1	
Vegetables	27.5	297.0	169.7	7.0	122.3
Fruit	63.3	241.1	124.5	2.4	82.3
Industrial crops	14.1	77.0	85.4	69.3	3.4
Livestock products					
Meat	---	3.3	61.7	35.4	
Milk products	---	6.2	76.2	64.3	
Eggs	---	1.3	4.3	3.0	
Fish	---	3.0	3.3	0.3	
Forest products					
Charcoal	---	47.1	47.0	-	-
Firewood	---	61.1	61.0	-	-
Timber	---	275.0	400.0	25.1	

Source: Lebanese Delegation to Fourth Regional Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Beirut, 13-24 September 1971, "La développement de l'alimentation et de l'agriculture au Liban" (mimeographed).

1/ Total cultivated area, 371,000 hectares, including 5,000 hectares under citrus crops and 15,000 hectares of fallow land. Total forest area, 74,000 hectares.

2/ Small accounted for about one-half and barley for one-quarter.

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Livestock production is still for from meeting local needs, and the lack of good natural pasture or fodder crops, together with the poor quality of breeds, limits the yields of animal products. These products account for only 8 per cent of net agricultural production. Recently, however, an improvement has taken place, prior to the importing of selected breeding-stock by the Government and farmers, reduction of the incidence of diseases and of antibiotics and improved feed-mixt, pulp and other concentrated foodstuffs. 1/

1/ Lebanese Delegation to Fourth Regional Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Beirut, 13-24 September 1971, "Le problème de la production animale".

[illegible]

1. [illegible] 581
196
871

2. [illegible]

3. [illegible]

4. [illegible]

5. [illegible]

6. [illegible]

7. [illegible]

8. [illegible] 341
369

9. [illegible] 361
971

10. [illegible] 261
730
125

SGI
E74
A52m
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[redacted]

SGI
E74
185

[redacted]

Lebanon MS1
Syria MS1

Chapter VI

SYRIA AND LEBANON

LAND AND POPULATION

§ 241. At first sight, the main crop of Syria appears to be thistles, and so it is in fact: about half the land is under fallow every year, and the cultivated land is cropped only one year in two or even three. There are some districts with intensive cultivation, for instance, the oasis of Damascus, with its brilliant green groups irrigated by 'Abana and Pharphar'; but most of Syria is cultivated very extensively indeed.

§ 242. In Syria and Lebanon together the area cultivated before the last war was some 7·8 million acres, but of this total only 3,900,000 acres were cropped each year, the remainder being fallow. The greater part of the cropped area was under cereals, almost two-thirds being under wheat and one-third under barley.

§ 243. In Lebanon, the whole of the cultivated area is cropped, and there is no uncultivated land which could be brought into cultivation. In Syria however there are large areas of cultivable land which are not at present cultivated, the total cultivable area being some 103 million acres, of which only about one-third is under cultivation. Unfortunately this figure is only a rough estimate, and it is not clear how much of the area is cultivable under present conditions, or how much of it is marginal desert grazing. Some of it is undoubtedly cultivable under present conditions, and there is certainly no shortage of land in Syria.

SYRIA: AGRICULTURAL LAND, 1938*

Province	Cultivable	Cultivated (including fallow)
	Area	Area
Aleppo	4,271,000	1,153,800
Euphrates	3,213,000	321,300
Idlib	3,745,000	1,086,000
Hama	986,000	592,000
Homs	1,379,000	1,111,000
Damascus	1,086,000	592,000
Hauran	2,145,000	2,145,000
Total	19,825,000	6,965,000

* Omitting the provinces of Latakia and Jebel ed Druse for which no figures are available; their cultivated area may be estimated at about half a million acres.

SYRIA AND LEBANON: AGRICULTURAL AREAS

GRAIN PRODUCTION IN SYRIA AND LEBANON, 1936-43

	Wheat			Barley		
	Area	Tons	Cwts per acre	Area	Tons	Cwts per acre
1936						
1937						
1938						
1939						
1940						
1941						
1942						
1943						

With a total rural population of about 2·8 million in 1942–3, the production of grain per head amounts to only 3·4 quintals or 6·4 hundredweights. Thus the problem for Syria is to in-

[illegible]

VILLAGE SURVEY

LITANI RURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT

LEBANON

by

William H. Adams,
Allen Stewart,
Colonel Tugwell

The five villages in the effected by the Litani Rural Improvement Project are located along northern branch of the Litani Irrigation Canal. The area comprising these villages[1] encompasses the high hills above the Litani Irrigation Project which, when completed, will provide the rich coastal plain extending from Sidon in the south to Bint-El-Jbail three miles south of Tyre. The Litani Irrigation Project was begun under the French Mandate, continued during the British occupation, and partially completed under the Lebanese Republic. Due to a lack of funds, work on the project was discontinued in 1960 when about half of the canal area to be irrigated was under operating canals. It covers an area of 35,000 dunums of land and extends a length of 37 kilometers (23 miles). It averages 12 kilometers (one mile) in width. The completed portion of the irrigation works supplies water to prosperous new citrus orchards, banana groves and vegetable gardens.

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1. Mr. Adams is rural agricultural economist with the Litani River Development Group and Chief of the Litani Cooperative Services Project. Mr. Stewart is an assistant professor of economics at the American University of Beirut who participated in this study as a consultant to the Lebanese Ministry of National Economy. Mr. Tugwell is a private economist on the staff of [illegible] Litani Group.

2. In the South Middle East an English mile = 1 league = two miles; when the term appears alone in the following pages and all the surrounding land belongs to the villagers, which is legally approximate to it. To avoid misunderstandings, two [illegible] terms have been adopted. The term [illegible] is used to denote the larger village which includes the built-up area and other lands approximate to it. The term [illegible] is used to designate the built-up area of the [illegible]. Any [illegible] of population or land area, is not construed to the use of [illegible].

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VILLAGE SURVEY

LITANI RIVER IMPROVEMENT PROJECT

LEBANON

by

[redacted]

The Ain villages in the affected by the Litani River Improvement Project are located along the northern branch of the Kamed Irrigation Canal. The area comprising these villages[1] includes the largest lots above the Kamed Irrigation Project which, when completed, will receive the irrigation water exceeding from lands in the south of Kamed the three main canals of Tyre. The Kamed Irrigation Project was begun under the French Mandate, continued during the French occupation, and partially completed under the Lebanese Republic. Due to a lack of funds, work on the project was discontinued in 1960 when about half of the canal area to be irrigated was under operating canals. It covers an area of 24,000 Dunums of land and extends a length of 37 kilometers (23 miles). It averages 1.2 kilometers (one mile) in width. The completed portion of the irrigation canals supplies water to prosperous new citrus orchards, banana groves and vegetable gardens.

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1) Mr. Farmer is land agricultural economist with the Litani River Investigation Group and Chief of the Rural Sociology Survey Project. Mr. Khamis is an assistant professor of economics at the American University of Beirut who participated in the work as a consultant to the Lebanese Ministry of National Economy. Mr. Fayad is a junior economist on the staff of the Litani Group.

2) In the Arab Middle East an English mile = 2 kilos = one mean time the built-up area alone or the built-up area and all the surrounding land farmed by the villagers, which is legally approximate to it. To avoid misconceptions, two kinds have been adopted. The term 'village' is used to denote the larger concept which includes the built-up area and other lands appurtenant to it. The term 'settlement' is used to designate the dwelling area or the area itself, that, either of population or land area, is not considered in the use of these concepts.

Mlaqat is by far the largest, being at least twice as large as Jubbayl which is the second in size.

Al-Qurnat is a unit because its inhabitants consider it to be one. Within it, the individual villages regard themselves as independent, and the people even recognize some minor cultural differences. For example, it was said that the pronounced nasality differently in Bedrum, Mlaqat, and Jubbayl, that the people of one of the villages always marry people from the other villages rather than their own, that the women of one of the villages are more quarrelsome than those of another, and so on. Yet, in relation to the outside, al-Qurnat is a unit. Why? It is not because of close proximity, although of course this helps. The reason is that, with minor exceptions concentrated in Jubbayl, al-Qurnat is exclusively Greek Orthodox in religion and is completely surrounded, in depth, by Maronite (ordinarily Roman Catholic) villages. In 1933, Kfarnoun had a resident population of 10,334, plus an emigrant population of 14,000. Of the residents, 10,329 were Maronites, 3,005 were Shi'ah Muslims (Shi'a Muslims), and 1,000 were Greek Orthodox (All figures from Hamshih, 1936, pp. 410-411). Virtually all of the last must have been situated in al-Qurnat.

It has not been possible to go very far into this study without encountering the phenomenon of units of loyalty and identification. Since this topic will occupy an increasingly important position as we proceed, nothing more will be said about it at this point, except this. Beyond, and except for, kinship and local connections, sectarian affiliation in the Middle East is the strongest bond which can unite a group of people and the most impenetrable barrier which can separate one group from another.

FROM HERE TO MLAQAT

Mlaqat in its physical and cultural context, let us now turn to the village of al-Mlaqat itself. It might be asked why a community of farmers should settle in such an unfavorable environment in the first place. A tentative answer to this question will be presented in the chapter, "The Patterns of Culture Change." It might also be asked why, once established, such a community should grow greatly in size and continue to function even through periods of great economic difficulty. This is an easy question to ask. The remainder of this work is, essentially, an attempt to answer it.

Let us, now, in imagination, go to Mlaqat by automobile from Beirut. The trip will take perhaps an hour and a quarter.

Between Beirut and the mouth of the Dog River the road is lined, for the most part, with houses and citrus plantations, and lush stands of tall reeds. Beyond the river, however, the citrus plantations cease, but the banana plantations continue. We notice that water is brought to them in open concrete conduits. On the upper slopes to our right, we pass innumerable small villages and their olive and fig orchards.

THE MATERIAL BASE

THE PHYSICAL PATTERN OF THE VILLAGE

As a physical site, el-Mansūf has five parts (See Fig. 1): The hamlet of Ḥāret el-Ḥamra, the three-quarter circle each of which has been, at one time or another, the nucleus of a small house-cluster, and the village proper. The territory which belongs to the village is roughly triangular in shape. The apex of this triangle is at the eastern extremity of the village proper, the sides extend from the apex to the southern which forms the base. The paths which lead from the village proper to the shore, via Ras Shamra and Ras Shakhshūḥ, run along ridge crests. The boundaries of the village lie in the wadi (dry stream-bed) which are immediately adjacent to these crests, to the south and the north of them, respectively. All of the real property within the area thus defined belongs to the citizens of the village.

Ḥāret el-Ḥamra owes its existence to its location on a main highway, near a small, fertile river, and, possibly, to the two springs which were mentioned in the previous chapter. The development and present significance of this hamlet will be discussed further in Part III. Here we need only mention that Ḥāret el-Ḥamra has the most extensive fig orchards in the village, and, in a small building which is used as a store in the summer, there is a public telephone. This is the only electrical appliance of any kind, dependent upon a central public power system, in the entire village.

The shrines will be discussed in the chapter, "Formal Institutions." Of the three, only Ras Shakhshūḥ has recently had any significance as a residence site. At present, one family of caretakers lives there in the winter (See next two chapters). It will be noted that the site has a special name, 'araḍ, besides that of the shrine.

The village proper (see map, Fig. 1) is built, as has been noted before, on the flank of a crest, extending in a southwest-southeast direction for the greater part of one kilometer and steadily decreasing in altitude from 300 meters above sea level in the southeast to 160 meters in the northwest. The highest houses in the southeast are virtually on the top of the crest. As the map and figure indicate, the village is also sharply tilted in a southwest-southwest direction. For the most part, the houses, as well as the terraces, are oriented longitudinally along the contours of the ridge. In the section of the village which lies to the south of the main road there is a very full distribution of functioning terraces, but in most of the northern part, terraces are either entirely absent or (except in the eastern extremity) fallen into ruins. In its essential details, this settlement pattern belongs to a type which is commonplace in Lebanon (Thoumin, 1936, p. 281).

to the rains, is impossible under present circumstances. The most important crops are olives, figs, and grapes, some of which require irrigation in the growing season. The orchards and vineyards grow on terraced land which is situated generally on the lower parts of the ridge slopes and at the heads of the wadis. Some vegetables and a few small orchards of mulberries (remnants of the once predominant silk crop—*sikr*) grow immediately adjacent to the houses.

Al-Mansūr can be seen from a distance quite some time before the traveler enters it. The houses, varying in color from white to gray to tawny, are perched, one directly above another, it seems, on the southern slope of the ridge — a few are on the crest itself, at its highest point. They number about 90 and are typical of the Lebanese countryside. About one-quarter of them have the pointed roofs of red tile and other architectural features which are reminders of the decades before World War I. The majority, however, are of a much more austere style, with low windows and a flat roof made of timbers and a thick layer of packed earth. In some cases, the old earth roofs have been entirely replaced by cement ones. A few houses have been built completely anew in recent years, but with two exceptions they are not particularly different in general style from the older ones. Household furnishings and equipment show the considerable influence of industrialized Europe and America — mostly the former. Kerosene pressure lanterns and stoves have almost completely replaced older forms. Bedsteads, wardrobes, tables, and chairs — all of European manufacture and/or design — are used in every house. However, the village has no electricity and no system of running water.

From the observation of physical materials, one may easily deduce that al-Mansūr partakes both of the traditional and of the recently imported (that is, since the late 19th century). It therefore reflects the simultaneous culture change which at present colors life in Lebanon and in the Middle East generally. But material aspects of culture are only fragmentary indications of behavior. In themselves, they reveal little of a specific nature concerning motivations, loyalties, hopes, fears, and expectations. How did al-Mansūr, as a community of people, come into being? What are its traditional foundations of life? How, and to what extent, have its traditions been altered by the far-reaching cultural changes of the late 19th and 20th centuries? What problems face its people as a result of these changes?

II

According to tradition, al-Mansūr was established by a man who came to the site from Jabal Ḥawrān in Syria, after a sojourn in Baalbek. All the 193 members of the village are believed to be direct descendants of the founder, a belief which is indicated in a genealogy which is in the possession of the priest. There is some disagreement among the villagers as details

Middle East
Lebanon ME1

COTTON IN THE MIDDLE EAST

[illegible] requires the general food supply and particularly their diets, which even are not noticeably better than in the surrounding countries. They also ought to raise the income of the farming group and are anxious to increase exports to achieve a more natural trade balance. Commodity exports are three to four times the value of exports.

AGRICULTURAL OPPORTUNITIES

[illegible] The various missions that have been studying the agricultural resources of the country report that opportunities for development are excellent. A United Nations Mission expressed the belief that the cultivated area might be doubled by reducing the fallow and grassland, and that 500,000 acres could be irrigated with water from the numerous mountain streams if dams, reservoirs, and canals were built. This Mission was encouraging also about the possibilities of increasing productivity.

The Mission submitted a long and detailed list of recommendations, the major ones of which called for: (a) developing an adequate scientific and technical staff; (b) establishing a more effective extension system; (c) organizing a central experiment station; (d) expanding the agricultural education program; and (e) efficiently utilizing water resources.[1]

The Mission specifically encouraged the expansion of fruit production, more interest in dairying, and the establishment of more agricultural processing plants.[2] The group did not encourage grain production, feeling that the limited acreage could be utilized more efficiently in the production of specialized agricultural commodities, and that it would prove more economical to buy wheat when it can be produced more cheaply.

Other agricultural agencies concur in the main with these conclusions and recommendations. A Point Four group, just getting established, is working along these broad lines.

COTTON

[illegible] Lebanon has grown some cotton for many years. The crop declined to an insignificant level years ago and production did not pick up again until the period of high prices in 1950 and 1951. Lebanon as a whole has not joined the trend, prevalent in the Middle East, of reducing cotton acreage now that prices have dropped.

Production increased from about 6,000 bales a few years ago to 23,700 bales in 1951-52, the highest in recent times, and with expanded acreage the crop is expected to be raised this season, 1952-53, to between 25,000 and 30,000 bales.

Cotton production is concentrated in the northern Akkar plain near the Syrian border and in the valleys. For the most part irrigation is used.

Farms are fairly small and cotton usually is grown as one of several crops in a general farming system.

Yields averaged about 180 pounds, less than in the better cotton-growing areas of Syria. American Upland, mainly Acala, Lone Star, and Lockett varieties, are grown almost entirely.

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[1] Report of the United States-Lebanon Agricultural Mission, United States Department of Agriculture, September, 1952, p. 5.

[2] Ibid., p. 6.

19 Cotton 5-4 [illegible] ME Middle East
Lebanon [illegible]

COTTON IN LEBANON

There are said to be five cotton gins in the country, all owned by textile mills. Several are now gins, including one new one.

No one expects cotton acreage to climb appreciably, even though cotton normally returns more money to the farmer than other general crops, particularly in years of high prices. Government agricultural officials and industrial establishment people agree their farmers are simply more interested in other crops and the country as a whole considers food crops more important.

The consensus is that the crop may expand by a few thousand bales if the price is favorable.

COTTON TEXTILES

The cotton spinning industry has about 70,000 spindles, of which 50,000 were operating in early 1962. The weaving industry reports 600 power looms, about 300 hand looms, and a number of small knitting mills operating at capacity. The spindles and most of the power looms are located in six mills which are privately owned by Lebanese industrialists. Most of these spinning mills were built in the late thirties. Some installed second-hand equipment though the majority bought new equipment from Germany, France, United Kingdom, and Japan. Spinning capacity has remained fairly stable during the past few years but knitting and weaving capacity has expanded considerably.

Until the dissolution of the customs union with Syria in 1950, the industries of the two countries were complementary. Lebanon sold from 50 to 60 per cent of its yarn to Syria and bought cloth. The imposition of duties by Syria and the expansion of the Syrian spinning industry virtually stopped this trade. The Lebanese now want to install more looms to balance their mills and consume the output of yarns. Expansion of the cotton textile industry is expected to be along these lines.

At present the cotton textile industry is protected by import duties which average about 30 per cent ad valorem. There are complaints by some local industrialists that this is not adequate. Others maintain that relatively low wages and comparatively high machine efficiency enable them not only to operate successfully in the domestic market but also to compete to a limited extent on the foreign market. These two opinions, reported by the American Vice Consul in Beirut who has studied the industry, likely reflect the range of efficiency.

Cotton yarn exports in 1961 totaled 600 tons in counts from 12s to 40s. This went primarily to Rumania, Pakistan, Cyprus, Aden, Egypt, and Belgium. In the same year the country exported 1,137 tons of cotton cloth, mostly coarse gray goods to Italy, Sudan, Iraq, and other neighboring countries. Imports of yarn goods at 1,500 tons were almost equal to exports. Imports for the most part were dyed and printed goods in the specialty lines.

Normally Lebanese mills use about 80 per cent Syrian cotton and the balance local and Egyptian. The sources in 1961 were: Syrian, 60 per cent; Lebanese, 20 per cent; Egyptian, 10 per cent; and American, 10 per cent.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

a wooden ladder or by an ascending series of stones projecting from the wall of the building.

The flat roofs are used extensively in the sunny part of the year. Apricots, almonds, and grapes are set out on them to dry. Many householders ornament them with potted plants and receive guests on them. In the heat of midsummer, the interiors of the houses tend to be stuffy at night since the gentle breezes do not penetrate inside. Consequently, all who can, sleep on the roof (or terrace) under a brush shelter called *kheymi* ("tent").

Although no two houses are exactly the same, it is legitimate to classify all of them into a number of types, which are indices of successive eras in construction and design.

The first, which still has the greatest number of examples, has two subtypes. By far the most numerous of these has one room on the upper level, few windows, but often more than one door, and a flat earth roof. The lower level (*qabū*) is designed as a stable and storeroom and frequently consists of a long, low barrel-vault. The roof of the upper level (living quarters for the family) may or may not be supported on masonry pillars and arches, in addition to the outer walls. The walls are usually very thick, often exceeding three feet, for the old style of construction was two (dry-laid) stone walls with a rubble fill between them. The roof of the old-style house is constructed as follows: round or semi-round beams are laid from the top of one wall to the opposite one at right angles to the long axis of the house. A layer of shorter, thick sticks is placed across the beams, and then a layer of finer sticks is added. Finally, a layer of earth about a foot thick is packed down as hard as possible on top. To prevent leaking, the roof must be packed down several times each winter; for this purpose every old-style house is equipped with a stone roller (*madjū*), weighing about a hundred pounds. These houses are dark inside because of the paucity of windows which are ungainly and closed by solid wooden shutters. To counteract this, the inside plastered walls are either whitewashed or painted very pale blue. There is every reason to suppose that this style of house is very ancient indeed. However, none of the existing examples of it in Mansūf is probably more than a hundred and fifty years old, and some are probably as little as sixty years old. Repairs—sometimes amounting to rebuilding—and alterations have always been a matter of course. However, no houses of this type have been built since the early 1890's. Woolerton (1946, p. 267) says that this traditional Lebanese house is well adapted to its environment. It provides insulation against the chilly blasts of winter and against the heat of summer as effectively as any essentially primitive construction could.

The second subtype of old-style house has only two examples in the village. The construction is essentially the same as the foregoing, but the following features are added: two or more distinctly separate rooms in the upper level; sculptured ornamentation, including fully round columns, around the windows; and glazed ornamental windows, with rather elaborate designs formed by the lead mullions.

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362 sums at the ends, extends around the walls. This is fitted with hard, flat cushions which are upholstered in some very light color—often plain white. Very likely a set of modern, reclining chairs, with stiff cane backs and bottoms, will be set formally around a table in the center of the room. Here and there, there will be rather rough wooden stools with soft cane seats. At one side, there will be a large rectangular dining table with a cloth or plastic cover. In some houses, fully upholstered modern easy-chairs will be found.

353 The walls are devoid of ornamentation, with one exception which is conspicuous in the houses which have it. This is a concentrated mass of photographs, some yellowed with age, some brand new, of various members of the owner's family, including emigrants who are fondly remembered. Sometimes, among the family photographs, there will also be one or two postcard-sized pictures of saints or members of the Holy Family. However, as far as the writer is aware, there are no houses which have anything resembling a household shrine, and many have no religious symbols whatever.

[251] Especially in the older houses, there are recesses in the walls, often closed with wooden doors. These are used for storage—for example, large jars for the year's supply of olive oil.

Only a close friend of the family will ordinarily be given the opportunity to go from the *mağ'ad*, or front section, to the rear. Here are the sleeping quarters of the family, and cooking equipment will be found in one corner also—unless there is an additional room for this purpose, as is the case with several essentially one-room houses.

352 513 Every house is wholly or mostly equipped with metal bedsteads, springs, mattresses, pillows, pillowcases, sheets and blankets, all of European manufacture and/or design. Sixty years ago everyone slept on the floor on sheepskins wrapped in blankets or quilted puffs. Only suggestions of this practice are now to be found in a few houses.

354 The traditional type of stove was a masonry oven with apertures in the top, in which the chief fuel was brushwood. Very few such stoves are now used. Rather, nearly every house is equipped with at least one "Primus" stove, a small, portable appliance, made in Sweden, which operates on the principle of the ignition of kerosene which has been vaporized by heat and pressure. Basic instructions for its operation are etched on the side of its brass fuel tank in Arabic, Hindustani, and Chinese, and we might say that this is an item in a process which might be called "deliberate diffusion." It is inexpensive to buy and operate and is quite efficient except for the fact that there is only one burner per stove.

415 A minimal assortment of cooking utensils would include: a teakettle; a set, in graduated sizes, of long-handled metal beakers (for boiling coffee); a cylindrical brass coffee grinder; pots, bowls, and platters of various sizes and shapes, made of metal or pottery; and a stone mortar and pestle. Hardware would include a ladle, knives of various sizes, and long-handled serving forks and spoons. Food is served

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Bread (*khubz*) is not the only wheat product which is made in the bakery and eaten. There is also holy bread (*qurbaan*) (which will be discussed later). And a special treat is *manqoushi* ("fingered"). This starts as a disk of unleavened dough which looks very much like an unbaked loaf of bread. But a rim is pinched up around the edge and the maker may punch herringbone or crosshatch designs in the center with her fingers. The center is then covered liberally with olive oil and on this sugar and sesame seeds are sprinkled. It is preferably eaten as soon as possible after it has been baked. It is sweet and filling. None of the very sweet, flaky pastries, which can be bought in Middle Eastern restaurants, was encountered in the village.

Meat. Sheep are killed ordinarily only on Sundays, and the meat is bought and most of it eaten immediately. There appears to be a sort of folk hygiene connected with this practice. One of the few complaints about city life voiced by a young person was that it was not a good idea to buy meat in the city because one didn't know how long it had been hanging in the butcher shop, completely exposed to flies and the dust of the street. Beef, a prime source of tapeworm, is not eaten at all, nor is pork.

The main dish of the standard Sunday dinner, taken at noon, is raw *kibbi*, perhaps the most famous Lebanese dish. It consists of raw meat and cracked wheat ground up together in the stone mortar and served as a smooth mound on a platter. It is washed down with another famous item, *'araq*, a distilled grape liquor, flavored with anis, which is clear and colorless when it comes from the bottle but turns milky white when water is added to it, as it usually is. The villagers buy *'araq* which is made in the city, although they would undoubtedly make their own if they had to. The intake of alcohol is very moderate. It is never drunk alone but always as part of a meal. Four small glasses of *'araq* mixed with water are considered enough, if not too much. The writer is reasonably certain that there is no cultural pattern for getting really drunk for its own sake. A little wine is made locally, but not very much.

Raw meat is also eaten in small chunks, taken in bread and dipped in the rough salt which is obtained locally from the sea. Most of the specialized organs, such as liver, kidneys, testicles, and lungs, are eaten in this manner.

What is left over from the raw *kibbi* is cooked, either in the form of a flat disk or in individual patties. This cooked *kibbi* will appear on Monday's, and perhaps Tuesday's, menu. *Lahm mishwi* ("broiled meat"—on skewers) another regional specialty, is an alternative.

Roast chicken is sometimes served but usually only on special occasions, such as the saint's-day feasts at which certain families entertain the priest.

Olives. All the olives which are consumed in the village are local produce. Some are cured in brine and stored for eating throughout the year. A dish of them appears at every meal. But most of a year's harvest is reduced, locally, to oil which is used in nearly every phase of cooking.

For information pertaining to Lebanese recipes and food preparation see 70: Rowland, M1 Middle East, category 116, pp. 200-231.]

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262 257 *Sweet Preserves.* Figs and apricots (which are also eaten raw in season) are made into very sweet jams which are eaten throughout the year. Grapes (extensively eaten raw in season) and carob pods are made into another type of preserve, called *dibs*, which has the consistency of molasses.

A preserve of a rather special type, *ḥalawi*, ("sweet"), is obtained from the city in returnable cans. It comes in a hard cake which flakes when cut. Its essential ingredients are sugar and *ṭiḥīni* (mashed sesame seeds). *Ḥalawi* is very sweet and "rich," and is considered to be a great delicacy which is eaten, alone or with bread, at the close of the meal.

262 252 *Milk products.* Milk is not usually taken raw, although there is one dish, *laban ʾimmu*, which consists of hot milk in which float pastry balls which are stuffed with rice and/or meat. Rather, milk is preferred in three fermented forms: white cheese (from goat's milk), *laban* ("sour" milk, known in America as "yoghurt"), and *labni* (drained *laban*, which has the consistency of cream cheese). Of the three, *laban* is the most extensively used. It appears at every meal and is the preferred sauce with which to eat cooked *kibbi*.

Eggs are sometimes eaten hard boiled, but they are preferred when included in a dish which is a combination of omelette and meat loaf. Potatoes and turnips, also, are usually included in a larger combination. "French fried" potatoes are known, but not by that name.

Onions and garlic are eaten cooked or raw, alone or in combination with other things: Rice is used for stuffing or is served as a dish, boiled, and covered with onions.

272 263 Tea (*shayy*) is taken very sweet, but milk is never added. As with coffee, the sugar is boiled along with the main ingredient. The common occidental notion, however, that "Turkish" coffee (*qahwi*) really isn't Turkish coffee unless it is syrupy sweet is not necessarily founded on fact. Some prefer it with little sugar or none at all, and the guest is usually asked if he prefers it very sweet, sweet, or bitter. The only requirements are that it be thick and very hot.

262 252 Of the summer products which have not been considered so far, squash is the only one which appears in cooked form, frequently stuffed with rice and/or meat (*kusa maḥshi*). (There is a general notion that cool foods are preferable in hot weather, hot foods in cold weather, but this is not rigidly followed in practice.)

Sliced cucumbers and tomatoes, in olive oil, are served in summer, but these, and other vegetables, are preferred when included in two larger dishes. One of these is a very delicious salad (*salaṭa*) consisting of lettuce, tomato, cucumber, parsley, mint, onion, and garlic. The dressing is a mixture of lemon juice and olive oil. The other is *tabbouli*. This has nearly the same ingredients as the salad, but they are chopped up very fine and mixed with cracked wheat which has been soaked in water. Like raw *kibbi*, *tabbouli* is served in the form of a mound, and its eating is associated with the drinking of *ʿaraq*.

Legumes are not too commonly eaten alone without further preparation than

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cooking. There is a cooked bean mash (*majaddara*), but this is not considered to be very tasty. However, chick peas, mashed, are mixed with *tahîni* to form a very popular and filling "sauce" called *hummuş bi tahîni*. This is served as a substitute for, or in addition to, *laban*.

Foreign foods are very rare. The most important is spaghetti, whose eating requires the use of a fork. Scandinavian canned tuna, also, supplements the local fish supply which is rather meager, although in summer, sea urchins are consumed in large quantities, as well as squids and octopi.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that diet is one of the most conservative and least acculturated aspects of the material culture. Cooking and serving utensils, it is true, have been heavily influenced, but this has been a process of substitution, for purposes of efficiency, rather than of innovation.

CLOTHING

To some degree, the clothing worn by the villagers varies in style according to the age of the wearer. Among males, the elderly are definitely conservative, the middle-aged vary, the young men and boys wear European-style clothes almost without exception. A similar gradation among the females is a little less obvious, probably primarily because the women's traditional costume, unlike the men's, is not particularly distinctive to Western eyes.

Men. The second oldest man in the village is the only one who wears the *ghawbaz*, a long, long-sleeved, tubular gown, of white, striped cotton-backed silk. This costume is frequently seen in the heterogeneous city populations, often on younger men. Westermarck (1946, p. 244) says that it is of Bedu origin.

More typical of the older men is the traditional *shirwal* (tremendously baggy trousers with short, tight legs), open-necked, or collarless shirt, and European jacket. Headgear is the cylindrical *sarbûsh*, maroon felt with a black tassel. Especially in winter, a cloth or scarf may be wrapped around the *sarbûsh*. One man in the village wears a tall conical brown felt cap, called *libbâdi*, which is often seen elsewhere.

A few middle-aged men wear the complete traditional costume, but more of them have adopted European (*franji*) clothes. For work, they wear nondescript, but European, trousers, shirt, sweater if needed, socks and shoes. On more or less formal occasions, however, a complete suit, with tie, is worn. This tendency is even more pronounced among the young men. No one ordinarily goes unshod except small boys and girls in summer. Sport shirts—preferably plain white—are worn in summer.

Those working in the fields frequently wear pith helmets and jodhpur-like trousers which bear a superficial resemblance to the *shirwal* which were not observed on any man under about fifty. Quite a number of middle-aged men who have given up the *shirwal*, nevertheless retain the *sarbûsh* which, however, is not

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place of one. Close friends of each proprietor frequently sit down with him to a game of backgammon or cards. Other customers while away several minutes with small talk whenever they make a purchase, and small groups of them often collect in the store, some sitting, some standing, to discuss the news, prices, and to exchange gossip. There is not a great deal more to it than this. The point is simply that the stores are not merely agencies for the transit of goods.

444 617

BAKERIES

As has been noted before, there are two rather widely spaced, bakeries in the village. Like the stores, they are privately owned economic institutions, and they are intensively used as loci of social interaction on the part of women just as the stores are on the part of men. Here the women meet regularly and for protracted lengths of time.

256 517

The women who regularly make their own bread (some do not make their own but buy it) do not do so every day. Depending upon the amount she needs to feed her family, the housewife will make bread anywhere from once every three days to once a week. Each time she will spend two or three hours in the bakery with four or five other women. Standing outside one of the bakeries, one hears intermittently the crackle of brushwood just put on the fire, and constantly the women's chatter, laughter, and sometimes singing, accompanied by the rhythmical slapping of hands and dough on stone.

The interior of the bakery in the *safa* is rather dark since it has no windows and only two narrow doors. The building is spheroidal in shape, with the oven in the narrow end. The oven is a large rectangular masonry structure, with one aperture on the side at a convenient height above the floor of a small pit in which the baker stands. The floor of the interior of the oven is smooth stone or concrete. The fire burns on the left-hand side of this floor. Between the oven and the doors there is a large stone slab raised about a foot off the floor. Around this half a dozen women can sit and work comfortably. To the right of the table and the oven, between them, there are several bins into which the baker tosses the loaves as they come from the oven.

256 348

The woman prepares her dough at home making the necessary number of fist-sized lumps each of which will be made into a loaf. These she then takes to the bakery on a large tray carried on her head. The women form their lumps of dough into disks about a foot in diameter by slapping and kneading them against the stone table. The operation does not call for the same kind of skill which is required in preparing another type of "mountain bread" which used to be made in Munsif and can still be found easily enough in some other villages, a loaf as much as two and a half feet in diameter. The baking technique is different, and only one loaf at a time can be done.

252 256

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252 256 at a time can be placed. The whole thing is inserted into the oven, and the disks are shaken off the board. After about a minute in the oven, bubbles appear on the surface of a disk, and then the whole thing puffs up until it looks like a large pin-cushion. It remains in the oven about a minute more and then is removed. As soon as a loaf begins to cool, it collapses into disk form again, only now the disk consists of two layers except around the edge.

[465] In each bakery, the baker is the only hired professional. In the bakery in the *hafa*, the owner provides the baker with bread for his own consumption and pays 256 427 him the equivalent of about a dollar and a half a day. In the other bakery, the baker and owner split the bread receipts (see below) of the bakery fifty-fifty, but there is no monetary transaction between them.

Every woman who uses the bakery sets aside about seven per cent of the loaves she makes, and these she "leaves for the *furn*." The owners' own bread supply is thus supplied them, and they are free to sell or otherwise dispose of what they do [432] not eat. The Mtawli women, mentioned earlier, work in the *furn* on the same basis as the other women, but they regularly prepare more bread than they need themselves and sell the surplus at about twenty-five piasters (about seven cents) [404] per *rațl* (the *rațl* is a traditional weight measure equivalent to about 1 lb. 3 oz.).

OLIVE PRESSES

258 [471] The presses are privately owned but are available to all, the owner receiving a certain proportion of the oil which each individual presses. As social institutions they are, of course, far less important than the stores and bakeries, for they are used for only a few weeks a year, during the olive harvest. However, as has already been suggested, the olive harvest is a period of intense cooperative activity in which social interaction, spurred on by hopes of a profitable crop, is very lively. The presses play an essential economic part in the proceedings and draw large groups of men together.

258 402 Most of the presses in the village are modern, machine-driven apparatuses requiring a minimum of mutual assistance. There is, however, one old-style one in the stable of a house in the al-Wastiyya section. Stone bins hold the fresh olives. [404] There is a heavy wooden beam one end of which is attached, hinge-fashion, to the ceiling, the other end weighted with three large stones (called "bells"). A batch of fresh olives is placed under the weighted end of the beam which is raised by block and tackle and then dropped on the olives. The purpose is to reduce the olives to a mash which can then easily be transferred to a circular stone basin with a drain. On it a large, thick stone wheel is set upright. The wheel is secured to a revolving beam one end of which is set into the ceiling. A subsidiary beam projects at right angles to the revolving one. To this a donkey is harnessed, and by walking round and round the basin, the donkey turns the wheel over the olive mash, pressing out the oil. This crude process involves considerable waste, hence

in the form of cheese, buttermilk and *leben*, the last a fermented product made from cow's milk. Fresh milk is rarely used, however, except in limited sections in the larger cities. In the rural districts, milk is obtained chiefly from sheep and goats, less frequently from cows. Legumes, potatoes, onions and other vegetables are widely cultivated. Green, leafy varieties are scarce in the inland districts, but wild herbs are often utilized as substitutes. Many types of fruits are abundant, especially in the coastal valleys. They form important supplementary items of diet when in season.

Much of the meat is imported from Syria or Turkey, but relatively little reaches the people outside the larger towns. The average villager seldom consumes meat more than once a week. Mutton and, secondarily, beef are used most extensively. Both are employed, in a cooked or a raw state, in *kubbi*, a national dish prepared from meat and *burghul*. Goat meat is found everywhere, while pork is available in the Christian communities. Poultry and eggs are plentiful in most localities and fish in the coastal region. Olive oil and butter are the primary sources of fats.

In spite of the generally satisfactory level of nutrition, a definite decrease in the consumption of protective foods is apparent in the inland districts and in South Lebanon. In 1950, the Lebanese government appointed a Nutrition Committee to promote a better understanding of the elementary principles of nutrition among the people. The different religious customs of the Moslem and the Christian communities influence their nutritional habits and limit the application of mass educational measures.

Housing

Lebanon has a large so-called middle class, and the disparity between the living conditions of the rich and the poor is less pronounced than in most of the neighboring countries. Moreover, many families maintain financial and social contacts with

124 a single farm near Zahle. The rate of por-
232 cine infection probably totals less than 2
144 per cent under normal conditions. Pork is consumed only in Christian households, and human cases are seldom observed.

124 OTHER HELMINTH INFECTIONS. Infection
269 with one or more species of intestinal worms is prevalent among both rural and urban populations. Ascariasis is widely distributed, with the lowest infection rates in the cultivated areas of the coastal plain between Beirut and Sidon and the highest in the Bekaa. The infection, which is more frequent among children than adults, probably averages 25 to 50 per cent in the country as a whole. Enterobiasis and trichuriasis are common, but strongyloidiasis is relatively rare.

Taeniasis, caused by the beef tapeworm, *Taenia saginata*, is second to ascariasis in prominence. The infection rates range from 3 to 15 per cent in different localities, but are highest in the vicinity of towns and cities, where the consumption of beef exceeds that in the rural villages. The use of
● [252] raw meat in the preparation of the popular national dish, *kubi*, is a factor in the spread of the disease. Infection with the pork tapeworm, *T. solium*, is sometimes seen in the Christian communities. The dwarf tapeworm, *Hymenolepis nana*, is encountered occasionally, especially in children.

124 Echinococcosis is sporadic. The preva-
232 lence of the disease in the general population is not known, but it apparently is far from negligible. According to the records of the American University hospital in Beirut, 149 persons, mainly from Lebanon and Syria, were treated for hydatid disease in the 22 years 1926-48. The rate of canine infection is high throughout most of this region. The examination of 237 stray dogs, collected on the streets of Beirut in the summer of 1948,[39] revealed that about 33 per cent harbored adult forms of *Echinococcus granulosus*. Surveys have also demonstrated the presence of hydatid cysts in a large percentage of the meat animals slaughtered in the abattoirs in Beirut. In

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FORMAL INSTITUTIONS

SOCIO-ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

STORES

THE two stores which are not in the *safe* are small, specialized, and not always open. They will not be considered further. Another store building was closed throughout the period of study. The four remaining stores are located in the *safe*, two (under one roof) on the north side of the main road. One of these is owned by a man of lineage C,XVI, the other by a man of lineage A,III. The building itself is owned by a man of lineage C,XXI. The two stores on the south side of the main road are both somewhat larger than the other two and longer established, going back at least to World War I. Both are owned by members of lineage B,XII. All of these stores are "general stores" from the point of view of the merchandise they carry, and from the point of view of their function as meeting places for the men of the village.

In two of the stores, the one in building 8 and one of those in building 6 (see Fig. 3), the proprietor of each is regularly assisted by one of his sons. The other two work alone for the most part. (The son of one of the latter has recently opened his own store in Hilwi.) To some extent, there is some specialization. The gasoline-driven mill, mentioned earlier, is part of the store in building 8 whose proprietor, at the beginning of the study period, was employing a man of lineage A,VIII (his wife's brother) as miller. Grain was imported and ground to flour which was sold in the village and the Qumi. During the period of study, it was decided that this operation was not profitable, it being more practical all around to import flour. The proprietor of the store in building 10 is a butcher who both slaughters animals and sells meat. He also slaughters for the people in Jiddayil. The unassisted proprietor of the store in building 6 sometimes sells meat but does not slaughter animals himself. The proprietor of the other store in building 6, established for only one year, is the priest.

By and large, the stores carry the same goods at, apparently, the same fixed prices. There is no barter. Negotiations are carried out on a cash-and-carry basis, and every sale is recorded item by item. An informal and composite inventory includes the following: flour, rice, grain, peas, beans, coffee beans, sugar and nuts (set about on the floor in open sacks with prices per kilogram written on tags); vegetables and fruits (in season) set on the floor or large trays or in baskets; eggs, hung from the ceiling in wire baskets; various types of hard and chewy

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place of one. Close friends of each proprietor frequently sit down with him to a game of backgammon or cards. Other customers while away several minutes with small talk whenever they make a purchase, and small groups of them often collect in the store, some sitting, some standing, to discuss the news, prices, and to exchange gossip. There is not a great deal more to it than this. The point is simply that the stores are not merely agencies for the transfer of goods.

BAKERIES

As has been noted before, there are two, rather widely spaced, bakeries in the village. Like the stores, they are privately owned economic institutions, and they are intensively used as loci of social interaction on the part of women just as the stores are on the part of men. Here the women meet regularly and for protracted lengths of time.

The women who regularly make their own bread (some do not make their own but buy it) do not do so every day. Depending upon the amount she needs to feed her family, the housewife will make bread anywhere from once every three days to once a week. Each time she will spend two or three hours in the bakery with four or five other women. Standing outside one of the bakeries, one hears intermittently the crackle of brushwood just put on the fire, and constantly the women's chatter, laughter, and sometimes singing, accompanied by the rhythmical slapping of hands and dough on stone.

The interior of the bakery in the *sahe* is rather dark since it has no windows and only two narrow doors. The building is trapezoidal in shape, with the oven in the narrow end. The oven is a large rectangular masonry structure, with one aperture on the side at a convenient height above the floor of a small pit in which the baker stands. The floor of the interior of the oven is smooth stone or concrete. The fire burns on the left-hand side of this floor. Between the oven and the doors there is a large stone slab raised about a foot off the floor. Around this half a dozen women can sit and work comfortably. To the right of the table and the oven, between them, there are several bins into which the baker tosses the loaves as they come from the oven.

The woman prepares her dough at home, making the necessary number of fist-sized lumps each of which will be made into a loaf. These she then takes to the bakery on a large tray carried on her head. The women form their lumps of dough into disks about a foot in diameter by slapping and kneading them against the stone table. The operation does not call for the same kind of skill which is required in preparing another type of "mountain bread" which used to be made in *Munşif* and can still be found easily enough in some other villages, a loaf as much as two and a half feet in diameter. The baking technique is different, and only one loaf at a time can be done.

The baker is equipped with an elongated wooden paddle upon which five disks

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at a time can be placed. The whole thing is inserted into the oven, and the disks are shaken off the board. After about a minute in the oven, bubbles appear on the surface of a disk, and then the whole thing puffs up until it looks like a large pin-cushion. It remains in the oven about a minute more and then is removed. As soon as a loaf begins to cool, it collapses into disk form again, only now the disk consists of two layers except around the edge.

In each bakery, the baker is the only hired professional. In the bakery in the *hāra*, the owner provides the baker with bread for his own consumption and pays him the equivalent of about a dollar and a half a day. In the other bakery, the baker and owner split the bread receipts (see below) of the bakery fifty-fifty, but there is no monetary transaction between them.

Every woman who uses the bakery sets aside about seven per cent of the loaves she makes, and these she "leaves for the *furn*." The owners' own bread supply is thus supplied them, and they are free to sell or otherwise dispose of what they do not eat. The Mawali women, mentioned earlier, work in the *furn* on the same basis as the other women, but they regularly prepare more bread than they need themselves and sell the surplus at about twenty-five piasters (about seven cents) per *rațl* (the *rațl* is a traditional weight-measure equivalent to about 1 lb. 3 oz.).

OLIVE PRESSES

The presses are privately owned but are available to all, the owner receiving certain proportion of the oil which each individual presses. As social institutions they are, of course, far less important than the stores and bakeries, for they are used for only a few weeks a year, during the olive harvest. However, as has already been suggested, the olive harvest is a period of intense cooperative activity in which social interaction, spurred on by hopes of a profitable crop, is very lively. The presses play an essential economic part in the proceedings and draw large groups of men together.

Most of the presses in the village are modern, machine-driven apparatuses requiring a minimum of manual assistance. There is, however, one old-style one in the stable of a house in the al-Wasatiyya section. Stone bins hold the fresh olives. There is a heavy wooden beam one end of which is attached, hinge-fashion, to the ceiling, the other end weighted with three large stones (called "bells"). A batch of fresh olives is placed under the weighted end of the beam which is raised by block and tackle and then dropped on the olives. The purpose is to reduce the olives to a mash which can then easily be transferred to a circular stone basin with a drain. On it a large, thick stone wheel is set upright. The wheel is secured to a revolving beam, one end of which is set into the ceiling. A subsidiary beam projects at right angles to the revolving one. To this a donkey is harnessed, and by walking round and round the basin, the donkey turns the wheel over the olive mash, pressing out the oil. This crude process involves considerable waste, hence

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[21] till the chapters on "Kinship Structure and Marriage Patterns" and "The Patterns of Culture Change.")

BUILDINGS, HOUSES, AND HOUSE-TYPES

361 The map (Fig. 3) indicates the location of the institutional buildings in the village proper.[1] Four of the six shops (sing. *dikkaan*, plur. *dakakiin*) are con-
366 centrated in the *sahe*. Actually, building 9 was not open during the period of study, but building 6 is partitioned into halves in each of which there is an independent shop. Building 10 is also partitioned, one half being devoted to a shop whose proprietor is also a butcher. The other half is open when the need arises, being the place of business of one of the two barbers. Building 11, an old house, is occupied by the fifth shop, open only at times, which specializes in cloth. The sixth shop, also not of the "general-store" type, is located in the house of its proprietor, farther down the main road. The two schools are rather widely separated, but this is probably accidental since the location of the private school is determined by the fact that it occupies the lower floor of the master's own house. Similarly the two bakeries, one in the *sahe*, are immediately adjacent to the houses
[402] of their respective owners, one of whom is the private school master. Building 5 is the only one in the village which is entirely devoted to an olive press. There are, however, two other presses in the village proper (one in the lower part of the one remaining occupied house in the al-Wastiyya section, the other in the lower part of a house near the meeting point of the Sar at-Tiini and Deyr al-Qamlis sections); there is a third under construction in the eastern end of the *sahe*, and
● [251] a fourth at Hilwi. Two of these presses are specialized for the reduction of carob pods to a mush from which *dibs*, a kind of jam, is made. There is also a mill, operated by a German-made gasoline engine, which is part of the store in building 8. The upper story, and part of the lower story, of building 8 is occupied by one of the Affiliate Families (see next chapter) of the village.

361 It has been noted that the long axis of most of the houses is parallel to the contours of the ridge, often flush with terrace walls. Not infrequently the paths between the houses are, in fact, the tops of wide terrace walls, and sometimes these are two or three feet higher than the earth which they support.

342 The great majority of the houses have two levels. In some cases these are directly superimposed. In many others, they are staggered, so that the roof of the lower level forms a very useful terrace which is flush with the floor of the upper level. There are invariably separate entrances to the upper and lower levels. The writer is aware of not a single instance of interior staircases leading from one level to another. Probably the reason for this is that staircases would take up a great deal of room which cannot be afforded. Frequently, the pitch of the ground is such that one can simply walk onto the roof of a house directly or by a very short flight of steps. More frequently, however, one must climb onto roofs, either on

1 - [AL-Munsif -- Analyst]

262 257 *Sweet Preserves.* Figs and apricots (which are also eaten raw in season) are made into very sweet jams which are eaten throughout the year. Grapes (extensively eaten raw in season) and carob pods are made into another type of preserve, called *dibs*, which has the consistency of molasses.

A preserve of a rather special type, *ḥalawi*, ("sweet"), is obtained from the city in returnable cans. It comes in a hard cake which flakes when cut. Its essential ingredients are sugar and *simsim* (roasted sesame seeds). *Halawi* is very sweet and "rich," and is considered to be a great delicacy which is eaten, alone or with bread, at the close of the meal.

262 252 *Milk products.* Milk is not usually taken raw, although there is one dish, *laban ʾimmu*, which consists of hot milk in which float pastry balls which are stuffed with rice and/or meat. Rather, milk is preferred in three fermented forms: white cheese (from goat's milk), *laban* ("sour" milk, known in America as "yoghurt"), and *labni* (drained *laban*, which has the consistency of cream cheese). Of the three, *laban* is the most extensively used. It appears at every meal and is the preferred sauce with which to eat cooked *kibbi*.

Eggs are sometimes eaten hard boiled, but they are preferred when included in a dish which is a combination of omelette and meat loaf. Potatoes and turnips, also, are usually included in a larger combination. "French fried" potatoes are known, but not by that name.

Onions and garlic are eaten cooked or raw, alone or in combination with other things. Rice is used for stuffing or is served as a dish, boiled, and covered with onions.

272 263 Tea (*shayy*) is taken very sweet, but milk is never added. As with coffee, the sugar is boiled along with the main ingredient. The common occidental notion, however, that "Turkish" coffee (*qahwi*) really isn't Turkish coffee unless it is syrupy sweet is not necessarily founded on fact. Some prefer it with little sugar or none at all, and the guest is usually asked if he prefers it very sweet, sweet, or bitter. The only requirements are that it be thick and very hot.

262 252 Of the summer products which have not been considered so far, squash is the only one which appears in cooked form, frequently stuffed with rice and/or meat (*kusa mahshi*). (There is a general notion that cool foods are preferable in hot weather, hot foods in cold weather, but this is not rigidly followed in practice.)

Sliced cucumbers and tomatoes, in olive oil, are served in summer, but these, and other vegetables, are preferred when included in two larger dishes. One of these is a very delicious salad (*salata*) consisting of lettuce, tomato, cucumber, parsley, mint, onion, and garlic. The dressing is a mixture of lemon juice and olive oil. The other is *tabbouli*. This has nearly the same ingredients as the salad, but they are chopped up very fine and mixed with cracked wheat which has been soaked in water. Like raw *kibbi*, *tabbouli* is served in the form of a mound, and its eating is associated with the drinking of *ʿaraq*.

Legumes are not too commonly eaten alone without further preparation than

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252 256 at a time can be placed. The whole thing is inserted into the oven, and the disks are shaken off the board. After about a minute in the oven, bubbles appear on the surface of a disk, and then the whole thing puffs up until it looks like a large pin-cushion. It remains in the oven about a minute more and then is removed. As soon as a loaf begins to cool, it collapses into disk form again, only now the disk consists of two layers except around the edge.

[465] In each bakery, the baker is the only hired professional. In the bakery in the *saḥa*, the owner provides the baker with bread for his own consumption and pays 256 427 him the equivalent of about a dollar and a half a day. In the other bakery, the baker and owner split the bread receipts (see below) of the bakery fifty-fifty, but there is no monetary transaction between them.

Every woman who uses the bakery sets aside about seven per cent of the loaves she makes, and these she "leaves for the *furn*." The owners' own bread supply is thus supplied them, and they are free to sell or otherwise dispose of what they do [432] not eat. The Mtawli women, mentioned earlier, work in the *furn* on the same basis as the other women, but they regularly prepare more bread than they need themselves and sell the surplus at about twenty-five piasters (about seven cents) [804] per *raṭl* (the *raṭl* is a traditional weight measure equivalent to about 1 lb. 3 oz.).

OLIVE PRESSES

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258 402 Most of the presses in the village are modern, machine-driven apparatuses requiring a minimum of manual assistance. There is, however, one old-style one in the stable of a house in the al-Waaṭiyya section. Stone bins hold the fresh olives. [404] There is a heavy wooden beam one end of which is attached, hinge-fashion, to the ceiling, the other end weighted with three large stones (called "bells"). A batch of fresh olives is placed under the weighted end of the beam which is raised by block and tackle and then dropped on the olives. The purpose is to reduce the olives to a mash which can then easily be transferred to a circular stone basin with a drain. On it a large, thick stone wheel is set upright. The wheel is secured to a revolving beam one end of which is set into the ceiling. A subsidiary beam projects at right angles to the revolving one. To this a donkey is harnessed, and by walking round and round the basin, the donkey turns the wheel over the olive mash, pressing out the oil. This crude process involves considerable waste, hence

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the frequency of modern machines which are more efficient but, apparently, less fun to operate.

GENERAL INSTITUTIONS

THE CHURCH AND THE SHRINES

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The Arab Greek Orthodox Church. The present community of al-Munṣif was founded by Greek Orthodox Christians. If there were any inhabitants in the immediate district at the time of the founding, there is no remembrance of them. The shrines of Mar Taqla, in Shiykhan, and Mar Maama are believed to antedate the founding of the village. Who the builders were no one knows, but they were certainly Christian. We cannot feasibly place the culture of the present village in direct continuity with non-Christian antecedents, nevertheless, the remote ancestors of the present villagers were pagans. Some suggestions of the pagan religion of Lebanon still remain, and this religion was essentially the same, as far as we know, as that in Hawran where the Munṣifiin claim to have originated. It need be mentioned here only that fertility was a major theme in Semitic paganism.

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Hitti says that the present Greek Orthodox sect among the Arabs can be traced back, with certainty, only to the Melkite sect which was identifiable in the fifth century (Hitti, 1951, p. 523). The Church itself claims that its oldest patriarchate (Antioch), to which Lebanon belongs, was established in A.D. 53 (Bliss, 1912, p. 41). The Ghassanid tribe of Syria, from which the Munṣifiin assume descent, appears to have been Christianized in the fourth century (Hitti, 1947, p. 78). However, Hitti says that the Melkites, the ancestors of the present Arab Orthodox, must have been recruited from city-dwellers and the descendants of Greek Colonists (1951, p. 523). This material is sufficiently confused and fragmentary to prevent us from drawing any very specific conclusion as to when and how the ancestors of the Munṣifiin became Orthodox Christians. One very important point, however, *is* revealed: Orthodoxy in the Middle East is almost as ancient as organized Christianity itself; it is *not* a recent offshoot or backwash from the European Orthodox communities. In this connection, the widely used term "Greek Orthodox" can be misleading. The Orthodox Church as a whole is "Greek" only in the sense that its original liturgy was in Greek, being largely derived from the Greek New Testament. It is also true that Greek nationals have been dominant in the Middle Eastern patriarchates, except the Patriarchate of Antioch (Syria and Lebanon) which has been completely dominated by Arabs for the past hundred years or so. Its liturgy is in Arabic (Hourani, 1946, p. 124). Jacques de Vitry, Crusader Bishop of Acre, reported in 1217 that the local Orthodox churches used a Greek liturgy which the congregations could not understand (Bliss, 1912, p. 13).

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Munṣif belongs to the Patriarchate of Antioch, whose head actually lives in Damascus. The other Middle East patriarchates are Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Istanbul. Both Bliss (1912, p. 44) and Zankov (1929, p. 19) emphasize the point

382 pipeline. Initial yearly capacity will be 300,000 tons, to be raised to 450,000 by 1956; by that date, total investment in the refinery will be $8 million. Most of the output will be fuel for bunkering, but the lighter products will be available for domestic consumption, meeting all the country's needs for major oil products. 1/

377 Output of electricity has also expanded, from 57 million kilowatt-hours in 1945 to 104 million in 1949, 147 million in 1952 and 164 million in 1953; of the last figure, 63 million kilowatt-hours were produced by thermal generators and 101 million by hydroelectric generators.

331 Construction has been maintained at a high level. Authorized construction in Beirut increased from 107,000 square metres of floor space in 1945 to 258,000 in 1948, 325,000 in 1952, 516,000 in 1953 and 167,000 during the first half of 1954. It is estimated that gross expenditure on construction was LL 61 million in 1948, LL 73 million in 1949 and LL 99 million in 1950. 2/ These figures represent some 7 to 10 per cent of the gross national product. Construction represents a large fraction, probably over half, of gross investment in Lebanon and absorbs a large proportion of small savings.

339 The building materials industries have expanded to meet construction needs.
323 Owing to expansion of capacity in 1947, output of cement rose from 148,000 tons in 1945 to 209,000 in 1948, 280,000 in 1952, 314,000 in 1953 and 141,000 in the first half of 1954. In recent years, exports have ranged between 20,000 and 60,000 tons. A new plant is under construction. Other industries, such as tile making and glass, have also expanded; output of glassware in 1952 reached 1,300 tons. Various cement products industries have been developed.

258 Food processing represents the most important group of industries, as regards capital employment and value of output (see table 45). Among the principal branches are sugar refining, where output rose from a negligible amount to 6,000 tons in 1952 and 14,000 in 1953 and where capacity is being expanded; vegetable oils, where output has risen from 900 in 1945 to 5,600 in 1952; biscuits, where output rose from 300 tons in 1945 to 1,200 in 1952; dough products, which increased from 300 tons to 2,400; chocolate, jam and various sweet-meats, with a combined output of 4,700 tons in 1953; beer, whose output declined from its war-time peak to 2 million litres in 1953; wine, arag and other alcoholic drinks, whose output has risen slightly in the post-war years, to 2.2 million litres in 1953; and soft drinks, whose output has increased more than twentyfold, to 9.5 million litres in 1953. 3/ All these industries, except sugar, provide a small export surplus and all are operating well below capacity.

288 The textile industries have been facing difficulties. Silk reeling has declined into a minor occupation, but silk weaving has developed, output rising from 26 tons in 1945 to 320 in 1952; this amount represents only one sixth of Lebanon's consumption. Output of woollen cloth has failed to exceed 150 tons,

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1/ Oil and Gas Journal, 7 March 1955.

2/ Albert Y. Badre and Agopig G. Altounian, "National Income of Lebanon", Monograph No. 2: "Income Arising in the Construction Sector" (Beirut, November 1951).

3/ Figures from Le Commerce du Levant, 3 July 1954, special issue on industry.

[Text continues on P. 161]

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Food is served

on china platters and/or round plates. If necessary, everyone is provided with knives, forks, and spoons, but napkins are not ordinarily used. Cups and demitasses are provided for tea and coffee, respectively. (The only kind of coffee which is consumed in the village is "Turkish" coffee.) Wine is drunk from small glasses. The only acceptable way to drink water, however, is directly from the spouted jug called *ibriiq*. This is definitely an acquired skill which children are taught as early as possible. For this purpose, a small *ibriiq*, usually made of glass, is provided. With the exception of the coffee grinder, usually the coffee beakers, the pestle and mortar, and the *ibriiq*, all these items are of European manufacture and/or design.

Although kerosene heaters are readily available in Beirut, the standard means of heating houses in the village is by small, round, charcoal braziers which sit low on the floor. If a social group in one room of a multi-room house moves to another, the brazier around which the group has sat will be picked up and carried along. The idea, in other words, is to keep the people warm rather than to heat the room. The European and American kerosene heaters are undoubtedly more efficient, but they are a great deal more expensive to buy and operate. Besides, the charcoal braziers can also be used for boiling coffee and broiling meat on skewers.

Oil lamps, with glass chimneys, of European manufacture and of the same type which is still sometimes seen in rural areas of the United States, are used in many houses. Everyone keeps a supply of candles in case of emergency. But the most widely used type of illumination is provided by a kerosene pressure lantern. This gives a very strong light and is frequently suspended on an iron rod from the ceiling of the room.

Nearly every individual who is adolescent or older has a flashlight and uses it. On moonless or cloudy nights, the village is enveloped in pitch blackness, with only a few undiffused lights showing here and there from doors or windows.

Floor-covering is provided either by small "oriental" rugs or straw mats. Such ornamental or luxury items as elaborately inlaid boxes and furniture, engraved brass or copper trays, and painted pottery, are rare.

DIET

The villagers regularly eat three meals a day, of which the evening meal is ordinarily the largest, except on Sundays. Breakfast is likely to include the leftovers from the preceding evening meal. Bread is eaten at, and coffee served after, every meal. Lunch tends to be small, and the family is apt to be incomplete at lunch, for men or boys working in the fields usually take their lunches with them—a couple of loaves of bread, some olives, and perhaps an onion or cucumber or two, and a jug of water.

The villagers say that in summer they have more to eat than in winter. In effect, what they mean is that fresh fruits and vegetables supplement the year-

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262 round staples, all, except citrus fruits, in the summer. The staples, which are 438 either constantly obtainable or can be locally preserved and stored, are the following:

Wheat (mostly imported)
Rice (imported)
Mutton (mostly bought on the hoof from outsiders)
Hens' eggs (locally produced)
Olives (locally produced)
Figs (locally produced)
Fresh fish (caught locally)
Potatoes and turnips (imported and produced locally)
Onions and garlic (imported and produced locally)
A variety of legumes (imported and produced locally)
Milk (locally produced)
Salt (locally produced)
Sugar (imported)
Coffee and tea (imported)

This base is supplemented in summer by the following items, most of which are produced locally: apricots, fresh figs, grapes, tomatoes, cucumbers, green and yellow squashes, peppers, lettuce, and almonds.

It is clear that the village is heavily dependent upon the outside for food staples. Among the forms in which these staples are eaten are the following:

262 *Bread*. Americans, among whom bread is now a food of secondary importance and generally of poor nutritive value, will at once recognize the significance of "daily bread" when they observe its use among present-day Semitic-speaking peoples. Although it would be an exaggeration to say that it is *the* staff of life, it is certainly the most important single item of food—important both in regard to its nutritive value and the attitudes toward it of its eaters. Bread-making is an important social as well as economic function, and it will be described in detail later. Here it need only be said that the loaf is a disk about one foot or more in diameter and about a third of an inch thick. Tannous (1944, p. 534) says that every adult eats from one to two pounds of it a day and takes it at every meal. Although no attitudes toward it of a religious nature were encountered in Munṣif, its importance was indicated by such remarks as: "A meal is not a meal if there is no bread"; "If there is nothing else, bread is enough"; "If you do not eat bread, you will always be hungry"; and "If you drink too much water at a meal, you will not be able to eat enough bread." The average adult in the village eats about two loaves per meal, which is consistent with Tannous' statement.

264 Bread can be eaten alone, but usually it is not. The eater tears it into pieces about three inches square. With this between fingers and thumb (usually, but not exclusively, of the right hand), he reaches out to a common dish and takes a piece of food. The morsel is then conveyed to the mouth as is, or after that which has been taken from the dish has been more thoroughly wrapped up in the bread. For eating semiliquid foods, the piece of bread is made into the shape of a small, crude shovel. Virtually the entire meal can be, and frequently is, eaten, associatively and instrumentally, with bread.

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Bread (*khubz*) is not the only wheat product which is made in the bakery and eaten. There is also holy bread (*qurbaan*) (which will be discussed later). And a special treat is *manquushi* ("fingered"). This starts as a disk of unleavened dough which looks very much like an unbaked loaf of bread. But a rim is pinched up around the edge and the maker may punch herringbone or crosshatch designs in the center with her fingers. The center is then covered liberally with olive oil and on this sugar and sesame seeds are sprinkled. It is preferably eaten as soon as possible after it has been baked. It is sweet and filling. None of the very sweet, flaky pastries, which can be bought in Middle Eastern restaurants, was encountered in the village.

Meat. Sheep are killed ordinarily only on Sundays, and the meat is bought and most of it eaten immediately. There appears to be a sort of folk hygiene connected with this practice. One of the few complaints about city life voiced by a young person was that it was not a good idea to buy meat in the city because one didn't know how long it had been hanging in the butcher shop, completely exposed to flies and the dust of the street. Beef, a prime source of tapeworm, is not eaten at all, nor is pork.

The main dish of the standard Sunday dinner, taken at noon, is raw *kibbi*, perhaps the most famous Lebanese dish. It consists of raw meat and cracked wheat ground up together in the stone mortar and served as a smooth mound on a platter. It is washed down with another famous item, *ʔaraq*, a distilled grape liquor, flavored with anis, which is clear and colorless when it comes from the bottle but turns milky white when water is added to it, as it usually is. The villagers buy *ʔaraq* which is made in the city, although they would undoubtedly make their own if they had to. The intake of alcohol is very moderate. It is never drunk alone but always as part of a meal. Four small glasses of *ʔaraq* mixed with water are considered enough, if not too much. The writer is reasonably certain that there is no cultural pattern for getting really drunk for its own sake. A little wine is made locally, but not very much.

Raw meat is also eaten in small chunks, taken in bread and dipped in the rough salt which is obtained locally from the sea. Most of the specialized organs, such as liver, kidneys, testicles, and lungs, are eaten in this manner.

What is left over from the raw *kibbi* is cooked, either in the form of a flat disk or in individual patties. This cooked *kibbi* will appear on Monday's, and perhaps Tuesday's, menu. *Laḥm mishwi* ("broiled meat"—on skewers) another regional specialty, is an alternative.

Roast chicken is sometimes served but usually only on special occasions, such as the saint's-day feasts at which certain families entertain the priest.

Olives. All the olives which are consumed in the village are local produce. Some are cured in brine and stored for eating throughout the year. A dish of them appears at every meal. But most of a year's harvest is reduced, locally, to oil which is used in nearly every phase of cooking.

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Sliced cucumbers an tomatoes, in olive oil, are served in summer, but these, and other vegetables, are preferred when included in two larger dishes. One of these is a very delicious salad (*ṣalaṭa*) consisting of lettuce, tomato, cucumber, parsley, mint, onion, and garlic. The dressing is a mixture of lemon juice and olive oil. The other is *tabbuuli.* This has nearly the same ingredients as the salad, but they are chopped up vey fine and mixed with cracked wheat which has been soaked in water. Like rav *kibbi, tabbuuli* is served in the form of a mound, and its eating is associated with the drinking of *ʿaraq.*

Legumes are not too commonly eaten alone without further preparation than

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

cooking. There is a cooked bean mash (*mujaddara*), but this is not considered to be very tasty. However, chick peas, mashed, are mixed with *ṭiḥiini* to form a very popular and filling "sauce" called *ḥummuṣ biṭḥiini*. This is served as a substitute for, or in addition to, *laban*.

Foreign foods are very rare. The most important is spaghetti, whose eating requires the use of a fork. Scandinavian canned tuna, also, supplements the local fish supply which is rather meager, although in summer, sea urchins are consumed in large quantities, as well as squids and octopi.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that diet is one of the most conservative and least acculturated aspects of the material culture. Cooking and serving utensils, it is true, have been heavily influenced, but this has been a process of substitution, for purposes of efficiency, rather than of innovation.

CLOTHING

To some degree, the clothing worn by the villagers varies in style according to the age of the wearer. Among males, the elderly are definitely conservative, the middle-aged vary, the young men and boys wear European-style clothes almost without exception. A similar gradation among the females is a little less obvious, probably primarily because the women's traditional costume, unlike the men's, is not particularly distinctive to Western eyes.

Men. The second oldest man in the village is the only one who wears the *ghumbaaz*, a long, long-sleeved, tubular gown, of white, striped cotton-backed silk. This costume is frequently seen in the heterogeneous city populations, often on younger men. Weulerrse (1946, p. 244) says that it is of Bedu origin.

More typical of the older men is the traditional *shirwal* (tremendously baggy trousers with short, tight legs), open-necked, or collarless shirt, and European jacket. Headgear is the cylindrical *ṭarbuush*, maroon felt with a black tassel. Especially in winter, a cloth or scarf may be wrapped around the *ṭarbuush*. One man in the village wears a tall conical brown felt cap, called *libbaadi*, which is often seen elsewhere.

A few middle-aged men wear the complete traditional costume, but more of them have adopted European (*franji*) clothes. For work, they wear nondescript, but European, trousers, shirt, sweater if needed, socks and shoes. On more or less formal occasions, however, a complete suit, with tie, is worn. This tendency is even more pronounced among the young men. No one ordinarily goes unshod except small boys and girls in summer. Sport shirts—preferably plain white—are worn in summer.

Those working in the fields frequently wear pith helmets and jodhpur-like trousers which bear a superficial resemblance to the *shirwal* which were not observed on any man under about fifty. Quite a number of middle-aged men who have given up the *shirwal*, nevertheless retain the *ṭarbuush* which, however, is not

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3. The change is not in conflict, functionally or symbolically, with other, firmly established or unchanging norms.

The second condition provides the adequate motivation essential to learning, and, as Hallowell (1945, pp. 182–83) has pointed out, "learning is the psychological crux of acculturation." Using Barnett's terms (Barnett, 1940, p. 31), we can say that if the *function* of the new item is apprehended and appreciated by the villagers, they will accept it, provided that it does not involve too much expense, does not necessitate elaborate readjustments in otherwise stable systems, and that its *meaning* is neither odious (for example, a part of foreign imperialism) nor in conflict with the meanings of other, stable traits.

Perhaps this analysis will be clearer when we consider two areas of "material culture" which have remained almost wholly unchanged. One of these is diet which has remained unchanged because any fundamental alteration in it would meet with situations which would be contrary to any or all of the three conditions which are necessary to successful change. It would be enough to say that change in diet would involve extra expense and a major alteration in eating habits and cooking methods (violation of conditions 1 and 3). But besides this, the villagers see no purpose in changing their basic diet. It satisfies them physically and gustatorially (violation of conditions 2 and 3). It is probable also that they derive no little spiritual satisfaction in being able to maintain old patterns in this area of behavior where no change is forced upon them.

The other area of material conservatism is in farming techniques. Although farming itself has deteriorated markedly in terms of the number of men who practice it (a negative sort of change), farming techniques remain the same. This is largely because conditions 1 and 2 do not obtain. To introduce, for example, tractors and modern plows and harrows, into a terrace village like Munşif, would not only involve great expense, it would also be rather absurd from a practical point of view. There would be the problem of moving the equipment from one terrace to another, and most of the terraces are so small and irregular in shape that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to use when it was in place. Chemical fertilizers have been adopted to some extent, probably limited by expense. Certainly the villagers are most eager to obtain an irrigation system, but here their desires are thwarted by external conditions.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

In the economic or subsistence sphere, the village has obviously undergone a profound change. A number of rural specialties, such as weaving and shoemaking, have completely gone out of existence. Farming, formerly *the* primary occupation, now occupies a very small number of men. A large proportion, if not most, of the village income is now derived from urban occupations.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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shown in the table above are found in other parts of the Middle East but three indigenous sects need mention here: the Druzes, who are a mountain people professing a religion which derived from Islam in the eleventh century A.D., but became independent; the Alawis of the mountains behind Latakia, whose religion appears to be a dogmatic form of Shii Islam with some survivals of Christian ritual; and the Maronites, who are a Christian sect, living mainly in the north of Lebanon.

The religion of the majority of Syrians and of the head of the Syrian state is Sunni Islam; in the Lebanon, Muslims and Christians are fairly evenly divided and the President of the Republic is a Maronite Christian and the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim. The Christians of the Arab Levant have provided the Middle East with great leaders in journalism, letters, politics, and science, but in present-day Syria the Christians are mainly prominent in commerce and industry. There is hardly any dangerous animosity between the sects, but sectarian bonds are a very real force in the lives of people who for so long lived under the Turkish *millet* system whereby each sect was an administrative unit, the head of which exercised considerable authority.

So mixed a population living in a variety of environments naturally does not constitute one physical type, but some generalizations are hazarded for the sake of a fuller picture. Dark hair is almost universal but the skin of the town dweller is no darker than that of a Mediterranean European; the Syrians and Lebanese are not often as tall or as heavy as the average Englishman but they mature at an earlier age. The poorer nomad eats mainly bread, with milk and fruit and vegetables as less frequent additions and meat as an event, but in the towns and villages most people eat a full diet with rather more oil and spice than is used in Britain. The cultivator and the nomad wear local costumes but most townspeople wear European clothes; the tarbush or the head-cloth are usual but not universal headgear for men. Most Muslim women wear the veil, but in the towns the richer women are becoming more and more emancipated and, particularly in Beirut, many lead the same lives as Christian women. In Lebanon and in Damascus and Aleppo the way of life is very like that in southern Europe, and both countries make a pleasant home for a European.

History

Semitic-speaking people have inhabited for four or five millennia the area which is known historically as Syria, and yet for much of this period the rulers of what is now Syria an

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
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Communications are excellent in the coastal districts, but some parts of the interior are inaccessible, especially during the winter months, when snow accumulates on the mountain ridges. Good roads stretch north and south along the coast and in the Bekaa, but the lateral connections are restricted by the nature of the terrain and the shortage of suitable natural passes across the mountains. Trunk highways skirt the coast and extend from Beirut to Damascus, linking Lebanon and Syria. Beirut is also united with Damascus by a railway through Rayak, while a line from Rayak through Homs joins the Istanbul-Baghdad railway at Aleppo. Tripoli is linked with the latter system by a branch from Homs. A coastal railroad, extending from Tripoli to Haifa, was constructed by the British military forces during World War II, and the Lebanese portion is still in operation. Beirut, the principal modern port, handles a large volume of transit traffic for Syria, Jordan, Iraq and other parts of the Middle East. Tripoli is a port of secondary significance, except as an oil-shipping center. The ancient port of Sidon has recently been developed as the terminus of the trans-Arabian pipeline, serving as a Mediterranean port for the shipment of oil from the Saudi Arabian fields of the Arabian American Oil Company. The distances between local points are too short for the promotion of internal air services, but Beirut is an important junction for international airlines serving Europe and the Near and the Far East.

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Food and Nutrition

The nutritional standards of the people differ according to the prosperity and the familiarity with food values of the individual families, but they are reasonably high in most parts of the country. Breads and a coarse-grained cereal known as *burghul*, which are usually prepared from wheat but sometimes from barley or millet, are staple foods in both urban and rural areas. Rice is popular among all groups of the population. Liberal amounts of milk are consumed

146 511 262

in the form of cheese, buttermilk and *leban*, the last a fermented product made from cow's milk. Fresh milk is rarely used, however, except in limited sections in the larger cities. In the rural districts, milk is obtained chiefly from sheep and goats, less frequently from cows. Legumes, potatoes, onions and other vegetables are widely cultivated. Green, leafy varieties are scarce in the inland districts, but wild herbs are often utilized as substitutes. Many types of fruits are abundant, especially in the coastal valleys. They form important supplementary items of diet when in season.

Much of the meat is imported from Syria or Turkey, but relatively little reaches the people outside the larger towns. The average villager seldom consumes meat more than once a week. Mutton and, secondarily, beef are used most extensively. Both are employed, in a cooked or a raw state, in *kubi*, a national dish prepared from meat and *burghul*. Goat meat is found everywhere, while pork is available in the Christian communities. Poultry and eggs are plentiful in most localities and fish in the coastal region. Olive oil and butter are the primary sources of fats.

In spite of the generally satisfactory level of nutrition, a definite decrease in the consumption of protective foods is apparent in the inland districts and in South Lebanon. In 1950, the Lebanese government appointed a Nutrition Committee to promote a better understanding of the elementary principles of nutrition among the people. The different religious customs of the Moslem and the Christian communities influence their nutritional habits and limit the application of mass educational measures.

Housing

Lebanon has a large so-called middle class, and the disparity between the living conditions of the [redacted] the poor is less pronounced than in most of the neighboring countries. Moreover, many families maintain financial and social contacts with

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

262 257 *Sweet Preserves.* Figs and apricots (which are also eaten raw in season) are made into very sweet jams which are eaten throughout the year. Grapes (extensively eaten raw in season) and carob pods are made into another type of preserve, called *dibs*, which has the consistency of molasses.

A preserve of a rather special type, *ḥalaawi*, ("sweet"), is obtained from the city in returnable cans. It comes in a hard cake which flakes when cut. Its essential ingredients are sugar and *ṭiḥiini* (mashed sesame seeds). *Ḥalaawi* is very sweet and "rich," and is considered to be a great delicacy which is eaten, alone or with bread, at the close of the meal.

262 252 *Milk products.* Milk is not usually taken raw, although there is one dish, *laban ʾimmu*, which consists of hot milk in which float pastry balls which are stuffed with rice and/or meat. Rather, milk is preferred in three fermented forms: white cheese (from goat's milk), *laban* ("sour" milk, known in America as "yoghurt"), and *labni* (drained *laban*, which has the consistency of cream cheese). Of the three, *laban* is the most extensively used. It appears at every meal and is the preferred sauce with which to eat cooked *kibbi*.

Eggs are sometimes eaten hard boiled, but they are preferred when included in a dish which is a combination of omelette and meat loaf. Potatoes and turnips, also, are usually included in a larger combination. "French fried" potatoes are known, but not by that name.

Onions and garlic are eaten cooked or raw, alone or in combination with other things: Rice is used for stuffing or is served as a dish, boiled, and covered with onions.

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262 252 Of the summer products which have not been considered so far, squash is the only one which appears in cooked form, frequently stuffed with rice and/or meat (*kuusa maḥshi*). (There is a general notion that cool foods are preferable in hot weather, hot foods in cold weather, but this is not rigidly followed in practice.)

Sliced cucumbers and tomatoes, in olive oil, are served in summer, but these, and other vegetables, are preferred when included in two larger dishes. One of these is a very delicious salad (*ṣalaṭa*) consisting of lettuce, tomato, cucumber, parsley, mint, onion, and garlic. The dressing is a mixture of lemon juice and olive oil. The other is *tabbuuli*. This has nearly the same ingredients as the salad, but they are chopped up very fine and mixed with cracked wheat which has been soaked in water. Like raw *kibbi*, *tabbuuli* is served in the form of a mound, and its eating is associated with the drinking of *ʿaraq*.

Legumes are not too commonly eaten alone without further preparation than

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early as possible. For this purpose, a small *ibriq*, usually made of glass, is provided. With the exception of the coffee grinder, usually the coffee beakers, the pestle and mortar, and the *ibriq*, all these items are of European manufacture and/or design.

Although kerosene heaters are readily available in Beirut, the standard means 354
of heating houses in the village is by small, round, charcoal braziers which sit low on the floor. If a social group in one room of a multi-room house moves to another, the brazier around which the group has sat will be picked up and carried along. The idea, in other words, is to keep the people warm rather than to heat the room. The European and American kerosene heaters are undoubtedly more efficient, but they are a great deal more expensive to buy and operate. Besides, the charcoal braziers can also be used for boiling coffee and broiling meat on skewers.

Oil lamps, with glass chimneys, of European manufacture and of the same type which is still sometimes seen in rural areas of the United States, are used in many houses. Everyone keeps a supply of candles in case of emergency. But the most widely used type of illumination is provided by a kerosene pressure lantern. This gives a very strong light and is frequently suspended on an iron rod from the ceiling of the room.

Nearly every individual who is adolescent or older has a flashlight and uses 416
it. On moonless or cloudy nights, the village is enveloped in pitch blackness, with only a few undiffused lights showing here and there from doors or windows.

Floor-covering is provided either by small "oriental" rugs or straw mats. 352
Such ornamental or luxury items as elaborately inlaid boxes and furniture, engraved 353
brass or copper trays, and painted pottery, are rare.

DIET

The villagers regularly eat three meals a day, of which the evening meal is 264
ordinarily the largest, except on Sundays. Breakfast is likely to include the left-overs from the preceding evening meal. Bread is eaten at, and coffee served after, every meal. Lunch tends to be small, and the family is apt to be incomplete at lunch, for men or boys working in the fields usually take their lunches with them—a couple of loaves of bread, some olives, and perhaps an onion or cucumber or two, and a jug of water.

The villagers say that in summer they have more to eat than in winter. In 262
effect, what they mean is that fresh fruits and vegetables supplement the year- 438

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262 438 [illegible] staples, are, except citrus fruits, in the summer. The staples, which are either constantly obtainable or can be locally preserved and stored, are the following:

Wheat (mostly imported)
Rice (imported)
Mutton (mostly bought on the hoof from outsiders)
Hens' eggs (locally produced)
Olives (locally produced)
Figs (locally produced)
Fresh fish (caught locally)
Potatoes and turnips (imported and produced locally)
Onions and garlic (imported and produced locally)
A variety of legumes (imported and produced locally)
Milk (locally produced)
Salt (locally produced)
Sugar (imported)
Coffee and tea (imported)

This base is supplemented in summer by the following items, most of which are produced locally: apricots, fresh figs, grapes, tomatoes, cucumbers, green and yellow squashes, peppers, lettuce, and almonds.

It is clear that the village is heavily dependent upon the outside for food staples. Among the forms in which these staples are eaten are the following:

262 *Bread.* Americans, among whom bread is now a food of secondary importance and generally of poor nutritive value, will at once recognize the significance of "daily bread" when they observe its use among present-day Semitic-speaking peoples. Although it would be an exaggeration to say that it is *the* staff of life, it is certainly the most important single item of food—important both in regard to its nutritive value and the attitudes toward it of its eaters. Bread-making is an important social as well as economic function, and it will be described in detail later. Here it need only be said that the loaf is a disk about one foot or more in diameter and about a third of an inch thick. Tannous (1944, p. 534) says that every adult eats from one to two pounds of it a day and takes it at every meal. Although no attitudes toward it of a religious nature were encountered in Munṣif, its importance was indicated by such remarks as: "A meal is not a meal if there is no bread"; "If there is nothing else, bread is enough"; "If you do not eat bread, you will always be hungry"; and "If you drink too much water at a meal, you will not be able to eat enough bread." The average adult in the village eats about two loaves per meal, which is consistent with Tannous' statement.

264 Bread can be eaten alone, but usually it is not. The eater tears it into pieces about three inches square. With this between fingers and thumb (usually, but not exclusively, of the right hand), he reaches out to a common dish and takes a piece of food. The morsel is then conveyed to the mouth as is, or after that which has been taken from the dish has been more thoroughly wrapped up in the bread. For eating semiliquid foods, the piece of bread is made into the shape of a small, crude shovel. Virtually the entire meal can be, and frequently is, eaten, associatively and instrumentally, with bread.

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444 candles, each kind in a large glass jar; bottles of *'araq*, sweet summer drink extracts, and denatured alcohol (for preheating Primus stoves and lanterns); writing paper, pens, pencils, and ink; hairpins, combs, toothpaste, and soap; flashlights and batteries—all of these on shelves set against the walls. We can generalize by saying that the stores provide the villagers with all their purchased food except bread and with small items of everyday use. Conspicuously lacking are clothes, furniture, and all household utensils except the pottery drinking jars which are carried by some of the stores. All other larger items are bought directly from Jbeyl or Beirut.

One person said that he made it a practice to patronize all the stores in order not to slight any of the proprietors. How common this practice is the writer does not know. Since the stores are so close together, patronization on the basis of proximity is not likely to be a factor in the determination of particular clienteles.

477 One would expect that the stores would be in keen competition, and, certainly, commercial competition is nothing new or foreign to Lebanon. But among the village stores there appeared to be little if any competition, and some assistance between proprietors was observed. One informant explained the situation in this way:

> Well, they *are* in competition, but you see [and here he seemed quite at a loss for words. He started again:] There is a saying in Arabic *Likull ?insaan risqahu*. It means: "Every person has his fortune." Well, you know, it really means everyone will receive his due. You see, one helps the other because later the other will help the one. But it is more than mutual help; when X helps Y, they may not want to do it, but they do it anyway because they do not want people to think that they are enemies or jealous of each other.

577 621 476 The saying which was used by this informant is a positive expression, similar in connotation to the lilies of the field passage in the Sermon on the Mount, of the fatalism which is commonly attributed, with some justification, to the Arabs. We might elucidate its full meaning by paraphrasing it as follows: "You will get your just reward in whatever you are doing if you behave justly." In this case, behaving justly involves the kind of mutual help within an in-group (the village) which is essential to its solidarity. But also, in a wider sense, it is the writer's opinion that among the Arabs, competition for its own sake is not a *generalized* behavioral value, though they do come close to this in their social and cultural group rivalries. Furthermore, none of the four proprietors concerned in this matter is dependent solely on his store for his income. Each is a landowner and maintains his property for agricultural purposes.

444 67 [265] Turning, now, to the function of the stores as meeting places for the men, we are reminded of the interesting notion, set forth by Kohn (1956, p. 70), that in the Mediterranean area generally, the center of personal and social life is the open, public place—forum, agora, coffee house, and open shop.

In *Mansif*, there is no coffee house and the stores to some extent take the

361 [795] Of the other three project village there is one mosque. There are no Christian churches here as this region is populated by Moslems of the Shee'ah sect. These are often referred to as Metwalis and and are followers of the descendants of Ali.

362 The 912 dwelling units in the five project villages house an average of 6.1. persons per unit. A positive building trend has taken place in the area during the past five years. For this period, only 'Adloun reported more buildings torn down or otherwise made uninhabitable than were constructed. In the other four villages the opposite trend was reported. No attempt was made to determine the types of units constructed and heavy reliance should not be placed on Table IX, «Construction Trend in Last Five Years», for the data in this table are subject to a high degree of error.

Business and Industry

444 265 In the project villages the business district generally is composed of a few small shops selling meat, grain, groceries, small items of hardware, and a limited amount of other items. In these five villages there is a total of thirty-four small shops. There are 17 general stores, 11 meat stores, 2 barber shops and 4 cafes. As the shopping centers of Beirut and Saida are easily accessible by low-cost bus transportation, general stores carry only those items in heavy demand. Several of the cafes service the main Beirut-Saida-Tyre road. Of all the businesses, only these cafes employ the services of personnel other than the proprietor. Only the village of Loubya lacks any form of business center.

It is interesting to note that in these small villages the meat shops often cooperate by assigning specific days of operation for each shopkeeper. On days allotted to one shopkeeper, the carcasses will hang from his hooks and nearby meat shops will be closed. All the stores are extremely small and require but a meager capital investment.

433 There are no power-operated factories in the project area and very few home industries or handicraft enterprises. Two hand-operated olive presses were reported at Sakaskiyah and one at Loubya. With no wood or mineral resources at hand and with no electrical power available, this total lack of village industrialization is not surprising.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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on china platters and/or round plates. If necessary, everyone is provided with knives, forks, and spoons, but napkins are not ordinarily used. Cups and demitasses are provided for tea and coffee, respectively. (The only kind of coffee which is consumed in the village is "Turkish" coffee.) Wine is drunk from small glasses. The only acceptable way to drink water, however, is directly from the spouted jug called *ibriiq*. This is definitely an acquired skill which children are taught as early as possible. For this purpose, a small *ibriiq*, usually made of glass, is provided. With the exception of the coffee grinder, usually the coffee beakers, the pestle and mortar, and the *ibriiq*, all these items are of European manufacture and/or design.

Although kerosene heaters are readily available in Beirut, the standard means of heating houses in the village is by small, round, charcoal braziers which sit low on the floor. If a social group in one room of a multi-room house moves to another, the brazier around which the group has sat will be picked up and carried along. The idea, in other words, is to keep the people warm rather than to heat the room. The European and American kerosene heaters are undoubtedly more efficient, but they are a great deal more expensive to buy and operate. Besides, the charcoal braziers can also be used for boiling coffee and broiling meat on skewers.

Oil lamps, with glass chimneys, of European manufacture and of the same type which is still sometimes seen in rural areas of the United States, are used in many houses. Everyone keeps a supply of candles in case of emergency. But the most widely used type of illumination is provided by a kerosene pressure lantern. This gives a very strong light and is frequently suspended on an iron rod from the ceiling of the room.

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262 257 *Sweet Preserves.* Figs and apricots (which are also eaten raw in season) are made into very sweet jams which are eaten throughout the year. Grapes (extensively eaten raw in season) and carob pods are made into another type of preserve, called *dibs,* which has the consistency of molasses.

A preserve of a rather special type, *ḥalaawi,* ("sweet"), is obtained from the city in returnable cans. It comes in a hard cake which flakes when cut. Its essential ingredients are sugar and *ṭiḥiini* (mashed sesame seeds). *Ḥalaawi* is very sweet and "rich," and is considered to be a great delicacy which is eaten, alone or with bread, at the close of the meal.

262 252 *Milk products.* Milk is not usually taken raw, although there is one dish, *laban ʾimmu,* which consists of hot milk in which float pastry balls which are stuffed with rice and/or meat. Rather, milk is preferred in three fermented forms: white cheese (from goat's milk), *laban* ("sour" milk, known in America as "yoghurt"), and *labni* (drained *laban,* which has the consistency of cream cheese). Of the three, *laban* is the most extensively used. It appears at every meal and is the preferred sauce with which to eat cooked *kibbi.*

Eggs are sometimes eaten hard boiled, but they are preferred when included in a dish which is a combination of omelette and meat loaf. Potatoes and turnips, also, are usually included in a larger combination. "French fried" potatoes are known, but not by that name.

Onions and garlic are eaten cooked or raw, alone or in combination with other things: Rice is used for stuffing or is served as a dish, boiled, and covered with onions.

272 263 Tea (*shayy*) is taken very sweet, but milk is never added. As with coffee, the sugar is boiled along with the main ingredient. The common occidental notion, however, that "Turkish" coffee (*qahwi*) really isn't Turkish coffee unless it is sirupy sweet is not necessarily founded on fact. Some prefer it with little sugar or none at all, and the guest is usually asked if he prefers it very sweet, sweet, or bitter. The only requirements are that it be thick and very hot.

262 252 Of the summer products which have not been considered so far, squash is the only one which appears in cooked form, frequently stuffed with rice and/or meat (*kuusa maḥshi*). (There is a general notion that cool foods are preferable in hot weather, hot foods in cold weather, but this is not rigidly followed in practice.)

Sliced cucumbers and tomatoes, in olive oil, are served in summer, but these, and other vegetables, are preferred when included in two larger dishes. One of these is a very delicious salad (*ṣalaṭa*) consisting of lettuce, tomato, cucumber, parsley, mint, onion, and garlic. The dressing is a mixture of lemon juice and olive oil. The other is *tabbuuli.* This has nearly the same ingredients as the salad, but they are chopped up very fine and mixed with cracked wheat which has been soaked in water. Like raw *kibbi, tabbuuli* is served in the form of a mound, and its eating is associated with the drinking of *ʿaraq.*

Legumes are not too commonly eaten alone without further preparation than

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Bread (*khubz*) is not the only wheat product which is made in the bakery and eaten. There is also holy bread (*qurbaan*) (which will be discussed later). And a special treat is *manqushi* ("fingered"). This starts as a disk of unleavened dough which looks very much like an unbaked loaf of bread. But a rim is pinched up around the edge and the maker may punch herringbone or crosshatch designs in the center with her fingers. The center is then covered liberally with olive oil and on this sugar and sesame seeds are sprinkled. It is preferably eaten as soon as possible after it has been baked. It is sweet and filling. None of the very sweet, flaky pastries, which can be bought in Middle Eastern restaurants, was encountered in the village.

Meat. Sheep are killed ordinarily only on Sundays, and the meat is bought and most of it eaten immediately. There appears to be a sort of folk hygiene connected with this practice. One of the few complaints about city life voiced by a young person was that it was not a good idea to buy meat in the city because one didn't know how long it had been hanging in the butcher shop, completely exposed to flies and the dust of the street. Beef, a prime source of tapeworm, is not eaten at all, nor is pork.

The main dish of the standard Sunday dinner, taken at noon, is raw *kibbi*, perhaps the most famous Lebanese dish. It consists of raw meat and cracked wheat ground up together in the stone mortar and served as a smooth mound on a platter. It is washed down with another famous item, *ʔaraq*, a distilled grape liquor, flavored with anis, which is clear and colorless when it comes from the bottle but turns milky white when water is added to it, as it usually is. The villagers buy *ʔaraq* which is made in the city, although they would undoubtedly make their own if they had to. The intake of alcohol is very moderate. It is never drunk alone but always as part of a meal. Four small glasses of *ʔaraq* mixed with water are considered enough, if not too much. The writer is reasonably certain that there is no cultural pattern for getting really drunk for its own sake. A little wine is made locally, but not very much.

Raw meat is also eaten in small chunks, taken in bread and dipped in the rough salt which is obtained locally from the sea. Most of the specialized organs, such as liver, kidneys, testicles, and lungs, are eaten in this manner.

What is left over from the raw *kibbi* is cooked, either in the form of a flat disk or in individual patties. This cooked *kibbi* will appear on Monday's, and perhaps Tuesday's, menu. *Laḥm mishwi* ("broiled meat"—on skewers) another regional specialty, is an alternative.

Roast chicken is sometimes served but usually only on special occasions, such as the saint's-day feasts at which certain families entertain the priest.

Olives. All the olives which are consumed in the village are local produce. Some are cured in brine and stored for eating throughout the year. A dish of them appears at every meal. But most of a year's harvest is reduced, locally, to oil which is used in nearly every phase of cooking.

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lished no identification with its urban surroundings nor to have established any strong ties with non-Munṣifiin. These people are, of course, by no means cut off from the village. People come and go from the village constantly for brief visits. The evening gatherings of this group are similar in form to those in the village proper.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The majority of men and women smoke cigarettes, and the rate of consumption appears to be high. European briar pipes are not smoked at all, but the old-fashioned water pipe is still enjoyed both by men and women.

It has been mentioned before that foreign influence has been particularly strong in the field of communication. Communication and means of entertainment overlap in such things as radio, the movies, books, magazines, and newspapers. Owing to its lack of electricity, Munṣif has only three battery-run radios, and this instrument is not particularly important in the village as a means of entertainment. The available programs are limited in scope, consisting mostly of news and "disk-jockey" broadcasts. From his limited observation, the writer was impressed with the esthetic appeal of the spoken word (radio broadcasts are in Classical Arabic) to the listeners.

Cities like Beirut are over-equipped, if anything, with movie houses which show Egyptian, European, and American pictures indiscriminately. There is no question but that they provide welcome diversion and enlarge the villagers' horizons, although the American movies have spread some very erroneous impressions of life in America. To some degree there is a cult of movie-star worship, but this is far less pronounced than it is in America, and it appears to be limited to the leading lights of the Egyptian screen.

Illustrated weeklies and paper-bound novels are very numerous and widely distributed. Their format seems crude to eyes which are accustomed to slick periodicals. The novels, for example, tend to have garish illustrated covers which are reminiscent of "pulps." However, this impression is deceptive, for most appear to be serious works by Arab authors or translations of Western best-sellers and classics. For example, Wilder's *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* and Maugham's *Of Human Bondage* were two which were being read in the village. In addition, there is in Munṣif some distribution of imported American paperbacks. No generalizations can be made here about the effect of this literature on the villagers. It can be said, however, that it seemed clear that Classical Arabic, spoken, retains a great deal of affective force which transcends the actual content of what is being said or recited. Western literature, on the other hand, is read merely out of intellectual curiosity or for sheer diversion, but it carries no emotional or esthetic charge.

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of clinics and in the cities a shortage of qualified staff to undertake massage, radiotherapy, and orthopædics, and there is special need to combat tuberculosis. Syrians and Lebanese are not addicted to hashish which, however, is grown in the Biqaa and smuggled to Egypt. The Lebanese Government periodically burns many of the plantations, which inflates the price of the surviving crop.

S L 433

Economic Survey

More than half the population of the two countries is engaged in agriculture which is the most important economic activity. Natural resources hardly exist; there is bitumen in Jebel Bishri in Syria but its production would not be economic; about 10,000 tons a year of asphalt is produced from the neighbourhood of Latakia; and salt is extracted in commercial quantities near Aleppo.

S L 315 382

Petroleum

For a number of years, associates of IPC searched for oil in Syria and Lebanon but without finding it in commercial quantities; in consequence, the areas held by these IPC associates have been given up. However, the two Governments are still anxious for further efforts to be made to find oil in commercial quantities. The importance of petroleum in the economy of Syria and Lebanon lies in the situation of the two republics athwart the pipelines from the fields of northern Iraq and Saudi Arabia which have outlets on the Mediterranean.[1] From Iraq a 12-inch and 16-inch line carry oil across Syria by way of Palmyra and Homs to Tripoli in the Lebanon. Together, these two lines can carry about 8 million tons of oil a year (160,000 barrels daily). A third IPC line from Kirkuk to Homs then bears north of the other two and reaches the sea at Banias, and so does not run through Lebanon at all. This new line is 26–30–32-inches in diameter and can deliver oil at about 16 million tons a year (320,000 barrels daily). From the fields of Saudi Arabia a 30–31 inch American pipeline (Tapline) travels over 1,000 miles on its way to Sidon in Lebanon, passing through Jordan and Syria. At present the line is pumping at a rate of about 15 million tons a year (300,000 barrels daily). It should be noted that these four lines all carry crude oil, some of which is refined on the Mediterranean shore for local requirements but the bulk is shipped as crude to the refineries of Europe and elsewhere.

S L 382

The line from Kirkuk to Haifa is not operating and the Haiaf

[1] See Appendix IV, p. 570 below.

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are being steadily removed in most Middle East countries at the present time) do not obtrude very much into everyday *living* in the average household, though they may do so somewhat more among the Muslims than among the Christians. Furthermore, he believes that that bugaboo of American feminists, the female chattel, has been unusual in any culture at any time except under special, hence conspicuous, circumstances. The occurrence of such circumstances can be safely predicted only in individual families in a patrilineal system, which are so well off that the woman can be relieved of all useful functions except sex. It is only in such families that extensive polygyny (if the culture permits it) is ordinarily to be found, and certainly an unfavored wife in a wealthy polygynous household can even be deprived of the dignity of her sexual role.

In the Middle East village, however, the basic unit of everyday living is the single household. Among the Christians, it is always based on a permanent monogamous marriage, and the probability is that the same is true among the great majority of the Muslims. The very existence of the household, initially and as time goes on, depends upon the active participation of the wife. She is cook, laundress, seamstress, nurse, and, above all, mother of the children who, it is hoped, will project the honor of the family into the future. She is *sitt al-bayt*, "mistress of the house," a title which, in Munṣif, used to be given to quite a number of baby girls as their personal name. Such a woman is no chattel, and there are numerous women in the village who, as individuals, are accorded unqualified respect by all.

The average village-dwelling woman works hard and makes no pretense of "hiding her age." She will continue to work hard until decrepitude overtakes her. One occasionally may even see an old woman trudging along bent nearly double under the weight of a bundle of firewood sometimes nearly as large as herself. But if this woman is socially oppressed, it is the incessant physical labor enjoined by necessity which is the tyrant and not the hard-heartedness of her husband, her brothers, or her sons, who are as hardworking and work-worn as she is.

As has been noted, the great majority of the Munṣif women are housewives or apprentice housewives. Domestic duties occupy most of their time, but, as will be seen in the next chapter, their regular chores do not prohibit social interaction outside the house. Before the introduction of convenient and relatively inexpensive Western manufactures, the average housewife wove the cloth with which she made her family's clothes. Weaving, like shoemaking, has now completely disappeared from the village which is not exceptional in this respect (cf. Kohn, 1936, p. 269). A few housewives do ornamental needlework to supplement the family income (cf. Fisher, 1950, pp. 208–09). The forty-four village women who have non-domestic paying jobs certainly represent something entirely new in the village culture. But the jobs themselves are something entirely new, and the writer is unable to say whether or not the women's taking them is in general motivated primarily by necessity rather than by "career girl" ambitions. His impression is that most of the girls feel that their jobs are temporary arrangements before mar-

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COTTON IN LEBANON

There are said to be five cotton gins in the country, all owned by textile mills. Several are saw gins, including one new one. 248

No one expects cotton acreage to climb appreciably, even though cotton normally returns more money to the farmer than other general crops, particularly in years of high prices. Government agricultural officials and technical assistance people agree that farmers are simply more interested in other crops and the country as a whole considers food crops more important.

The consensus is that the crop may expand by a few thousand bales if the price is favorable.

COTTON TEXTILES

The cotton spinning industry has about 70,000 spindles, of which 54,000 were operating in early 1952. The weaving industry reports 989 power looms, about 300 hand looms, and a number of small knitting mills operating at capacity. The spindles and most of the power looms are located in six mills which are privately owned by Lebanese industrialists. Most of these spinning mills were built in the late thirties. Some installed second-hand equipment though the majority bought new equipment from Germany, France, United Kingdom, and Japan. Spinning capacity has remained fairly stable during the past few years but knitting and weaving capacity has expanded considerably. 288 [471]

Until the dissolution of the customs union with Syria in 1950, the industries of the two countries were complementary. Lebanon sold from 50 to 60 per cent of its yarn to Syria and bought cloth. The imposition of duties by Syria and the expansion of the Syrian spinning industry virtually stopped this trade. The Lebanese now want to install more looms to balance their mills and consume the output of yarns. Expansion of the cotton textile industry is expected to be along these lines. [648 439]

At present the cotton textile industry is protected by import duties which average about 30 per cent ad valorem. There are complaints by some local industrialists that this is not adequate. Others maintain that relatively low wages and comparatively high machine efficiency enable them not only to operate successfully in the domestic market but also to compete to a limited extent on the foreign market. These two opinions, reported by the American Vice Consul in Beirut who has studied the industry, likely reflect the range of efficiency. [651]

Cotton yarn exports in 1951 totaled 680 tons in counts from 12s to 40s. This went primarily to Rumania, Pakistan, Cyprus, Aden, Egypt, and Belgium. In the same year the country exported 1,137 tons of cotton cloth, mostly coarse gray goods to Italy, Sudan, Iraq, and other neighboring countries. Imports of piece goods at 1,500 tons were almost equal to exports. Imports for the most part were dyed and printed goods in the specialty lines. 439

Normally Lebanese mills use about 80 per cent Syrian cotton and the balance local and Egyptian. The sources in 1951 were: Syrian, 60 per cent; Lebanese, 20 per cent; Egyptian, 10 per cent; and American, 10 per cent.

382 pipeline. Initial yearly capacity will be 300,000 tons, to be raised to 450,000 by 1956; by that date, total investment in the refinery will be $8 million. Most of the output will be fuel for bunkering, but the lighter products will be available for domestic consumption, meeting all the country's needs for major oil products. 1/

377 Output of electricity has also expanded, from 57 million kilowatt-hours in 1945 to 104 million in 1949, 147 million in 1952 and 164 million in 1953; of the last figure, 63 million kilowatt-hours were produced by thermal generators and 101 million by hydroelectric generators.

331 Construction has been maintained at a high level. Authorized construction in Beirut increased from 107,000 square metres of floor space in 1945 to 258,000 in 1948, 323,000 in 1952, 318,000 in 1953 and 167,000 during the first half of 1954. It is estimated that gross expenditure on construction was LL 81 million in 1948, LL 73 million in 1949 and LL 99 million in 1950. 2/ These figures represent some 7 to 10 per cent of the gross national product. Construction represents a large fraction, probably over half, of gross investment in Lebanon and absorbs a large proportion of small savings.

339 The building materials industries have expanded to meet construction needs.
323 Owing to expansion of capacity in 1947, output of cement rose from 148,000 tons in 1945 to 209,000 in 1948, 280,000 in 1952, 314,000 in 1953 and 141,000 in the first half of 1954. In recent years, exports have ranged between 20,000 and 60,000 tons. A new plant is under construction. Other industries, such as tile making and glass, have also expanded; output of glassware in 1952 reached 1,300 tons. Various cement products industries have been developed.

258 Food processing represents the most important group of industries, as regards capital employment and value of output (see table 45). Among the principal branches are sugar refining, where output rose from a negligible amount to 6,000 tons in 1952 and 14,000 in 1953 and where capacity is being expanded; vegetable oils, where output has risen from 900 in 1945 to 5,600 in 1952; biscuits, where output rose from 300 tons in 1945 to 1,200 in 1952; dough products, which increased from 300 tons to 2,400; chocolate, jam and various sweet-meats, with a combined output of 4,700 tons in 1953; beer, whose output declined from its war-time peak to 2 million litres in 1953; wine, araq and other alcoholic drinks, whose output has risen slightly in the post-war years, to 2.2 million litres in 1953; and soft drinks, whose output has increased more than twentyfold, to 9.5 million litres in 1953. 3/ All these industries, except sugar, provide a small export surplus and all are operating well below capacity.

• 288 The textile industries have been facing difficulties. Silk reeling has declined into a minor occupation, but silk weaving has developed, output rising from 26 tons in 1945 to 320 in 1952; this amount represents only one sixth of Lebanon's consumption. Output of woollen cloth has failed to exceed 150 tons,

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1/ Oil and Gas Journal, 7 March 1955.

2/ Albert Y. Badre and Agopig G. Altounian, "National Income of Lebanon", Monograph No. 2: "Income Arising in the Construction Sector" (Beirut, November 1951).

3/ Figures from Le Commerce du Levant, 3 July 1954, special issue on industry.

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in 1945 to 1,100 in 1952; part of this is exported. Output of underwear and hosiary has also increased, from 18 tons in 1945 to 310 in 1952. 1/ 288

Other industries include soap making, with an annual output of 6,000 tons; tanning, with an annual output of 2,000 tons; electric bulbs, of which 500,000 are produced each year; and various iron and steel products, of which 8,000 tons were produced in 1952, compared with 900 in 1945. 288

Among the difficulties facing Lebanese industry, the most important is the very restricted market, due to the smallness of the population; this is only partly offset by the fact that per capita income is higher than in other Middle Eastern countries. The market is further restricted by the marked consumer preference for foreign goods, which, owing to the relatively liberal trade policy of the Government, has been allowed greater latitude than in other parts of the region. Another adverse factor has been the loss of the Syrian market, in which several Lebanese industries, notably cotton yarn, tanning, chemicals and beer, sold a large proportion of their output. Successful attempts have been made to open export markets, for example, for vegetable oils in Cyprus, France and Egypt, for cotton yarn in some western European countries and for cloth in India, Pakistan and West Africa. The precariousness of these markets was shown, however, when, during the depression in the world textile industry in 1952, restrictions were imposed on imports from Lebanon. Similarly, a barter agreement in 1953 with Pakistan, under which Lebanon imported raw cotton and exported yarn, was not renewed. As Lebanese plants seem to be somewhat larger than the regional average, 2/ the shrinkage of the market has forced most of them to work well below capacity, thus raising unit costs. 433

Another obstacle is the scarcity of raw materials; except for food processing industries, Lebanon is heavily dependent on imports. Moreover, in spite of a marked improvement in quality, it is still difficult to obtain sufficient quantities of uniform local produce. The dissolution of the customs union with Syria has also affected the supply of raw materials since there was formerly a greater amount of mutually advantageous specialization; for example, cotton-seed oil was imported from Syria for soap making, while Lebanese olive oil was exported to Syria. This factor has restricted the range of Lebanese industries; in 1950, three groups - food, textiles and non-metallic minerals - accounted for 60 per cent of the labour employed in all industry, 62 per cent of the capital invested and 58 per cent of the value of gross and net output. 3/ Nevertheless, 433 [439]

1/ Figures from the Ministry of National Economy.

2/ The average number of persons employed per establishment in Lebanon in 1948 was 17, compared with 14 in Egypt in 1947, and 14 in Palestine in 1942. Capital investment per establishment was LL 85,000, against LL 57,000 in Egypt and LL 48,000 in Palestine, and gross output per establishment LL 147,000, against LL 65,000 and LL 90,000, respectively (Albert Y. Badre, "National Income of Lebanon", Monograph No. 3). The industrial census of 1950 showed that, of the 1,444 firms listed, 25 had a capital of LL 1,000,000 or over, 29 had LL 500,000 to LL 1,000,000 and 45 LL 250,000 to LL 500,000 while, at the other end of the scale, 381 had a capital of LL 10,000 to LL 25,000 and 249 LL 5,000 to LL 10,000 (Ministry of National Economy, Bulletin statistique trimestriel, October 1951).

3/ Badre, op. cit.

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cooking. There is a cooked bean mash (*mujaddara*), but this is not considered to be very tasty. However, chick peas, mashed, are mixed with *ṭaḥīni* to form a very popular and filling "sauce" called *ḥummuṣ biṭḥīni*. This is served as a substitute for, or in addition to, *laban*.

Foreign foods are very rare. The most important is spaghetti, whose eating requires the use of a fork. Scandinavian canned tuna, also, supplements the local fish supply which is rather meager, although in summer, sea urchins are consumed in large quantities, as well as squids and octopi.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that diet is one of the most conservative and least acculturated aspects of the material culture. Cooking and serving utensils, it is true, have been heavily influenced, but this has been a process of substitution, for purposes of efficiency, rather than of innovation.

CLOTHING

To some degree, the clothing worn by the villagers varies in style according to the age of the wearer. Among males, the elderly are definitely conservative, the middle-aged vary, the young men and boys wear European-style clothes almost without exception. A similar gradation among the females is a little less obvious, probably primarily because the women's traditional costume, unlike the men's, is not particularly distinctive to Western eyes.

Men. The second oldest man in the village is the only one who wears the *ghumbaz*, a long, long-sleeved, tubular gown, of white, striped cotton-backed silk. This costume is frequently seen in the heterogeneous city populations, often on younger men. Weulersse (1946, p. 244) says that it is of Bedu origin.

More typical of the older men is the traditional *shirwal* (tremendously baggy trousers with short, tight legs), open-necked, or collarless shirt, and European jacket. Headgear is the cylindrical *ṭarbuush*, maroon felt with a black tassel. Especially in winter, a cloth or scarf may be wrapped around the *ṭarbuush*. One man in the village wears a tall conical brown felt cap, called *libbaadi*, which is often seen elsewhere.

A few middle-aged men wear the complete traditional costume, but more of them have adopted European (*franji*) clothes. For work, they wear nondescript, but European, trousers, shirt, sweater if needed, socks and shoes. On more or less formal occasions, however, a complete suit, with tie, is worn. This tendency is even more pronounced among the young men. No one ordinarily goes unshod except small boys and girls in summer. Sport shirts—preferably plain white—are worn in summer.

Those working in the fields frequently wear pith helmets and jodhpur-like trousers which bear a superficial resemblance to the *shirwal* which were not observed on any man under about fifty. Quite a number of middle-aged men who have given up the *shirwal*, nevertheless retain the *ṭarbuush* which, however, is not

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291 worn by any man younger than about forty. The European hat with a brim (*kirsayte*) is unusual; only two or three men wear them regularly, although others wear them on occasion. Thus, it can be deduced that a good many men, especially young adults and adolescents, ordinarily go hatless, and this is a rather singular practice in a culture where headgear has practical and symbolic significance. The writer believes that the prevailing hatlessness in the younger generation is an [illegible] selves. He believes that if systematic questioning were undertaken on this topic, it would reveal that the younger generation has more or less consciously rejected the old style—which it associates with peasant life—and at the same time is often hesitant to accept the new which represents foreign influence. The European brimmed hat obviously provides better protection than the *yashmak* against the sun, which is the reason, stated by young and old alike, why one should always wear a hat.

Women. The costume of the older, middle-aged, and many of the village-dwelling younger women consists basically of a rather formless, full-skirted black dress (cotton or wool) supplemented by sweater or jacket. A scarf is very often worn over the head, but it is secured under the back hair rather than under the chin. In winter, woolen stockings are worn. There is no elaborate jewelry. The younger women, especially those who work in the city, follow modern European styles.

However, the Western practice of women or girls wearing slacks or shorts has been completely rejected. For this there are at least two reasons. One is that the men regard the practice as a usurpation of a symbol of masculine status. The second is that women who wear slacks or shorts are assumed to be of loose morals. 547] This is because the wearing of these garments by women in the area is associated with the "artistes" (who are mostly European women) who are entertainers in the numerous Western-style nightclubs in Beirut and are generally assumed to be available for other purposes after hours.

[296] For the most part, those who wear European clothes regularly are careful to appear in well-pressed and clean garments. This means more inconvenience and expense than the maintenance of the traditional costume did. Dodd (1940, p. 686) remarks that the relative tightness of Western clothes is not well adapted to summer weather, and certainly the *shirwal* are better and more comfortably adapted to male anatomy than European trousers are.

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT

405 805 It has already been mentioned that the flashlight is a widely distributed item of personal equipment. Another is the wrist watch. Certainly a majority of the villagers who have attained any degree of responsible age have them. Traditional village life required no accurate chronometry, and there was none. The villagers

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THE PRESENT

George Hoddad has recently summarized in some detail the changes which have occurred in Lebanon (and Syria) in the past half century. His emphasis is on material and institutional changes: "Syria and Lebanon have known a real revolution in transport in the last 30 years with the appearance of automobiles (3 in 1914, about 12,000 in 1945). . . . In less than half a century, the urban centers of Syria and Lebanon have changed from medieval towns to modern cities." (Hoddad, 1950, pp. 140, 146.)

It is unfortunate that Hoddad does not deal at all with the problems, psychological and otherwise, which these revolutionary changes have created. Implicitly, however, he recognizes that change has not directly affected all aspects of life in equal measure: "The traits for which the Syrian Arab and the oriental in general has been known: sense of honor, strict morals, manliness, courage, loyalty, hospitality, reverence of old age, strength of family ties, have not changed much" (*ibid.*, pp. 146–47.) Gibb has phrased the matter somewhat differently: "But in the Near East the changes have not been homogeneous; they have often followed from a violent breach in the continuity of economic and intellectual life and the interference of an external system; they have seldom and only exceptionally embraced even a majority of the population; *and therefore old and new have frequently gone on existing, and still go on existing side by side* [our italics]." (Gibb, 1942a, p. 35.) Let us see how these generalizations can be applied to Mosuil.

MATERIAL CHANGES

As we observed, Westernization in clothes has been very noticeable, though not complete. In this respect, Mosuil appears to be more acculturated than the Egyptian community partially reported upon recently by Lichtenstadter (1952, p. 382), in which the people wear traditional clothes in the village and at all times except when in a wholly acculturative situation such as, for example, working in a modern office. Those Mosuilis who have adopted Western clothes wear them at all times. In the younger people who are city workers, there is even a tendency to look down on those who wear all or part of the traditional costume because of its connotation of peasant status. But their tendency to reject Arab traditional and European headgear, also noted in Palestine by Patai (1947, p. 22), can be taken as a symbol of the culture conflict which they are undergoing. Also very noticeable is the Westernization of household and personal equipment—furniture, cooking utensils, wristwatches, flashlights, and so on.

These types of material acculturation seem to have taken place under the following conditions:

1. The change does not involve excessive expense.
2. The change is closely conducive to greater comfort and convenience.

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shown in the table above are found in other parts of the Middle East but three indigenous sects need mention here: the Druzes, who are a mountain people professing a religion which derived from Islam in the eleventh century A.D., but became independent; the Alawis of the mountains behind Latakia, whose religion appears to be a dogmatic form of Shii Islam with some survivals of Christian ritual; and the Maronites, who are a Christian sect, living mainly in the north of Lebanon.

The religion of the majority of Syrians and of the head of the Syrian state is Sunni Islam; in the Lebanon, Muslims and Christians are fairly evenly divided and the President of the Republic is a Maronite Christian and the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim. The Christians of the Arab Levant have provided the Middle East with great leaders in journalism, letters, politics, and science, but in present-day Syria the Christians are mainly prominent in commerce and industry. There is hardly any dangerous animosity between the sects, but sectarian bonds are a very real force in the lives of people who for so long lived under the Turkish *millet* system whereby each sect was an administrative unit, the head of which exercised considerable authority.

So mixed a population living in a variety of environments naturally does not constitute one physical type, but some generalizations are hazarded for the sake of a fuller picture. Dark hair is almost universal but the skin of the town dweller is no darker than that of a Mediterranean European; the Syrians and Lebanese are not often as tall or as heavy as the average Englishman but they mature at an earlier age. The poorer nomad eats mainly bread, with milk and fruit and vegetables as less frequent additions and meat as an event, but in the towns and villages most people eat a full diet with rather more oil and spice than is used in Britain. The cultivator and the nomad wear local costumes but most townspeople wear European clothes; the tarbush or the head-cloth are usual but not universal headgear for men. Most Muslim women wear the veil, but in the towns the richer women are becoming more and more emancipated and, particularly in Beirut, many lead the same lives as Christian women. In Lebanon and in Damascus and Aleppo the way of life is very like that in southern Europe, and both countries make a pleasant home for a European.

History

Semitic-speaking people have inhabited for four or five millennia the area which is known historically as Syria, and yet for much of this period the rulers of what is now Syria an

Lebanon MEI
44:Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945-1946)1949 Mi Middle East
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Above: Some of the students in the preparatory department of the American University of Beirut, some in native costumes, some in Western clothes. These youths come from various parts of the Arabian peninsula.

Below: Students approaching Rockefeller Hall of the American University of Beirut. This building, erected in 1910, was the gift of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.

Following P. 456(a)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

cooking. There is a cooked bean mash (*mujaddara*), but this is not considered to be very tasty. However, chick peas, mashed, are mixed with *ṭiḥiini* to form a very popular and filling "sauce" called *ḥumuṣ biṭḥiini*. This is served as a substitute for, or in addition to, *laban*.

Foreign foods are very rare. The most important is spaghetti, whose eating requires the use of a fork. Scandinavian canned tuna, also, supplements the local fish supply which is rather meager, although in summer, sea urchins are consumed in large quantities, as well as squids and octopi.

In conclusion, it should be pointed out that diet is one of the most conservative and least acculturated aspects of the material culture. Cooking and serving utensils, it is true, have been heavily influenced, but this has been a process of substitution, for purposes of efficiency, rather than of innovation.

CLOTHING

To some degree, the clothing worn by the villagers varies in style according to the age of the wearer. Among males, the elderly are definitely conservative, the middle-aged vary, the young men and boys wear European-style clothes almost without exception. A similar gradation among the females is a little less obvious, probably primarily because the women's traditional costume, unlike the men's, is not particularly distinctive to Western eyes.

Men. The second oldest man in the village is the only one who wears the *ghumbaaz*, a long, long-sleeved, tubular gown, of white, striped cotton-backed silk. This costume is frequently seen in the heterogeneous city populations, often on younger men. Weulerrse (1946, p. 244) says that it is of Bedu origin.

More typical of the older men is the traditional *shirwal* (tremendously baggy trousers with short, tight legs), open-necked, or collarless shirt, and European jacket. Headgear is the cylindrical *ṭarbuush*, maroon felt with a black tassel. Especially in winter, a cloth or scarf may be wrapped around the *ṭarbuush*. One man in the village wears a tall conical brown felt cap, called *libbaadi*, which is often seen elsewhere.

A few middle-aged men wear the complete traditional costume, but more of them have adopted European (*franji*) clothes. For work, they wear nondescript, but European, trousers, shirt, sweater if needed, socks and shoes. On more or less formal occasions, however, a complete suit, with tie, is worn. This tendency is even more pronounced among the young men. No one ordinarily goes unshod except small boys and girls in summer. Sport shirts—preferably plain white—are worn in summer.

Those working in the fields frequently wear pith helmets and jodhpur-like trousers which bear a superficial resemblance to the *shirwal* which were not observed on any man under about fifty. Quite a number of middle-aged men who have given up the *shirwal*, nevertheless retain the *ṭarbuush* which, however, is not

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

241 worn by any man younger than about forty. The European hat with a brim (*birnayta*) is unusual; only two or three men wear them regularly, although others wear them on occasion. Thus, it can be deduced that a good many men, especially young adults and adolescents, ordinarily go hatless, and this is a rather singular practice in a culture where headgear has practical and symbolic significance. The writer believes that the prevailing hatlessness in the younger generation is an aspect, and rather an apt symbol, of the cultural situation in which they find themselves. He believes that if systematic questioning were undertaken on this topic, it would reveal that the younger generation has more or less consciously rejected the old style—which it associates with peasant life—and at the same time is often hesitant to accept the new which represents foreign influence. The European brimmed hat obviously provides better protection than the *tarbuush* against the sun, which is the reason, stated by young and old alike, why one should always wear a hat.

Women. The costume of the older, middle-aged, and many of the village-dwelling younger women consists basically of a rather formless, full-skirted black dress (cotton or wool) supplemented by sweater or jacket. A scarf is very often worn over the head, but it is secured under the back hair rather than under the chin. In winter, woolen stockings are worn. There is no elaborate jewelry. The younger women, especially those who work in the city, follow modern European styles.

However, the Western practice of women or girls wearing slacks or shorts has been completely rejected. For this there are at least two reasons. One is that the men regard the practice as a usurpation of a symbol of masculine status. The second is that women who wear slacks or shorts are assumed to be of loose morals. 547] This is because the wearing of these garments by women in the area is associated with the "artistes" (who are mostly European women) who are entertainers in the numerous Western-style nightclubs in Beirut and are generally assumed to be available for other purposes after hours.

● [296] For the most part, those who wear European clothes regularly are careful to appear in well-pressed and clean garments. This means more inconvenience and expense than the maintenance of the traditional costume did. Dodd (1940, p. 686) remarks that the relative tightness of Western clothes is not well adapted to summer weather, and certainly the *shirwal* are better and more comfortably adapted to male anatomy than European trousers are.

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT

405 805 It has already been mentioned that the flashlight is a widely distributed item of personal equipment. Another is the wrist watch. Certainly a majority of the villagers who have attained any degree of responsible age have them. Traditional village life required no accurate chronometry, and there was none. The villagers

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

still rise with the sun, although they go to bed after dark. On the whole, there is no specific horological time for meals. However, the village schools operate on a definite time schedule, and this affects quite a large proportion of the resident population—the teachers and their families, the children, and their mothers who prepare their lunches. Of course, those who are, or have been, working in the city, are quite thoroughly conditioned to clock-schedules. A good deal of apparently unnecessary reference to and synchronization of watches was observed in the village. On the whole, however, it can be said that future plans which involve exact hours are made and fulfilled in a casual manner. Perhaps a valid generalization would be that the average individual regards his watch as a symbol of prosperity, an instrument, on occasion, of practical value, and an interesting toy—all in about equal measure.

Combs, toilet soap, safety and straight razors, shaving lotion, etc. (all of European or American manufacture) are universally distributed. Some people have and use toothbrushes. The women do not appear to use cosmetics to any great extent.

A variety of containers have already been described, but several more must be added. The rectangular five-gallon gasoline can, with its top cut out and fitted with a wooden handle, is widely used for carrying water, cement and other bulk materials. Various sizes of coiled baskets, cylindrical with large handles over the top, are used for carrying food. Large, flat wicker trays are used for carrying such things as bread and laundry and for the display of vegetables in the stores. Formerly, silk worm coccoons were set out on them.

Carpenter's and mason's tools—hammers, saws, planes, levels, drills, screwdrivers, chisels, and trowels—appear to be the same in form as they are in the West. Probably most of the items now used are western-made, but most of the forms are very old in the Middle East.

Agricultural tools are conservative and of very ancient form. There are no horses in the village (the Arabs use them for riding rather than for traction), and the ox is the chief draft animal. The plow consists of a wooden shaft (in several segments) to which a round iron spike is set at an agle. The thresher is a heavy sledge into whose bottom sharp volcanic stones (from the Akkar) are set. (See Thoumin, 1936, pp. 134–36, for illustrations.) Grain is winnowed by tossing it up into the air with a rather crude fork made entirely of wood. Small saws and hand-clippers (the only recent foreign element in the toolkit) are used for pruning. The last item is an iron spade, which is, if possible, manipulated by two or three men. One man grasps the handle and shaft in the usual manner, and, in effect, pushes the spade. One or two other men pull the spade by means of cords attached to the shaft just above the shoulders of the blade.

The traditional means of communication were donkeys, horses, and human backs and legs, traveling over rough stone paths. To this, can be added a nonma-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621 369 who worked in the city over where they would send their children to school, back in the village or in the city.

Another young adult was completely explicit in his expression of preference for the material and mechanical conveniences of city life which are not available in the village. The scorn for manual labor on the part of Western-educated Arabs has been noted by other students, and is clearly in evidence. In Beirut, for example, Arabs of the most modest means employ a housemaid if they possibly can. This "effendi-complex" is symbolized by many men by a practice whose resemblance in both form and meaning to a proverbial Chinese one is really quite striking—the nails of the little fingers are allowed to grow conspicuously long. This practice is not followed by everyone, but it is very common.

461 556 302

NATIONALISM AND XENOPHOBIA

186 The rise of nationalism in the Middle East, especially since 1918, is a much written upon topic, full details of which cannot and need not be given here. But we are concerned with the way in which the rise of nationalism has affected the Lebanese village in general, Munṣif in particular. Tannous sums the matter up in the following words:

> Perhaps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. *National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon* [our italics]. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. *Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities* [our italics]. (Tannous, 1949, p. 162.)

The penetration of nationalistic sentiments into villages such as Munṣif would, of course, have been impossible without modern techniques of communication, particularly the press and radio. Rapid surface transportation also has drastically reduced the number and extent of isolated communities. And nationalism itself is a consequence of, and a reaction to, the culture contact situation. (Cf. Schorger, 1952a, p. 31.)

[494]

As has been pointed out, the public school curriculum includes regular exhortations in the interests of patriotism, national pride and unity. Small national flags are frequently seen displayed in such unconventional places as automobiles and buses. The national emblem (a cedar tree with triangular foliage and a thick, short trunk) is often seen, in Munṣif and elsewhere, scrawled on walls. It is by no means true, however, that national loyalty has replaced local loyalties in the manner, for example, of modern Japanese villages (cf. Embree, 1939, p. 302). In terms of the in-group analysis in this chapter, the nation has become, for the individual villager, the fifth in the series of in-groups which engage his feelings of loyalty and identification.

8;Fei and Klat S-4 (1951-52)1954 MEl Lebanon MEl

NON-MONETARY GOLD MOVEMENT

Following the general IMF concept, non-monetary gold movement is here used to mean private gold imports and exports. Government (official) gold transactions and gold transit are treated separately. 457* 651 439

Lebanon allows the free importation of gold, whether bullion or coins; but gold exportation is subject to licensing. In 1951-52 licences were used very restrictively and covered only very small shipments of gold jewelry and ornaments to Saudi Arabia. There was a short-lived exception in the first two quarters of 1951, where the exportation of gold coins was authorized.

A good deal of the imported gold goes into the Government's official reserves, as currency backing, or is locally consumed in the making of jewelry and ornaments. It is estimated that an average of 30 kilograms is so consumed weekly (or about 1 ½ tons a year). The balance goes into private hoards. When possible, it is smuggled out of the country. Sometimes, as in 1951, when sales profits are high because of an expanded foreign demand or of large government purchases, there may even be net private dishoarding. [306]

It has not been possible to determine accurately the quantity or value of private hoards; they are, however, known to be fairly large. As in other countries in the Near and Far East, gold is still in Lebanon the best alternative to land as the most popular medium in which savings are accumulated. Estimates of private hoards vary between 5 and 10 tons, to which should be added a large amount of gold jewelry. Such jewelry often consists of no more than gold coins mounted on, or connected with, a gold chain to a bracelet or neck piece. [454]

A. Gold imports

Gold imports in Lebanon consist of gold bars and coins. Quantum and value records of these imports are kept at the Customs. The value records, however, are extremely unsatisfactory

1: Epstein S-3 (no date) 1946 ME1 Lebanon ME1

to maintain their Lebanese citizenship abroad are Christians, the overwhelming majority of whom are Maronites.

(v) The natural increase among the non-Christian population of the Lebanon, and particularly of the Shi'ah and the Druzes, is more than twice as great as that of the Christian population. These facts can serve as a key to explain various developments, the influence of which may be decisive in shaping the social character and political fate of the Lebanon.

Any person reviewing the demographic problems of the Lebanon cannot but observe a number of factors common to the Christian population of the Lebanon and the Yishuv (the Jewish community) in Palestine. The natural increase of the Christians in the Lebanon is roughly equal to that of the Yishuv in Palestine.*

Against this, however, the Yishuv in Palestine has incomparably more potential reserve in the way of immigration from abroad than that which is available to the Lebanese Christians through the return of emigrants. And just as the chief concern of Zionism in Palestine is the creation of possibilities for the absorption of fresh immigrants from abroad, so the Christians of the Lebanon are faced first and foremost with the problem of preventing emigration from the country, and, in consequence, the creation of opportunities for absorbing emigrants who do return and who can return to their homeland, given suitable absorptive conditions. In addition, attention is devoted to the creation of opportunities for absorbing Christians who require a refuge.

The absence of dynamic economic resources in the Lebanon which could increase and expand the sources of livelihood for a progressive population has led to a steady emigration from the country since the middle of the last century. This process has chiefly affected the Christians whose requirements are more developed and whose living standards are higher than those of their Druze and Moslem neighbours; it has created a serious social and political problem which, taken together with their lower rate of natural increase, places the future of the Lebanese Christians in permanent danger.

Robert Widmer described the economic reasons for a migration from the Lebanon in the following passage:†

> "Lebanon is over-populated. As has been stated, the density of population is about 93 people to a square kilometre. In view of the topography of the country, its rocky mountains and its thin soil, its scarcity of mineral wealth, and its undeveloped industries, the land cannot support all its people. Consequently it is to be expected that some of them have to emigrate, leaving many dependent on their remittances."

As long as emigration was temporary, it was in many ways advantageous. To the general broadening of outlook resulting from contact with more advanced countries were added the material benefits of an increase in the country's capital (brought in by returning emigrants), an out-

* Fourteen pro-mille among the Christians of the Lebanon as against fifteen pro-mille among the Jews of Palestine.

† S. Himadeh, *Economic Organisation of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 14.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

used as fuel in the city. In the village, brushwood is collected for fuel in addition to the importation of kerosene.

Animal manure is not used extensively as plant fertilizer because it is scarce. Recently this meager supply has been supplemented by British-made chemical fertilizers. Night soil is not used at all.

Animal husbandry is very limited. Each farmer has a yoke of oxen for traction and some have a few cows for milk. There are one or two donkeys in the village. Two farmers keep bees. The hives are formed in the large water jars (*jarra*) described earlier. Several of these, each split horizontally across the middle, are set in a row. The bees enter and go out by the narrow open neck. The honey is removed by separating the two halves of the jar, and half the honey is left for the bees. Some fowl are kept in the village, primarily for their eggs. Dogs are kept by some householders, and cats by more, for guarding and mousing, respectively. They are not treated as pets, or objects of affection.

It is the lack of water which so seriously limits agricultural productivity in the village. The possibility of drilling successful wells, even with modern equipment, is, as was noted in the first chapter, very remote. Irrigation lines, which affect the coastal strip lower than forty meters above sea level, have been extended almost to Ba'ishta from the River Ibrahiim to the south, and to the village of Madfuun, just north of Burbara, from the River Jawz. The Qumi has the misfortune of being halfway between these rivers, at the end of the line in both directions. It is also unfortunate in that since its coastline is more precipitous than surrounding areas, it has a smaller area of potentially irrigable land than the surrounding areas. Nevertheless, it would be of great help to the village if irrigation water could be brought to it.

CONCLUSION

This chapter can fittingly be closed with a series of quotations which summarize, high-light, or give wider perspective to some of the points which have been made. They do not require any comment except that of drawing the reader's attention to their dates, especially those of the last three.

> 1. It is probable . . . that it was on the slopes of the originally forest-clad mountains of ancient Phoenicia that rain agriculture began. (Lowdermilk, 1944, p. 415.)
>
> 2. The effort of the Lebanese has made this country capable of nourishing a relatively dense population. There are few mountainous regions so little favored by nature from which man has drawn such a great agricultural return. (Thoumin, 1936, p. 126; translation mine.)
>
> 3. The Syrian peasant is more like a miner than a farmer. (Himadeh, 1936, p. 92.)
>
> 4. Elsewhere man has cultivated the land: in the Lebanon he has made it. Elsewhere the harvest is the produce: here it is the soil. Man collects and carries to

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

241 311 the hollow of the rock the vegetable mould; then hedges round with stones his wells of cunning fertility to conceal and increase them. From below you gaze upwards at barrenness: from above you look down on an arabesque of verdure: the rosy hues of the fresh turned furrows, the soft green of sprouting crops, nestling within the puckerings, grey and brown, of layers of limestone cast up on end, the faces of which are worn like glaciers. This is their arable land in the central range. (Urquhart, 1860, Vol. I, p. 1.)

5. One gets the vivid impression that the farmer of Bishmizzeen has lost heart and has lost faith in farming. He is looking somewhere else for a possible solution of his problem, which is now the problem of his growing children—employment outside the village, engaging in business, or emigration. (Tannous, 1941, p. 662.)

461 554 434 6. Nowadays young men, especially Maronites and other Christians, many of whom are educated, are unwilling to work on the land. They prefer jobs in the towns, and failing that many of them would rather live with their families, unemployed and aimless. So, too, the women of the more sophisticated villages no longer work long hours in the fields. A great part of the income of the Lebanese villages is currently derived from sources other than farming—from earnings in the towns, for example, or emigrants' remittances, or the renting of houses to visitors in the mountain summer resorts. (Lewis, 1953, p. 7.)

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

311

LAND USE

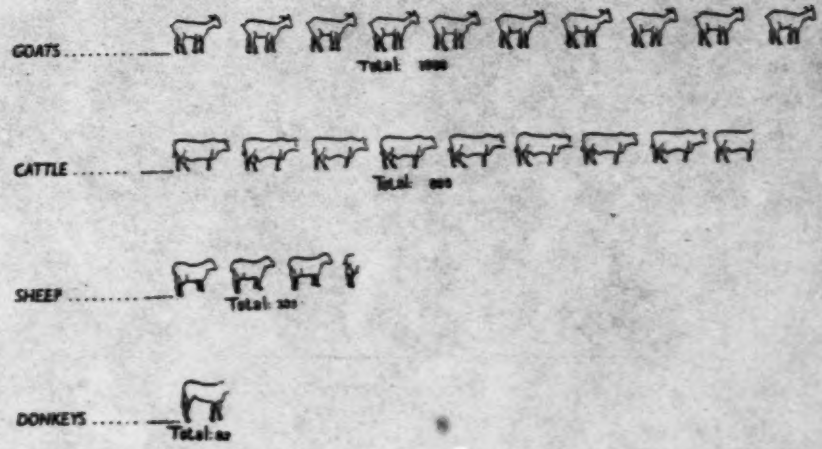
Land use in the eight project and control villages

231

LIVESTOCK

Total number of livestock in five project villages

Each unit 100 head



9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 ME1 Lebanon ME1

241 into the air. A slight breeze is all that is necessary to blow the chaff to the side while the heavier grain falls to the earth. Later the kernels of grain are hand-sieved to remove rocks and other debris. The harvesting of grain entails a tremendous amount of the villagers' time and effort but, since he usually has nothing else to do, this method of harvesting is less costly to him than mechanized methods.

Land Utilization

311 No reliable statistics are available in Lebanon concerning the breakdown of the land area according to the use to which it is put. From published information it is not possible to obtain a breakdown of the area in each village devoted to dry crops and irrigated crops, or as to land devoted to pasture, forests or waste. For this reason it was necessary to depend on the mukhtar and other village leaders for these estimates. It is evident, therefore, that the data contained in Table III on land use distribution is not exact, but only the calculated estimates of reasonably well-informed sources. The discrepancies between the mukhtar's estimates and figures given by the cadastral office could not be checked without a land use survey. As in the case of population figures, each technician will have to proceed with caution in using these figures.

The mukhtars of the five project villages estimated the total area of these villages to be 28,000 metric dunums[1] (6,900 acres). In order to check this figure, the total area of the five villages was obtained from the cadastral office. While these files did not give the land-use breakdown, they showed the total area as 30,630 dunums. There is a discrepancy of 2,630 dunums between the figures supplied by the mukhtars and those obtained from the government. This may be due to a failure on the part of the mukhtars to include waste land in the total village area.

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(1) A metric dunum is equivalent to 1,000 square meters or approximately one quarter of an acre.

TABLE III

Land Use Determination

Kuwait Direct Desalination Project

Name of Defaulter	Land Use Determination Remarks or Measures							
	(1) Gross Land Area	(2) Industrial Land Area	(3) Pasture Land	(4) Forest Land	(5) Waste Land	(6) Gross Area Remarks for Measures	(7) Gross Area Land Covered by	(8) Reduction Land Chargeable To Gross Area (Col. 2 and 6)
PROJECT VILLAGES	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres	Acres
Sandland	7200	130	300	0	0	8000	9440	7
Sabaakiyah	650	450	200	0	0	1000	3870	30
Lendya	1410	40	0	0	50	1340	3230	3
Ein Nasriyah	3400	400	400	0	0	6000	7340	3
Al Ahmen	2000	8000	0	0	0	9000	6730	80
Sub-total of five project villages	17010	9440	1100	0	50	30000	30630	32

CONTROL VILLAGES								
Ein Hajjaj/yah	1400	100	0	150	500	2150	2380	5
El-'Akkawiyah	2500	400	0	1000	2000	5400	4320	7
El-Ghawiyah	10000	600	0	200	600 [1]	12000	9140	5
Sub-total of three control villages	14000	1100	0	1350	3100	19550	15840	6
TOTALS	31850	10140	1100	1350	3150	47550	46470	22

(1) Cattle used are mainly donkeys which consume (over eg. melons, equal 1/3rd of a hectare, and are equivalent to about one quarter of an acre (1.6 ha) in the control.

(2) per cent of this fine in the area which Tayibat is using for its tank farm and tractor hauling facilities.

but adequate for its needs and problems. Relationship with the central government was remote and did not go much beyond the payment of taxes and tithes. Loyalty to the kinship group struck a harmonious balance with loyalty to the village community. The church was one and the same for all.[1] Its authority was recognized and respected. The priest was always a member of the community and was elected by the people. Economic life was a mixture of private ownership of land requiring individual effort on the one hand and co-operation in various agricultural activities on the other. Education was simple, adapted to the needs of the community, and the teacher was a farmer, a member of the group. It was a type of education that emanated from and catered to the needs of community life.

After 1890, new factors, which were to a large extent beyond the expectation and control of the people, began to operate within the community, leading to a marked disruption in its harmonious organization. The most important among these factors or forces were the Protestant missions of the U. S., the silk factory, the educational movement, emigration and the new political-national spirit of the Arab World. The present article will deal with one of these—the emigration movement.

Why Did They Emigrate?

Disturbance of the land-population balance: Since the village began its

[1] The Greek Orthodox Church predominates in Biahmirseen and the whole of the Kura district.

311 existence, some two hundred and fifty years ago, the amount of its landed property has remained practically the same. In fact, there has been some decrease in the land area, due to the sale of some plots to outsiders. The early families, who established the village, got hold of the land and made use of it to the extent demanded by their needs. They were few in number and their needs were very simple.

311 121 163 Consequently, during the first one hundred and fifty years or so, the balance of the land-population relationship was weighted heavily on the land side—a much greater supply than there was demand. This gave the village people (consciously or unconsciously) a strong impetus to increase their numbers. At the same time, it was realized that one more child on the farm was a decided economic asset, and not a liability. The growing child cost less to be brought up than he or she could produce. No taxation, school fees, medical expenses, etc., to speak of, were involved. The people went on multiplying and increasing, and concomitantly, dividing and subdividing the land without being in the least concerned with the point to which the process was leading them.

The village population went on increasing, until about 1890. A balance was then struck—between the capacity of the village land and the number of people. The land could not support any more people, and there was a vague consciousness of a growing problem—what will the rising generation do? Meantime, the village

P. 63(B)

10:Tannous G, S-5 (no date) 1942.
ME1 Lebanon ME1

311 Meantime, the village
167 soil began to show signs of depletion. It could no longer give the same produce as when it was virgin soil; and the old methods of agriculture were not capable of rehabilitating the soil to the desired extent. This further disturbed the land-population balance and made the problem seem more acute. Emigration seemed to be the only solution.

163 The following table (I) of births
165 and deaths for a period of 40 years is a fair indication of the rate at

TABLE I. NUMBER OF BIRTHS AND DEATHS IN THE VILLAGE OF BISHMIZZEEN, NORTH LEBANON, 1870-1909

Period	Births	Deaths	Excess of births over deaths
1870-1874	108	27	81
1875-1879	94	40	54
1880-1884	72	34	38
1885-1889	95	44	51
1890-1894	118	32	86
1895-1899	123	34	89
1900-1904	184	40	144
1905-1909	178	45	133
TOTAL	972	296	676

which the village population was growing. The period covered is 1870-1909. The increase due to immigration may be neglected since only a few families came to settle in the village after 1870. It must be admitted that the writer cannot affirm the perfect accuracy of the table. It was calculated from the village church records and verified, as far as their memories permitted, by some of the village elders. The table shows a very high increase of births over deaths for that period—about 3.3 times.[2]

R 64(A)

[2] This means an average natural increase of about 12 per 1000 population for the period 1870-1909. Compare this rate with the following rates (1908-12): Austria,

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
SYRIA MD1
LEBANON ME1

pensated partly by her transit trade in goods and partly by her gold and currencies market. Syria wanted a controlled economy with import restrictions, protection of Syrian industries, and independence from French financial policy, but Lebanon's interest was to encourage all trade movements and to rely on franc support: moreover, the two countries could not agree on the division of customs dues. After years of arguments and negotiations the economic partnership was finally terminated on 14 March 1950 and customs posts were established along the common frontier. Since then agreements have been drawn up despite Syrian reluctance, but little has been achieved towards the re-establishment of economic union. It is therefore necessary to consider the economies of the two countries separately.

(a) Syria

Agriculture

Over half but less than three-quarters of the cultivable area of Syria is, in fact, under cultivation. Since 1946 there has been a great increase in the number of pumps and tractors in use (there were 300 tractors in 1948 and 1,342 in 1951) but, as the following table shows, the cultivated area can still be extended.

ESTIMATES OF THE USE OF LAND, 1950

	Syria		Lebanon	
	(sq. miles)	*Percentage of Total*	*(sq. miles)*	*Percentage of Total*
Cultivable				
Cultivated under rainfall	8,400	12	803	20
Cultivated with irrigation	1,400	2	115	3
Potentially cultivable	14,000	20	700	17
Uncultivable				
Forests	1,600	2	285	7
Pasture	21,000	30	27	1
Desert, mountain and marsh	23,600	34	2,085	52
Total Area:	70,000	100	4,015	100

(Sources: FAO, *Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics, 1952*; UN, Dept. of Economic Affairs, *Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East, 1951–2.*)

Some progress in mechanized farming has been made in recent years, but much of the land is tilled as it was 2,000 years ago. The predominant form of land tenure is share-cropping by tenants on estates of large and medium size. Small holdings under 25 acres prevail in areas of intensive cultivation, and at present are estimated to constitute only 15 per cent of the total

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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interest per annum. The Syrian private capitalist expects very large returns and the foreign private capitalist requires more security than is obtainable in the Middle East; thus the development of Syria must be financed either by the Syrian Government or by an international agency. Syria is one of the few countries to have refused American Point Four aid on principle, but she is a member of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and this organization has been studying some of the development schemes listed below.

1. *Drainage of the Ghab marshes.* Nearly 100,000 acres of land can be irrigated from the excess water of this area to improve agriculture and public health, and plans are well advanced.

2. *Euphrates barrage,* to provide 100,000 kws. of hydro-electric energy for irrigation and industrial needs. With this power it is hoped to irrigate half a million acres.

3. *Yarmuk and Barada rivers.* Hydro-electric schemes to give power to Damascus and the Hauran.[1]

4. *Latakia port.*[2] There have been complications over the award of the tender for this work, and construction had not effectively begun at the beginning of 1953.

5. *Khabur river.* Irrigation scheme for 22,000 acres.

6. Improvement of rail and road communications from Latakia to the hinterland and establishment of a network of all-weather roads in the Jezira.

7. *Rouj marshes.* Drainage to irrigate about 8,700 acres has already commenced.

If agreement can be reached to implement some of these schemes not only will Syria benefit but also the Arab refugees from Palestine may find employment and even homes.

(*b*) Lebanon

Much that has been said about Syria also applies to Lebanon and, to avoid repetition, only points peculiar to Lebanon are here outlined.

Agriculture

The table on p. 488 above gives the approximate division of the land in cultivable and uncultivable areas and the estimated acreage; the crop and yield of the main agricultural products are given in the following table.

[1] An agreement with Jordan was signed on 7 July 1953, but work has not yet begun.

[2] See above, p. 487.

25: Warriner S-5 (no date) 1948 MI Middle East
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Chapter VI

SYRIA AND LEBANON

LAND AND POPULATION

AT first sight, the main crop of Syria appears to be thistles, and so it is in fact: about half the land is under fallow every year, and the cultivated land is cropped only one year in two or even three. There are some districts with intensive cultivation, for instance, the oasis of Damascus, with its brilliant green crops irrigated by 'Abana and Pharphar'; but most of Syria is cultivated very extensively indeed.

In Syria and Lebanon together the area cultivated before the late war was some 5·8 million acres, but of this total only 3,900,000 acres were cropped each year, the remainder being fallow. The greater part of the cropped area was under cereals, about two-thirds being under wheat and one-third under barley.

In Lebanon, the whole of the cultivated area is cropped, and there is no uncultivated land which could be brought into cultivation. In Syria however there are large areas of cultivable land which are not at present cultivated, the total cultivable area being some 12½ million acres, of which only about one-third is under cultivation. Unfortunately this figure is only a rough estimate, and it is not clear how much of the area is cultivable under present conditions, or how much of it is marginal desert grazing. Some of it is undoubtedly cultivable under present conditions, and there is certainly no shortage of land in Syria.

SYRIA: AGRICULTURAL LAND, 1943[1]

Province	*Cultivable*	*Cultivated (including fallow)*
	Acres	*Acres*
Jezira	2,471,000	543,600
Euphrates	3,212,000	321,200
Aleppo	3,706,000	1,260,000
Homs	420,000	345,900
Hama	1,909,000	1,210,000
Damascus	1,062,000	345,900
Hauran	518,600	518,900
TOTAL	12,698,600	4,545,500

[1] Omitting the provinces of Latakia and Jebel ed Druz for which no figures are available; their cultivated area may be estimated at about half a million acres.

25: Warriner S-5 (no date) 1948 MI Middle East
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SYRIA AND LEBANON

During the recent war there was an expansion of cultivation in Syria as a result of high prices and mechanization. The previous table shows the cultivable and cultivated land in different provinces and the distribution of these areas in 1943.

Little is known about the rate of population growth, but it is believed to be rapid. According to the most recent estimates the total in 1944 was 3,987,012, of which the population of Syria was 2,860,411 and of the Lebanon 1,126,600. The population of Syria was divided as follows:

SYRIA: POPULATION AT END OF 1943

Province	*Total*
Latakia	452,507
Aleppo	870,139
Hama	157,458
Homs	212,424
Hauran	112,842
Damascus	603,889
Euphrates	225,023
Jezira	146,001
Jebel ed Druz	80,128
TOTAL	2,860,411

(This estimate excludes the Beduin, whose number is estimated at 400,000.)

About three-quarters of this total, or about 2·1 million, are rural. The amount of cultivated land per head is 2½ acres, but because cultivation is so extensive the area actually cropped is only some 1½ acres.

Lebanon, by contrast with the dry plains of Syria, is intensively cultivated because of the high rainfall on the coast line; yields per acre are higher, and crops are more diversified, including citrus, olives, bananas; small irrigation schemes have been developed along the coast on the streams from the Mountain. The Lebanon depends for part of its grain supply on Syria, and all the cultivated land is cropped. The cultivated area in 1943 amounted to 1·3 million acres. The total population in 1944 was estimated to be 1,126,600; of this probably about 750,000 are rural, and the amount of cultivated land is about 1½ acres per head.

Grain production in Syria and Lebanon together before 1939 averaged 800,000 tons and rose to about 1 million tons during the recent war.

25: Warriner S-5 no date 1948 MI Middle East
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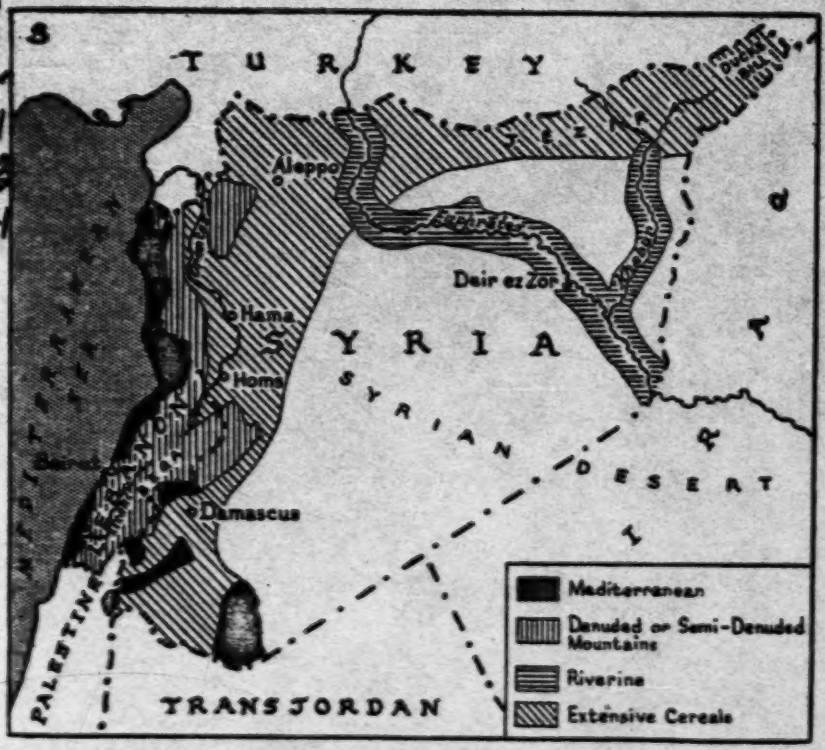

SYRIA AND LEBANON: AGRICULTURAL AREAS

GRAIN PRODUCTION IN SYRIA AND LEBANON, 1934–43

	Tons	Cwts per acre
Wheat		
1934	443,000	6·3
1935	504,000	7·5
1936	427,000	6·3
1937	468,800	6·6
1938	644,300	9·0
1943	624,280	7·3
Barley		
1934	292,100	7·8
1935	347,100	9·5
1936	308,100	8·2
1937	266,300	6·5
1938	383,400	9·0
1943	330,485	8·2

With a total rural population of about 2·8 million in 1943–4, the production of grain per head amounts to only 3·4 quintals or 6·4 hundredweights. Thus the problem for Syria is to in-

25: Warriner S-5 (no date) 1948 MI Middle East
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crease the productivity per acre and also to expand the cultivated area per head.

In the Lebanon, however, with its steep hillsides under intensive cultivation, there is a definite pressure on land resources. The limits of intensification appear to have been reached, and a large part of the village population supplements its income by work in the towns, and by remittances from abroad. If the land tenure system in Syria were less oppressive, room might be found on the land for settlers from the Lebanon, but as things are, the standard of living and status of the Lebanese peasant is higher; compared with the Syrian peasant he is a free man, and there is no inducement to leave the Mountain for the underpopulated plains of central or northern Syria.

LAND TENURE

Corresponding to these different methods of farming, there are different systems of land tenure.[1] In Lebanon individual small ownership is well established, and the pattern of village life, with its broad class of small peasant owners, few large farmers, and a growing class of landless labourers, resembles that of Europe.

In Syria, the greater part of the land is owned by city notables—the ruling class—and cultivated by small share-tenants. Though individual ownership exists in some districts, for instance the Beqa Valley and the oasis of Damascus, the most usual form of landownership in the plain districts of Syria is share-tenancy. The villagers bring their corn to the village threshing floor, and when the grain is threshed the landlord or his agent stands by and takes one-half of the grain. Towards this result he has contributed nothing; all labour, equipment, seeds, livestock, have been supplied by the tenant, so that his share is rent purely for the use of the land. The landlord is almost always an absentee, a city notable who only visits the land to collect rent.

The share taken by the landlord varies from district to district, and also varies with the condition of the land. According to an inquiry made by the French authorities, the usual division of the crop for non-irrigated cereals is 40–50 per cent to the

[1] The information which follows is mainly based on A. Latron, *La Vie rurale en Syrie et au Liban* (Beirut, L'Institut Français de Damas, 1936). The brilliant and profound study by Jacques Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, is an indispensable authority which unfortunately was received only after going to press.

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East
Lebanon MEI

CHAPTER V

COTTON IN LEBANON

000 Lebanon is the smallest, the most cosmopolitan, and one of the most progressive countries in the Middle East. Beirut, the capital, is a modern, pleasant summer resort, whose shops are known over the world. Probably this contact with the world through Beirut explains the strong Western influence in the country.

But Beirut is not Lebanon, and tourism and commerce still are minor aspects of the economy, which still is primarily agricultural. The country as a whole has not modernized as much as the cities. The farmers are much more provincial.

BACKGROUND

133 The country has limited resources. The total area is less than 4,000 square miles, a third the size of Maryland, and most of it is mountainous. 311 The crop land is limited to the narrow coastal plain which averages only four miles in width, and to the numerous fairly small valleys in the mountains.

161 Lebanon always has had a great many more people than its agriculture can sustain. In the past this pressure was relieved by emigration, but restrictions of the past 25 years, at home and abroad, have checked the exodus and intensified the problem. The population is now about 1.2 million.

642 Progress has been encouraged by the government which is admittedly one of the most stable in the Middle East, despite its lack of experience. Lebanon became an independent Republic only in 1943, after the French mandate was ended. It has been remarkably independent and practical and has not allowed itself to become embroiled in nationalistic issues as many of the other Arab states have.

INDUSTRY

433 With few exceptions, industries are small and devoted chiefly to the production of light consumer goods such as matches, rubber goods, soap, furniture, cigarettes, beer, macaroni, biscuits, and olive oil. The two chief basic industries are the Iraq Petroleum Company's Tripoli topping plant and the Chekka cement factory. Other basic manufacturing plants include cotton textiles, glass, and sole leather.

AGRICULTURE

241 Roughly a third of the tilled land is devoted to cereals and the balance to a wide variety of crops—fruit trees, vineyards, vegetables, and a number of industrial crops including cotton. Approximately 15 per cent of this area is left fallow each year.

The western plains receive 20 to 35 inches of rainfall a year, and that only during the winter months. Because of the dry summers, a few of the crops

165 evade punishment by concealing the death
369 of unregistered infants detract from the
validity of the meager data available. Local
165 pediatricians believe that the mortality rate
in children up to 2 years of age averages
from 25 to 30 per cent for the country as
a whole. It ranges from 10 to 15 per cent,
or more, in Beirut proper to from 30 to 45
per cent in Tripoli, Sidon and the towns of
165 the interior. In the more remote villages of
511 South Lebanon, the standards of living are
uniformly low, and the mortality in chil-
dren under 2 years of age probably reaches
50 to 70 per cent. Intestinal diseases are
foremost among the causes of death in in-
fancy and early childhood.

Social Economy

241 The economy of Lebanon is based upon
484 agriculture, but the country is in a more
167 favorable position than the neighboring
Arab states, in that the national income is
augmented by an increasing tourist traffic
and by remittances to their families from
241 emigrants living abroad. Although the
311 coastal plain and the Bekaa valley support
a variety of crops, a large part of the terri-
tory is mountainous and unsuitable for cul-
tivation. The coastal region is cultivated
intensively, with a series of narrow terraces
extending along the seaward slopes of the
Lebanon range up to an elevation of about
3,000 feet. Little more than 20 per cent of
the total land area is now under production,
while less than one fifth of that is irrigated.
Considerable disparity exists between re-
cent estimates of the amount of arable land,
but all agree that it can be increased ma-
terially by a greater utilization of the avail-
able water resources and by improved
653 methods of cultivation. Programs have al-
ready been initiated for the further devel-
opment of irrigation facilities, notably in
the southern Bekaa, and in the 'Akkar
plain, a triangular sector between the coast
421 and the northern frontier with Syria. The
tradition of private ownership is strong in
the mountainous districts of the north, and
most of the land is cultivated by independ-
ENT FARMERS.

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000 brought some capital with them and started new enterprises. Another important
315 factor was the impact on Lebanon of the development of Middle Eastern petroleum
382 resources, an impact which exceeded that exerted on any other non-producing
434 country in the region. Three pipelines have their termini in Lebanon: two Kirkuk-Tripoli lines, completed in 1934 and 1949, and the line connecting the Arabian oilfields with Sidon, completed in 1950. A refinery was built in
457 Tripoli and another near Sidon. Lebanon has also benefited from the location
439 of offices of oil companies in Beirut. In addition, it has received many
651 tourists, as well as some capital, from the oil producing countries and has
434 supplied exports to these countries: for example, fresh fruit and vegetables sent by air or truck or, more recently, by refrigerated ships. Finally, royalties paid to the Government by the oil companies for pipeline use have increased in recent years.

434 The development of transit trade has also contributed to the national
653 income. The increase in such trade was made possible by enlargement and improvement of the port of Beirut shortly before the Second World War, development of inland communications, provision of refrigerated storage and other storage facilties and extension of the free zone in the harbour from 8,000 square metres in 1939 to 75,000 in 1952 and 106,000 in 1953. Although the development of Latakia has diverted some of Syria's trade, Beirut still handles a substantial proportion of that trade as well as a large fraction of that of Jordan, which previously passed through Haifa. The opening of a new airport in Beirut, in 1950, has also stimulated transit of goods and passengers.

457 In recent years, Beirut has been the centre of a large and widespread gold trade. The relaxation and subsequent disappearance of exchange controls has also greatly increased the importance of Lebanon as an international financial centre. Tourism has increased in scope and continues to play a significant part in the country's economy.

Agriculture

241 Despite large-scale emigration to the cities and abroad, nearly half the
162 Lebanese population still earn a livelihood in agriculture. Since agriculture
312 accounts for less than one fifth of the national income (see table 43), per capita
311 income in agriculture is well below the average in other sectors. The possibilities for raising agricultural income by extending cultivation are, however, very limited. According to the latest estimates, of the total area of 1,038,000 hectares, 575,000 hectares consist of rocky, waste or built-up areas; 74,000 consist of forests; 115,000 are judged to be cultivable, though at present uncultivated; and 273,000 are undercultivation. Of the cultivated area, 48,000 hectares are irrigated and 225,00 are rainfed, but irrigation projects under way or due to be undertaken in the near future will bring 34,000 hectares of rainfed land under irrigation. 1/ The reclamation of the 115,000 hectares judged to be cultivable would involve heavy capital outlay, since most of this land is mountainous. Hence, in recent years, efforts have been mainly concentrated on intensifying agriculture.

1/ Figures from an unpublished paper prepared in the Ministry of Agriculture in 1950. Cultivated land per capita of agricultural population is thus only about 0.4 hectare, of which less than a fifth is irrigated.

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This has been achieved by increasing production of fruit and vegetables, for both of which Lebanon has great natural advantages. The topography of the country and the unequal distribution of rainfall provide a diversity of climate which makes it possible to grow tropical fruits, sub-tropical fruits and fruits of the temperate zone. Soils are also sufficiently varied to suit a wide range of crops. Water is usually available in sufficient quantity, either as rainfall or from small-scale irrigation schemes. Plant diseases and pests are less prevalent than in most parts of the Middle East. The density of the rural population has made it profitable to concentrate on labour-intensive crops, while the relatively high level of education in country areas has encouraged innovation. The broken nature of the land has prevented large-scale mechanization, except in the plains, and has favoured crops which require little land, as has the prevalence of small-scale ownership. 1/ Finally, Lebanon's location has given it access to several important markets, such as Egypt for deciduous fruits, Syria and the Persian Gulf area for most fruits and vegetables, Palestine (until 1948) for vegetables, and Europe for early ripening varieties of citrus fruit and apples.

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The expansion of fruit and vegetable crops was made possible by heavy capital investment. New terraces were built on mountain slopes, and old ones were repaired and strengthened. Various small-scale works carried out since 1942 have substantially increased the irrigated area. The use of selected seeds has considerably increased, as has that of chemical fertilizers. Before the Second World War, some 5,000 tons of chemical fertilizers were imported into Lebanon and Syria yearly. In 1947, Lebanon alone used 8,500 tons 2/ and 1951-53 imports into Lebanon averaged 23,000 tons. Lastly, there has been a rapid expansion of refrigerated storage space facilities. 3/ The greater part of the necessary capital came from outside agriculture, especially from commercial profits and incomes earned in services; the irrigation works were financed through the budge

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The rise in output of fruit and vegetables may be illustrated by citrus fruit, which increased from 70,000 tons in 1944 to 100,000 tons in 1954 and

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1/ No general figures on land distribution are available but on the basis of information gathered in the course of a village survey jointly undertaken in 1953 by the Lebanese Office of Statistics and the United States Foreign Operation Administration, the following estimate may be made: some 10 per cent of the land is in holdings of 100 hectares and above and 15 to 20 per cent in holdings of 10 to 100 hectares; the total number of large and medium holders is 6,000. The remaining 70 to 75 per cent belongs to 150,000 smallholders, most of whom own less than two hectares. There are few landless labourers, and most of these rent land from the larger owners ("Proceedings of the Agricultural Credit Conference", Beirut, 12-14 October 1953).

2/ Sir Alexander Gibb and partners, The Economic Development of Lebanon (London, 1948), page 45. A breakdown shows that 42 per cent consisted of nitrogenous fertilizers, 35 per cent of superphosphates and 19 per cent of potash. Some 37 per cent of the total was applied to potatoes, 29 per cent to other vegetables and 35 per cent to fruit.

3/ The present capacity of refrigerators is estimated at over one million crates, or about 20,000 tons, Le Commerce du Levant, 1 October 1954. Capital invested in refrigeration totalled £L 6 million in 1952, and has considerably increased since then.

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652 The Akkar irrigation scheme in northern Lebanon, which at present irrigates 2,800 hectares, is scheduled to cover a total of 10,000 hectares, of which 7,500 are to receive perennial irrigation and 2,500 spring irrigation. Total costs, including the completed portion, were estimated at LL 6 million; it is expected that work on the project will be finished by 1958.

Lake Yammouneh, in north central Lebanon, at present provides 2,500 hectares with spring irrigation and 800 hectares with summer irrigation; these figures are to be raised to 10,000 and 1,000 hectares, respectively. The cost involved is LL 3 million, in addition to LL 1.5 million already spent. No date has been set for completion. Irrigation from the Orontes River, in northern Lebanon, which is at present received by 1,000 hectares, could be extended to an additional 4,000; no detailed plans have as yet been worked out.

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377 Both Lake Yammouneh and the Orontes River form part of a seventy-five-year concession granted to a private company for the generation of electricity. Turbines with a capacity of 6,000 kilowatts will be erected on Lake Yammouneh and a further 3,000 kilowatts may be added later; generators with a capacity of 5,000 kilowatts, providing an estimated 65 million kilowatt-hours per annum, will be set up on the Orontes. The total cost, including transmission lines, is estimated at LL 12 million; a further unspecified sum may be spent on lining the bed of Lake Yammouneh, to prevent seepage. The capital of the concessionary company is LL 20 million; of this 60 per cent has been subscribed by Lebanese residents and emigrants and it is hoped to raise the balance from Kuwait and other foreign countries.

The Nahr Ibrahim hydroelectric works have a firm capacity of 1,500 kilowatts and a maximum capacity of 4,200; built by a concessionary company, they began operating in 1950, and in 1953 supplied 20 million kilowatt-hours of electricity. In 1954, the company was authorized to increase its capital from LL 1 million to LL 11.75 million. The Government has also proposed to guarantee a LL 4 million loan to be advanced to the company by the Banque de Syrie et du Liban. A second power plant, with a maximum capacity of 12,000 kilowatts and an estimated annual output of 65 million kilowatt-hours, is to be built, at a cost of LL 10 million, including a dam and other installations; it is hoped to complete the project in 1957, after which a third plant, with a capacity of 12,000 kilowatts is contemplated. A thermal station at Zouk, with a capacity of 15,000 kilowatts, is scheduled for completion by the end of 1955; its capacity will be doubled shortly after. 1/

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312 The Litani River project, which provides for both irrigation and power, is the most important scheme under study in Lebanon. It aims at irrigating, at a total cost of LL 32 million, 18,600 hectares 2/ of which 10,400 are in the Bekaa plain and 5,900 in the coastal plain, the rest being along the intermediate stretch of river. At the same time, power will be provided by

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1/ Le Commerce du Levant, 10 October 1954.

2/ This figure is exclusive of the 4,500 hectares in the Kneisieh scheme, which will also be irrigated by the Litani River. In addition, the Litani scheme will provide seasonal irrigation for 2,900 hectares.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

132 (Fisher, 1950, p. 50). From May through October, there is no precipitation at all, except at the beginning and the end of the period.

Along the coast, up to about 1500 feet at least, freezing temperatures in winter are of very rare occurrence, but snow covers the higher slopes continuously during the winter. Patches of it on the summits even defy the broiling sun of August.

At Beirut the average summer temperature is 82°F., and it is frequently oppressively humid (Fisher, 1950, p. 42). In al-Qurnī, as in Beirut, there is no snow in winter, but the district is somewhat cooler and less humid than the city in summer.

133 312 Lebanon, as a whole, is obviously a well-watered country, but its geological structure has led to an over-abundance of water in some districts and a dearth of it in others. Mt. Lebanon consists, essentially, of two thick layers of Jurassic and Cretaceous limestone, interspersed with a layer of sands and clays. Rain water and snow-melt either run off directly or sink through permeable upper strata to emerge as springs at lower levels, especially at between 3000 and 5000 feet, where their downward seepage is blocked by impermeable strata below (Fisher, 1950, p. 374). The abundance of spring water in high mountain fastnesses is the primary reason for Lebanon's having been so popular as a refuge area for sect groups escaping from persecution.

The drainage system of the country is clearly seen on the map of Lebanon (Fig. 1). The eastern slopes are drained by the large rivers, Litani and Orontes. The western slopes are drained by a series of small rivers whose courses drop from 5000 to 4000 feet to sea level in distances rarely exceeding fifteen miles. The erosion pattern is what one might expect. The small rivers have cut very steep, high banks, nothing less than deep gorges in many cases. Culturally, this is important for at least three reasons: The gorges have made north-south travel very difficult. It has been impossible to use river water for extensive irrigation except, in very recent years, near the mouths of the rivers. The spectacular scenery has added inspiration to the love of the Lebanese for their country, and it attracts many foreign tourists every summer. Water erosion has also created innumerable caves (used both by Stone Age man and latter-day troglodites), a large natural bridge, and at least one horrendous underground river (reputed to be the original River Styx) which has not yet been fully explored.

Although the lower slopes are not, as a whole, entirely devoid of springs, and although what bottomland there is is fully exploited, there are districts which have no springs, no local streams, and no alluvial soil. One such district is al-Qurnī. This district is located about halfway between the large urban centers of Beirut and Tripoli, and the main highway and only railroad between these cities pass through it. This route has been used ever since the advent of man in the area, but the present paved highway dates from about 1930, while the railroad was built by the British army in 1942. Also of very recent date are the automobile roads within the district. The road from Be'shīrra to Ghazzeeya is paved, and has been

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

in existence about fifteen years. The road from Shaykhan through Munqif to Ḥilwi has been built since 1945, and the segment between the shrine of Mar Jurjis and Ḥilwi is not yet paved. The road which connects Lower and Upper Burbara is usable but definitely still under construction. The villagers are very conscious of the fact that their road system is a new phenomenon and that it is as yet incomplete. The automobile roads more or less follow the line of old paths many of which are still used. Although the paving of these is generally too rough for any sort of wheeled vehicle, it is essential for any kind of travel in the muddy rainy season.

It would be a great mistake to deduce from the map (Fig. 2) that the plan of these villages (or of any Lebanese villages) is derived from the roads which pass through them. Middle Eastern villages in general are house-clusters, sometimes approaching the southwestern pueblo in degree of compactness. One finds one's way from house to house by a maze of twisting paths, which become alleyways in the larger towns. The only suggestion of physical planning is the frequent occurrence of an open space, *sāḥa*, where the small shops and the church or mosque tend to be concentrated (Tannous, 1944, p. 528). In the minds of their respective inhabitants, the plan of the Lebanese village is very different from its counterpart in North America, in which the village green, the courthouse square, or Main Street are definitely centers. The new roads in al-Qurni are recent impositions on the traditional culture. The one which longitudinally bisects Munqif follows, in part, an old path, but a number of old buildings had to be torn down to make room for it.

We have already seen that al-Qurni has no ground water resources. All the water which is used in the district is winter rain water which is collected, Bermuda style, from the roofs of the houses and stored in large, semi-subterranean cisterns of which there are a great number. The physical poverty of the district (cf. Thoumin, 1936, p. 129) is due to its geological structure which Fisher has described:

> Your village lies in a limestone area (middle Cretaceous) underlain by a thin bed of impermeable Cretaceous sands, clays and lignite, with Jurassic limestone lower still. A fault at Tartij [East of al-Qurni] has exposed a small amount of the impermeable layer, so that there is a *chance* that very deep wells sunk at el Munqif might reach this horizon. On the whole, though, I am not very sanguine, as I have found around Jounieh and Maameltein [South of Jbayl] the fact that intensive cultivation stops when these particular outcrops are reached. Also, there is a break (at Tartij) with the main anticline of the mountains, so large springs are ruled out. The sudden change from a point N. of Jounieh from intensive garden cultivation to a sterile garrigue corresponds with the beginning of the limestone-marl outcrops. (W. B. Fisher, Personal Communication, Nov. 13, 1952.)

Before proceeding to a discussion of the flora and fauna of the district, it should be mentioned that at Ḥilwi there *are* two springs. Both, however, are small, and

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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FIG. 2. AL-QUSAYR

312 only one yields potable water—hence the name of the hamlet, which means "sweet."

137 The sparse natural flora of al-Qusayr is an excellent example of garrigue which is widely distributed around the Mediterranean in districts which feature thin soils and calcareous outcrops. Comparing garrigue to the relatively more lush vegetation typical of the French Provence, Fisher says:

new construction. This is not the case—at least, it is not to an observable degree. All the stone used in new building in the village are freshly quarried. Perhaps the reason for this is that nearly all the ruins have occupational owners, nearly all of whom are emigrants or their descendants. Even the villagers now admit that "they will never come back," but their property rights are still maintained, either because the elder emigrants hesitate to relinquish their claims or because their American-born children are uninterested, both of which prevent local disposition of the property. However, most of the new stained houses were of the old style, whose roofs would naturally go to pieces if not tended. Consequently, the roofs were removed so that the very valuable timbers in them could be used for other purposes. This hastened the partial collapse of many of the buildings' walls.

HOUSEHOLD ARRANGEMENT AND FURNISHINGS

Nearly every house has its own cistern (*bir*), either within the building or just outside it. The water is entirely winter rain water drawn from the roof of the house and conducted to the cistern, nowadays, by sheet-iron pipes. This is much more efficient than the older method of letting the water flow down a shallow vertical trough on the outside of the wall of the building. The cisterns have circular openings raised off the ground or floor on a stone or concrete curbing. The opening is fitted, more or less tightly, with a wooden cover.

It is one of the women's jobs to draw water from the cistern by means of a sheet-iron, European-made, bucket attached to a chain or rope. The water needed for the day is stored in large, two-handled, pointed-bottom jars (*jarra*), of porous earthenware, which stand in wooden frames in the kitchen corner, or the kitchen [illegible] the spouted pottery or glass drinking jars (*ibriq*), and to the two to three gallon, semi-cylindrical metal tanks in which washing water is stored. These hang against an outside wall or in the wash room if there is one. The tanks are called *kanafiyat*, a term primarily applied to the small brass spigots with which they are fitted. The term is derived from the Hanafi school of Moslem jurisprudence which decided that the use of spigots was not a violation of the provisions of the Koran. Near the *kanafiyat* one usually finds a dish for soap and a towel-rack. A few houses are equipped with hand-pumps, a raised tank, and a limited system of pipes and spigots. This, however, is unusual.

The interior arrangement of the one-room house is essentially the same in every one, although of course there are many minor variations. The following description is composite. On entering the front door, one will observe that the room is divided into two sections, front and back. The division is effected by tall cabinets, with doors and drawers, placed across the room. These are used for keeping clothes, dishes, and so on. This means of division may be supplemented by a curtain. In the front section, a long wooden seat, really a bench with a back and

used as fuel in the city. In the village, hardwood is collected for fuel in addition to the importation of kerosene.

Animal manure is not used extensively as plant fertilizer because it is scarce. Recently this meager supply has been supplemented by British-made chemical fertilizers. Night soil is not used at all.

Animal husbandry is very limited. Each farmer has a yoke of oxen for traction and some have a few cows for milk. There are one or two donkeys in the village. Two farmers keep bees. The hives are formed in the large water jars (jarre) described earlier. Several of these, each split horizontally across the middle, are set in a row. The bees enter and go out by the narrow open ends. The honey is removed by separating the two halves of the jar, and half the honey is left for the bees. Some fowl are kept in the village, primarily for their eggs. Dogs are kept by some householders, and cats by many, for guarding and mousing, respectively. They are not treated as pets, or objects of affection.

It is the lack of water which so seriously limits agricultural productivity in the village. The possibility of drilling successful wells, even with modern equipment, is, as was noted in the last chapter, very remote. Irrigation lines, which affect the coastal strip lower than forty metres above sea level, have been extended almost to Sa'idon from the River Zeedoniye to the south, and to the village of Madfoun, just north of Sa'idon, from the River Jeun. The Qasmi has the misfortune of being halfway between these rivers, at the end of the line in both directions. It is also unfortunate in that since its coastline is more precipitous than surrounding areas, it has a smaller area of potentially irrigable land than the surrounding areas. Nevertheless, it would be of great help to the village if irrigation water could be

CONCLUSION

This chapter can fittingly be closed with a series of questions which summarize, highlight, or give wider perspective to some of the points which have been made. They do not require any comment except that of drawing the reader's attention to their dates, especially those of the last three.

1. It is probable . . . that it was on the slopes of the originally forest-clad mountains of ancient Phoenicia that corn agriculture began. (Lowdermilk, 1944, p. 415.)

2. The effort of the Lebanese has made this country capable of sustaining a relatively dense population. There are few mountainous regions so little favored by nature from which man has drawn such a great agricultural return. (Thomson, 1950, p. 130, translation mine.)

3. The Syrian peasant is more like a miner than a farmer. (Himadeh, 1936, p. 93.)

4. Elsewhere man has cultivated the land; in the Lebanon he has made it. Elsewhere the harvest is the product; here it is the soil. Men cultivate and create an

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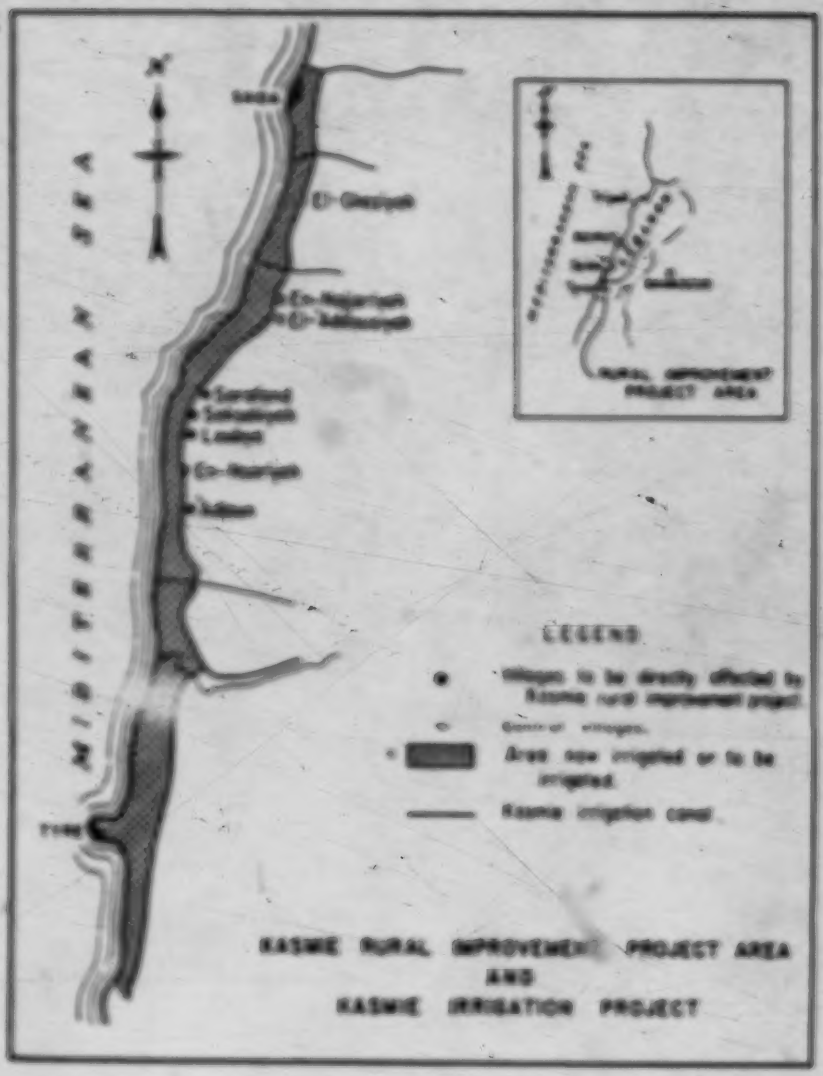

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

VILLAGE SURVEY

KASMIE RURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT

LEBANON

BY

William W. Garnett,
Miles Prescott,
Gabriel Najjar[1]

The five villages to be affected by the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project are located along the northern branch of the Kasmie Irrigation Canal. The area comprising these khurajs[2] includes but largely lies above the Kasmie Irrigation Project which, when completed, will service the rich coastal plain extending from Saida in the north to Ras-El-Ain three miles south of Tyre. The Kasmie Irrigation Project was begun under the French Mandate, continued during the British occupation, and partially completed under the Lebanese Republic. Due to a lack of funds, work on the project was discontinued in 1950 when about half of the total area to be irrigated was under operating canals. It covers an area of 50,000 dunums of land and extends a length of 37 kilometers (23 miles). It averages 1.5 kilometers (one mile) in width. The completed portion of the irrigation works supplies water to prosperous new citrus orchards, banana groves and vegetable gardens.

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[1] Mr. Garnett is head agricultural economist with the Litani River Investigation Group and Chief of the Rural Statistical Surveys Project. Mr. Prescott is an assistant professor of economics at the American University of Beirut who participated in this study as a consultant to the Lebanese Ministry of National Economy. Mr. Najjar is a junior economist on the staff of the Litani Group.

[2] In the Anglo Middle East the English term «village» can mean either the built-up area alone or the built-up area and all the surrounding land farmed by the villagers, which is legally appurtenant to it. To avoid misinterpretation, two Arabic terms have been adopted. The term «khuraj» is used to denote the larger concept which includes the built-up area and other lands appurtenant to it. The term «balad» is used to designate the built-up area or the town itself. Size, either of population or land area, is not involved in the use of these concepts.

9: Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

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In the Spring of 1952 the Lebanese Government submitted a request to the Technical Cooperation Service, Lebanon, for the completion of the project at an estimated cost of $ 650,000. The Government of Lebanon further requested that preliminary staff studies be made for the Kaamir area by Point Four technicians and their counterparts in the Government. On the basis of these studies, the Technical Cooperation Service, Lebanon, felt that the Kaamir area offered a splendid opportunity for a pilot demonstration Point Four Project. It was planned that the fields of public works, agriculture, public health, education, village craft and industry, and farm credit would receive immediate emphasis. It is these fields that are to be covered by a number of subprojects which constitute the Kaamir Rural Improvement Project. The end result sought is the economic and social improvement of an area where extreme poverty and a low standard of living are the normal conditions.

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It was decided by those in charge of the Improvement Project to select representative villages in the Kaamir area for demonstration centers where the people could be shown the value of a positive rural development program. Five villages were tentatively selected as demonstration centers. Working toward the south, these villages include Sarafand, Sukkariyah, Loubya, En-Nauriyah, and 'Adloun. These five villages are located in one segment of the Kaamir Irrigation Project which services a total of twenty-seven villages. Every facility will be utilized to extend the results obtained in the demonstration area to other parts of rural Lebanon.

The three villages of El-Ghaziyah, En-Najjariyah, and El-'Addawiyah, located just to the south of the proposed Kaamir Rural Improvement Project, have been included in the master irrigation tables. The extension of the Kaamir Irrigation Canal will bring water to their fields. These villages can be considered a control area since they will be affected by construction of the canal but not by the Rural Improvement aspects of the project. It will be well to watch the economic and social impact of development in the project area on these three neighboring villages.

It should be noted that this report deals with the Kaamir Rural Improvement Project and not just the Kaamir Irrigation Project. Included in the Improvement Project are lands of the Irrigation Project but these latter lands constitute only about 20 percent of the total area of the eight villages reported upon.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

Irrigation and Crop Pattern

312 The percentage of land under irrigation varies considerably among these five villages (see Table III, column 8). While 89 percent of the total land area of 'Adloun is estimated to be under irrigation, only 2 percent of the total land area of Sarafand to the north is irrigated because the irrigation canal now stops at the village limits of Sarafand. Lands of Loubya, and En-Nueiyah do not extend into the irrigated coastal strip.

241 In the project villages of 'Adloun and Sakhkiyah, where a considerable portion of the land is under irrigation, the principal products by value are bananas, oranges and tomatoes. Other products grown on the irrigated land include okra, eggplant, squash and cucumbers. As the village lands in the project area only recently have been brought under irrigation, the emphasis at present is on the production of bananas and the establishment of citrus groves. The farmer in many cases has interplanted citrus trees with bananas. Banana shoots planted in February will produce fruit the following November, but it takes from six to eight years for an orange tree to mature. Where dry farming is the predominant system, as in Sarafand, Loubya, and En-Nueiyah, the emphasis naturally switches to crops requiring less water. Here the principal crops according to value include wheat, barley, corn, olives, watermelon, and figs.

312 In the project area already serviced by the Kassmie Irrigation Canal, 9,040 dunums are under irrigation. Of this total irrigated area, only 415 dunums are irrigated by pumps, the remainder being irrigated by gravity. Supplementary sources other than the Kassmie Irrigation Canal are used to a very limited extent to irrigate the fields. Sarafand pumps water from local wells. Sakhkiyah utilizes water from the Daoudiyah spring and Loubya spring. Loubya, as well, obtains irrigation water from the Loubya spring. En-Nueiyah, with lands located above the canal, irrigates a few hundred dunums with water pumped from two wells. 'Adloun uses water from the spring of 'Adloun. Small areas of good quality land strung out along but above the canal are irrigated by pumping water from the canal.

Further north in the control area, which has not as yet been reached by the irrigation canal, the irrigated land is almost wholly serviced by pumps. Thus, in En-Najariyah, El-'Akkaouiyah and El-Ghaziyah where 1,100 dunums are under irrigation, over 96 % of the irrigated area is served by pumps. The balance is irrigated by gravity from small springs.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

226 Fishing is important as a means of livelihood only at Sarafand. The village proper lies a couple of miles inland but a suburb has grown along the coast where a fishing community exists. The industry, primitive and using only row boats, employs some 200 persons on a part or full-time basis. The gross take is estimated at LL. 80,000 ($22,000) annually. These fishermen often own small plots of farm land, which accounts for many of the 300 small farms reported for Sarafand.

382 464 The Trans-Arabian Pipe Line (Tapline) has its Mediterranean terminus at Saida which lies just north of the area under discussion. About 600 Lebanese workmen are employed by the company, some of them coming from the villages under study. No statistical data are available on this question but it does not appear that employment by Tapline affects the five villages to any great extent.

It is reported that some of the member companies of Tapline are planning to erect an oil refinery near their present operations. During construction employment opportunities for local unskilled labor will probably occur. When the plant is in operation, two or three hundred men will be required, hence continuing employment opportunities will be available. It may be that small industries will be established to use some of the products of the refinery. This would offer an opportunity for limited industrial development. Such diversification is very desirable for this otherwise agricultural community.

Domestic Water, Sanitation and Health

000 Technical details concerning pollution of wells, types of diseases prevalent in the project villages, and similar data will not be found in this report. This aspect of the problem falls within the jurisdiction of the specialized and highly trained public health technicians attached to the Technical Cooperation Service, Lebanon.

30 An ample and safe supply of drinking water is not available for any of the five villages included in the improvement project. En-Nouriyah depends upon a covered shallow well for its domestic water supply, the other villages have access to springs. In most cases these sources are adequate as to quantity except during the summer months. In all cases the purity is questionable. Village

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

water supplies are not only inadequate and unsafe, they are also unhandy. In all cases the source is outside of the dei'ah and may be a mile or more away. This necessitates a long walk on the part of the women who carry the water in jugs to their homes. 312

One of the major items included in plans for the improvement project is that of furnishing domestic water to the villages. A well has been drilled near Loubya by the Technical Cooperation Service and it is planned to pump from it to a reservoir to be built on a high point. From here a pipe line distribution system will furnish water to fountains in each village. 312 185

In each of the five project villages, the persons interviewed stated that the nearest doctor, nurse, or hospital is located in Saida. Only Loubya reported having no midwife. Sarafand reported two midwives while the other three villages each has one midwife living in the village. It is beyond the province of this report to report upon the qualifications or training of the local midwives. 743 959

Schools

The information on village schools in the project area was secured from the local teachers (Table X). All of the project villages have government-run elementary schools, with the exception of Loubya. Loubya has no schools while Sakaakiyah has a privately-run school as well as the government elementary school. While the school in Ez-Nauriyah has two rooms, the remaining ones are simple, one-room affairs. None of the villages offers education beyond the elementary level. Such higher education, however, is available at Saida or Beirut. 872 346

The number of pupils in each school varies from 20 in the private school of Sakaakiyah to 160 in the 'Adloun government elementary school. This latter school is the only one reporting two teachers. The one classroom is usually small and the children sit, closely packed, at their desks. It is interesting to note the breakdown of the students according to sex. While 267 students attend the five schools, only thirteen of these are girls. The Shee'ah Moslems do not encourage their daughters to attend school. They feel that it is a hindrance to a happy marriage and often encourages disobedience to one's elders. [542]

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Children in front of refugee camp, Lebanon

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Lebanon refugee family

[following p. 27(D)]

427 monthly (30 %.) or yearly (30 %.). When the owner and those not paying rent are subtracted, we find relatively few (6 %.) who have other contract terms.

7.14 Location of kitchen facilities by privacy. Table 107

342 In investigating the adequacies of households in Beirut it was found that nine-tenths of the enumerated households had private kitchen facilities in the house. Cooking outside the house was principally for one-room shacks.

7.15 Location of toilet facilities in household. Table 108

[504] Toilet facilities in the buildings were found in over ninety percent of the sample. Of these, almost nine-tenths are private toilets. Arab types are found overwhelmingly.

7.16 Source of water in household. Table 109

342 345 Water, too, is piped into the overwhelming majority of houses (95 %.) making relatively few who were forced to obtain water from outdoor cisterns or from more fortunate neighbors. In some cases, such as the agglomerations of tin shacks, a city faucet is the only source of water.

7.17 Type of lighting in household. Table 110

354 345 Lighting is by electricity in over nine-tenths of the households in the sample. Characteristically, electrical fixtures are ceiling lights suspended by cords. Lamps are used much less than in western cities, even where wall plugs are available. Less electricity is delivered to households due to a shortage of generating capacity. Almost all of the remaining households use oil lamps.

7.18 Type of heating in household. Table 111

354 Charcoal burners are the sole means of heat in over half of the houses (57 %.). One-fifth of the houses have no means of heat; this is not surprising considering the relatively mild cli-

p. 21 (C)

12: Churchill 1-5 (1968) 1974 MEI Lobaina MEI

Table 108

Location of Toilet Facilities in Household

Location of toilet facilities	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1904	100.00	
In house	1534	80.57	.009
Outhouse	115	6.04	.005
Public	16	0.84	
Shared	200	10.50	.007
None	32	1.68	
No answer	7	0.37	

Table 109

Source of Water in Household

Source of water	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1940	100.00	
City	1718	93.37	.006
Neighbour	76	4.13	.004
Cistern	28	1.52	
None	18	0.98	

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p. 82 (5)

16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEl Lebanon MEl

CONSERVATISM AND CHANGE IN A LEBANESE VILLAGE

John Gulick

491 361 THE COASTAL HIGHWAY which connects Beirut and Tripoli winds between the crashing surf of the Mediterranean and the sharply rising slopes of Mount Lebanon. At one point in the journey northward along this road, the traveler may notice before him a ridge which, from the distance, seems to block his way. If, instead of continuing toward Tripoli, the traveler turns off the main highway at the foot of this ridge and winds his way up the gravel road which climbs its face to the crest, he will find himself at the southern, seaward tip of a roughly semicircular ring of six small villages. At the center of this ring is a seventh village considerably larger than the others. This village is al-Munsif.

361 133 137 Topographically, the area which is occupied by the seven villages consists of three main ridges which project toward the sea in a fanlike fashion, so that the shape of the area is roughly triangular. The ridges are separated by deep, dry wadis; in addition there are other minor crests and gullies, so that the over-all terrain is rough and broken. The land itself is notable for the prevalence of limestone outcrops. The natural flora conforms to the type known as "garrigue," which features low, bushy scrub oak and a variety of small, thorny, aromatic plants. It is a landscape which could not inspire very much confidence in the hearts of ordinary farmers; even to Lebanese farmers, whose fortitude and resourcefulness are justly famous, it has presented a serious challenge.

361 312 But the challenge does not end with land features as such. An even more serious problem is the lack of ground water. There are, indeed, two springs very close to the shore, but both are small and one is brackish. All the water used in the area is winter rain water drained off the roofs of the houses and stored in large underground cisterns, of which there are a very large number. This supply must provide for all the needs of the inhabitants for the entire year. The amount which can be devoted to watering plants is, therefore, extremely limited, and irrigation, in the sense generally applied to the term, is impossible under present circumstances.

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* John Gulick is an anthropologist on the staff of the Department of Sociology at Antioch College. This article is a brief report of a community study which he made in Lebanon from January to July, 1950, under the direction of the Department of Anthropology of Harvard University. He is the author of "The Lebanese Village: An Introduction," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 53 (August 1951), which deals with certain technical aspects of Lebanese village social structure.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 MI Middle East
SYRIA MDI
LEBANON MEI

Chapter Ten

SYRIA AND LEBANON

The Land and the People

The area of the present Syria and Lebanon lies to the north of Arabia Deserta and is the western horn of the Fertile Crescent. The two republics do not enclose within their boundaries a natural geographic entity and their climate and topography are best studied in relation to the surrounding countries;[1] but within the political boundaries of the two states, the following geographical divisions may roughly be distinguished:

(1) *The Coastal Strip.* This is about twenty miles wide near Latakia and rather less just north of Tripoli, but in some places disappears and the mountains meet the sea. Olives, bananas, citrus, and vegetables are cultivated intensively near Beirut.

(2) *The Mountains.* Starting from the north, the first coastal mountains are the Jebel Ansariya (also known as the Alawi Mountains) which average 4,000 feet and are well populated on the western slopes. To the south is the Homs–Tripoli gap and then starts the Lebanon range with peaks of over 10,000 feet. Even on the upper slopes of this range water is plentiful, there is close cultivation, and the villages and towns are prosperous. Near Beirut are situated the mountain resorts to which most of the city workers move each night when the summer brings its humid heat. The interior ranges of mountains lying parallel to that of the Lebanon are the Anti-Lebanon (between Homs and Zahle) reaching over 7,000 feet and the range of Hermon (between Zahle and the Israel border) which reaches 9,100 feet. Water and cultivation are far less plentiful on these than on the coastal mountains. Farther inland still and to the south of Damascus lie the Leja, a bleak area of igneous rock, and the Jebel Druze, which reaches 5,000–6,000 feet and lies north of the Jordan border.

(3) *Plains and Plateaux.* Hardly any of the territory of Syria and Lebanon lies less than 700 feet above sea-level and south of Hama almost all the land is over 1,600 feet. The richest agricultural land is on fairly high ground and forms part of a

[1] See W. B. Fisher, *The Middle East: a Physical, Social, and Regional Geography* (London, Methuen, 1950).

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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MAIN CROPS

	Area (000 hectares)		Production (000 metric tons)		Yields (100 kg. per ha.)
	1951	1952	1951	1952	1950
Wheat	61	70	43	50	7·3
Barley	13	20	14	17	11·8
Cotton	3	2	1	..	..
Tobacco	..	..	3	2	..
Citrus fruit	..	..	75	90	..
Grapes	21	..	80	..	..

.. = not available.

(Sources: Banque de Syrie et du Liban, *Exercice 1952* (Paris 1953); except figures for yields, cotton production, and area and production of grapes, all of which have been taken from FAO, *Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics, 1952*.)

312 241 439 There is enough water for land to be used more intensively than in Syria but there is not enough room to grow all that the country needs. Improved methods have increased the yield of cereals per acre, but Lebanon will always have to import wheat. The crop of grapes is nearly double the weight of the wheat harvest and Lebanon exports grapes, wine, and the best quality arraq. The citrus exports are high but the growers have not yet established the same name for quality as have the Israelis. Melons, water-melons, apples, onions, and potatoes are also important crops and vegetables are exported as far as the oil towns of Kuwait and Dahran. Cotton and tobacco are also grown in small quantities.

423 369 The land is more evenly parcelled out amongst the people in Lebanon than in Syria but, despite the fact that there are many small holdings, there is a general shift from country to town, and Beirut and its immediate neighbourhood hold nearly half of the population. In the coastal regions of intensive cultivation small holdings predominate, while in the plain regions large estates worked by share-croppers are the most prevalent form of land tenure. Some estates owned by rich men are farmed under modern methods and equipment and there is less room for improvement or for expansion in agriculture than in Syria.

Industry

433 Relative to its size, Lebanon is one of the most industrialised countries in the Middle East area. It is probable that nearly 50,000 persons are so employed, of whom over half are factory workers. However, Lebanese industry has only partly recovered from the loss of the Syrian market and some industries had either to move to Syria or to curtail production. The biggest industries are electricity, which produced 130 million kwh. in 1951, and the Chekka cement factory south of Tripoli, which produced 303,000 tons of cement in 1951. Cotton weaving and

3cRoyal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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439 1950–1 amounted to £L21·5 million. Over half this deficit was met from 'invisible' earnings, such as the tourist trade and transportation, and the rest from private donations and capital movements. Indeed, during this period Lebanon's balance of payments showed a small surplus of £L2·7 million.[1] Most of Lebanon's trade (about 40 per cent) is with other Middle Eastern countries, but the five most country in her trade is the United States (about 20 per cent). Europe and Great Britain are important sources of imports but not such large export markets. Lebanon's main imports are agricultural products, textiles, machinery, and oil, and her chief exports are agricultural products and textiles. The tourist industry is given full encouragement by the Government and, under certain circumstances, tourists' fares to Lebanon are subsidized.

Development

648 On 24 February 1951 Lebanon signed a Point Four agreement with the United States and the work to be carried out is
• 312 based on the report to the United Nations in 1949 by Mr
185 Gordon Clapp.[2] Irrigation projects are under way at Akkar, Yamouna, and Qasmiya, and there is a proposal to use the Litani river to irrigate over 12,000 acres of land. In August 1953 the Lebanese Government announced a four-year development plan; the main projects under consideration concern road and hydro-electric power development.

Conclusion

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000 The future of Syria and Lebanon will obviously depend to some extent on the past, many aspects of which have not been fully discussed here because the independent political and economic development of the countries began only in 1946. In internal politics events have moved too rapidly for any record to keep pace with them, and there is not yet apparent any stability that would allow us to regard views and information on the political scene as being valid for more than a brief period. As regards their external policy, the two countries have yet to be convinced that there is a community of interest between them and the West. The Western Powers need the use of Syrian and Lebanese territory on which to base a line of defence, but it is not expected that these countries could or should bear a significant part of the burden of defence in men, materials, and money. The Levant wants greater security against Israel than

[1] See table 6, p. 503 below.
[2] UN, Conciliation Commission for Palestine (Chairman: Gordon Clapp), *Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East* (New York, December 1949).

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§ 1 Of the total 160 families in the village, 100 own some land
471 and 60 own no land. The peasant owners are divided as follows

1. Rich farmers, owning about 10 hectares ..	5	families
2. Medium farmers, owning from 3 to 8 hectares	80	"
3. Poor farmers, owning between 1 and 3 hectares	15	"
4. Share-tenants	10	"
5. Labourers	50	"

§ As in Misherfe, two-thirds of the land is uncropped each
241 year. The peasant divides the land into three plots, one sown with a crop, one ploughed but not sown, and one fallow. The wheat yield is slightly higher than the average for Syria, and amounts to 833 kilogrammes per hectare (6¼ hundredweight per acre); barley yields are also slightly higher, being 8 hundredweight to the acre.

§ As a result of the more equal distribution of land, rather
511 better yields, and more irrigation, the standard of living is better than in Misherfe. The first two classes, including half the
262 families, can reach an adequate standard of consumption of food and other essentials, which is reckoned to be 25 kilogrammes of wheat per month, 1 kilogramme of meat per month (i.e. one sheep a year), 40 kilogrammes of olive oil and 20 kilogrammes of 'samn' per year, 4 tins of kerosene and a small quantity of clothing. The remainder of the village, about one-half of the total, that is the poor peasants, labourers, and share-tenants, are unable to reach this standard and live in great
§ poverty, in one-roomed huts. The majority of these cultivators
426 are heavily indebted, and the burden of indebtedness has doubled during the war years, because debts are usually incurred in gold.

L The third study relates to Kfir Sa'ab in the north Lebanon, a
47 hill village of small owner-cultivators. Of the total area of 100 hectares, about 30 are owned by the sheikh of the village. The total number of families is 150 (1,000 people), of which 100 own land and 50 are landless. A few peasant owners are rich with 5 hectares of land; 60 are medium owners with 1·5 to 2·5 hectares of land, and 25 own 0·5 to 1·5. Here cultivation
L is much more intensive than in Syria, and half the land is
• irrigated.

[1 A Shrafie, near Damascus — Analyst]

Lebanon ME1
Syria MD1

into single units, to form individual farms; but shortage of money limited this process to about 50,000 acres.

About half the area of Syria has been surveyed and title registered by the Bureau de Cadastre. As in Palestine, political unrest made it impossible to survey and register some districts, in particular the Hauran and the Jezira. With this limitation the work of the department appears to have been successful.

Water-Rights. One of the great obstacles to carrying out large-scale irrigation schemes is the confusion which prevails about water-rights. According to an unpublished report prepared for M.E.S.C. in 1943 by Professor Addison, one important scheme, the Yarmouse project, could not be initiated, because the complicated question of water-rights had not been settled. Since any big advance in agriculture really depends on irrigation, a settlement of water-rights is essential.

The French authorities have apparently been no more successful in dealing with this question than the British authorities in Palestine and Transjordan. A decree was issued by the High Commissioner in June 1925 nationalizing the water supply, and making all sources of water and water-courses public property, but a further decree in 1926 weakened this wise measure, permitting temporary occupation of water-rights for forty years, so that the result of the legislation has been to increase the confusion.

Control of Irrigation. There is no uniformity of procedure in controlling irrigation schemes, and no central authority controlling irrigation. There are three chief methods of control in force unrelated to each other. These are:

1. The village community in which water-rights are regulated by custom. This appears to be the prevalent method of control in all the village irrigation schemes, of which there are a very large number. Several villages may share in these schemes, and the distribution of water is established between them by custom, and administered by the village authorities. Each owner of land can claim a share in the total water supply measured as a unit of time, for example, one hour every seven days. This method is beginning to prove unsatisfactory. The big owners almost always control the best

St. Antony's 8-8 (no date) 1948 M1 Middle East
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irrigated land, and village chiefs can frequently be bribed to leave open irrigation ditches so that their land is better watered. This frequently happens, for example, in the Ghuta of Damascus, where there is no unified plan for the irrigation of the district and no authority which can enforce the customary rights.

2. The system under which water is owned collectively, or as *Waqf*, in the northern Beqa.

3. Private ownership by large landowners. This is usual in the Lebanon where there are a number of small private schemes.

These methods of control apply to the smaller schemes. Large-scale schemes have been operated either by:

1. Private concession. Only one relatively large-scale concession is actually in operation, the Nahr Ibrahim (Adonis) scheme.
2. The State. State-controlled works have been carried out by
   (i) authorities directly under the control of the French authorities;
   (ii) authorities directly under the control of the Lebanese Public Works Ministry;
   (iii) Lebanese or Syrian authorities under the control of the *Délégation Générale*.

There is great need of a central authority to co-ordinate the supply of water. In the south Beqa, for instance, much irrigable land is left unirrigated and much water allowed to run to waste for lack of such an authority.

State Land. One of the main reasons for the lack of intensive cultivation in central Syria is that the State lands have never been systematically settled. Very large areas are State domain, that is, land registered as the property of the Turkish Sultan, Abdul Hamid. Under the mandate, this land became the property of the local government. Under the Turks these lands were used for the 'displaced persons' of the old Empire, who were driven out when Turkish territory was lost, but they were still sparsely settled when the French took over.

After the rising of 1925 the French authorities began to settle

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better cultivation, if more machinery were available, to reduce the fallow to one year out of two, instead of two out of three in the districts where this is customary; it would also be possible, by machine cultivation, to keep weeds under control. (See Chapter VIII.)

The main possibilities of development, however, depend on irrigation. At present an area of some 500,000 acres is irrigated, and even under the existing scheme much water is wasted. How much additional land could be irrigated is a subject for controversy. Mr Soubhi Mashoum, a Syrian irrigation engineer, suggests that the total area which could be irrigated, including the use of the Euphrates water, may be as large as 1,200,000 hectares (2,960,000 acres):[1] but this figure refers to the area which it is *physically* possible to irrigate, not the area which could be irrigated with any prospect of economic return.

A more exact and detailed estimate was prepared by Professor Addison, the irrigation expert, who surveyed existing schemes in 1943 and considered that the extension of those which was then economically practicable would irrigate some 68,000 hectares (168,000 acres) in addition to the area already irrigated.

The difference between these two estimates indicates how wide a range of opinion there is. A survey is now being prepared by a British irrigation firm on behalf of the Syrian Government, to provide the basis of development projects, and pending its publication it is impossible to quote any more satisfactory estimates.

The Jezire and Euphrates Provinces. In inner Syria, the Jezire area and part of the Euphrates province in the north-eastern corner of the country, there are quite large possibilities of extending cultivation both in the rain-fed zone, and by irrigation. North of a line from Tyree to Sheikh Saleh there is sufficient rainfall to water the winter crops. In the 'Duck's Bill' and along the Turkish frontier to a depth of about 12 miles to Derbisiye, the rainfall is 30 to 100 centimetres per year (20–40 inches), and south of this there is another belt with rainfall of 25 to 30 centimetres (10–20 inches), about 50 miles wide.[2]

[1] 'Le Problème de l'Eau en Liban et en Syrie', in *L'Agriculture, Richesse Nationale*, (Beirut, 1946).

[2] This information is based on an unpublished report prepared for M.E.S.C. in 1944.

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671 be punished with imprisonment not exceeding 12 months or
312 a fine not exceeding 50 pounds, or with both such penal-
681 ties.... The cost incurred in making good any damage.... shall be borne by the person convicted" (Article 35).

"Any person who, without permission... takes or draws off any water in an irrigation area... shall be punished with imprisonment not exceeding six months or a fine not exceeding JD 45 or with both penalties." The costs for restoring the area to its original condition shall be charged to the person convicted (Article 36).

"Imprisonment not exceeding one month or a fine not exceeding JD 10 or both such penalties" will be inflicted on whomsoever "by any negligent act or omission damages, alters or enlarges any government irrigation works or interferes with the flow of water... causes damage to roads, buildings, irrigation works... belonging to the government or to private individuals or societies, corrupts or fouls the water, destroys, injures, defaces or removes any land, level mark or water gauge, obstructs any government official in the execution of his duties, disobeys provisions of published notices or contravenes any provision of this law for which no specific penalty is provided" (Article 37).

In the event that it is impossible to ascertain the author of any punishable offense, the Collective Punishments Law of 1926 shall be enforced (Article 38). The director may, moreover, "deduct from the supply of water to which such land may be entitled.....such amount as he may estimate... equivalent to the benefit wrongfully acquired" (Article 39).

"Any person who willfully gives false evidence in proceedings under this law...shall be punished with the penalties provided for the giving of false evidence in the Penal Code" (Article 40). Punishments contemplated under this law shall not exclude proceedings against any offender under the provisions of the Penal Code (Article 41).

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671 While the country of Lebanon is not a Moslem country, as
312 in all countries of the Ottoman Empire the articles of the Ma-
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jelle code governing water use were in force until Lebanon was placed under French mandate. 671 3/20 921

French water legislation in Lebanon is based on two fundamental orders called arrêtés. The first of these, Arrêté No. 144/S dated 10 June 1925, delimited and defined public domain in the state of Greater Lebanon and Latakia (territory of the Alaouites) which was extended, by Arrêté No. 295/S dated 4 November 1925, to all territories under French mandate, both Lebanon and Syria. The second, Arrêté No. 320/S of 24 May 1926, governs the conservation and utilisation of waters of the public domain. Article 24 of Arrêté No. 320/S has been amended by legislative Decree No. 288, dated 28 November 1942.

Since it does not appear that, from the date of the complete independence, new water laws have been enacted by the Lebanese government, these laws are still in force."

According to these two above-mentioned bills, waters are governed as follows:

Decree 144/S of public domain comprises 28 articles and four chapters. Articles 1 to 4 define public domain. Articles 5 to 13 delimit it, Articles 14 to 21 refer to temporary occupation thereof while Articles 22 to 26 contain general provisions.

Article 2, which is fundamental, declares that water belongs to the public domain. It reads:

> "The following shall be part of the public domain, except where Article 3 of this decree applies: the sea coasts, marshes and salt ponds; water courses of all types within the limits prescribed for the height of water running between banks before overflowing; ground waters and springs of all types, embankments along waterways; lakes, ponds and lagoons; waterfalls which can produce power; navigation, irrigation, drainage and land reclamation canals and their embankments; aqueducts when such works are constructed for public use; and sea dykes and dams controlling rain water."

Also included as part of the public domain are military construction works, telephone and telegraph lines, all communication facilities and ports, water power works, works for the transportation of electric power and any public works constructed for their use.

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313 This decree also prescribes that public domain lands and
423 waters shall be defined for all countries under mandate by spe-
cial committees and that the boundaries of the public domain
shall be definitively set forth in a decree issued by the head
of the government.

Finally, the decree envisages the possibility of endowings,
with regard to the public domain:

1. concessions or leases for temporary occupation for a
term renewable by tacit agreement and on royalty;

2. concessions or leases for longer periods of occupation
which must be renewed every five years.

Every year, a list of all permits granted shall be drawn up by
the Public Works Service. Fines are prescribed for contraventions.

Conservation and Use of Waters of the Public Domain

Decree No. 320 dated 26 May 1926 relating to the conserva-
tion and use of public domain waters is the basic water law. It
is composed of 64 articles divided into nine chapters.

Water Policing and Conservation

313. Articles 1 and 2 prohibit the placing of any impediment to
bar the free flow of waters of the public domain or the
trespassing on borders of watercourse, marshlands, ponds,
lagoons, water springs and headwaters, lakes, etc. as well
as in the upper reaches of aqueducts, water conduits, ir-
rigation canals, drainage and reclamation works, the exer-
cise of which is declared to be in the public interest.

Also prohibited is the cleaning, deepening, straightening,
altering or regulating of watercourse, exploratory surveying
or tapping of ground or artesian waters and, generally
speaking, undertaking any type of work which may affect the
flow or regime of waters belonging to the public domain.
However, the digging of non-artesian wells down to a depth
of less than 150 meters may be undertaken by private land-
owners.

Article 3 prohibits the destruction or damage of hydraulic
works and their appurtenances and the fouling or pollution

of waters and springs. The area of protected areas will be established in each case by government decision.

Permits and Concessions (Articles 2 to 27)

Water from non-reticulation wells dug by private persons, with a flow of less than 100 m³ per day, may be used freely without any payment (Article 2).

Temporary One-Year Permits. These can be granted under Article 17 of Decree 1449) for the erection of non-permanent structures for the use of waters of public domain, the extraction of materials, the cleaning and care of watercourses and waterways, research work on ground waters and natural water courses as well as the care of watermarks and the regulation of waterways (Article 3).

The act of authorization sets forth all the special conditions covered by the permit (Article 3). In the case of the managing of ground waters, if the request for concession is not granted within four months, it is considered as having been rejected (Article 5).

Temporary Permits for One to Forty Years. Permits for use of all power may be granted in the following cases:

1. the erection of permanent works for the drawing of water or for drawing up of water resources;
2. the use of water power;
3. the drainage of marshlands and their reclamation;
4. the use of ground, extraction, removal or thermal waters.

Rules and regulations setting forth general conditions, exceptions to be taken, term of the permit and time allowed for the completion works shall be issued simultaneously with the permit (Article 7).

Notification of the granting or change of such permits must be given to the interested parties at least ten years before the expiration date; otherwise the permits shall be automatically prolonged for a period equal to half of the original term of validity. When the origi-

312 425 land permit regulations to specify, permits for the agricultural use of water may be renewed for a period of 40 years.

Concessions. The projects envisaged above require permits even when they are projects of public utility. Such permits may not be issued for terms of more than 75 years.

A set of specifications prescribing conditions under which water may be drawn, the periods of use, measures for the care of water, the maximum power of the water fall, the deadline for the completion of the construction works, the term of the concession, the water reserves to be maintained, the financial conditions, the disposal of these works upon expiration of the concession and a clause binding for the eventual repurchase of the project shall accompany the concession.

[illegible] Fees and Royalties. Royalties shall be paid for permits and concessions to the state (Article 14).

312 454 Government Intervention. Rules and regulations on expropriation of land and water for public purposes shall be applicable to concessionaires, and the state may assert such rights as well as alter or demolish, against payment of an equitable indemnity, legally-created concessionaire works (Article 17).

Servitudes and Indemnities

312 454 The beneficiary of a permit or concession may take advantage of all servitudes in the execution of the work; namely, servitudes on occupation of private property, the straightening of dams, the submersion of banks and of tracts of land, etc. The government may, where an friendly agreements have been reached on specific points, authorize the concessionaire to avail himself of the above servitudes provided he deposits a guarantee against possible damages.

Article 18 stipulates the indemnity to be paid by a concessionaire wishing to make use of certain servitudes as well as the arbitration procedure to be followed to settle disputes which may arise.

The concessionaire has the right to repurchase private ir-

tion and to use water existing at the time of the issuance 312
of the concession, either upon payment of a cash indemnity 325
or a compensation in kind consisting of the restitution of water or water power previously used. The said servitudes are also applicable to the restitution of water or water power.

In case of disagreement as to the amount of the indemnity, the matter shall be placed before the competent administrative authorities. In no case may the amount be more than 200 pisetras per kilowatt capacity of the total waterfall.

Recognition of Water Rights

Articles 21 to 24 regulate the procedure to be followed in the recognition of private titles to property, usufruct privileges and the right to use water belonging to the public domain. Such rights may be recognized upon the request of the interested party or upon the request of the head of the government who, in either case, shall establish by decree the areas within which such action may be taken.

A commission to establish titles shall be appointed by the head of the government. It shall be composed of a magistrate or presiding judge who shall act as chairman, an official of the Public Works Service, an official of the Land Service and two local notables.

Within a period of time established by decree, but which shall not be less than 30 days, the interested parties may submit to the commission all statements, titles and evidence supporting their water rights. The commission shall inspect the area and draw up a list of the rights claimed. It shall report thereupon to the head of the government who shall set forth in a decree the titles and rights thus recognized.

Article 25 of this section, modified by Legislative Decree No. 288 dated 28 December 1950, permits the hearing of appeals before the appeals courts for judgments taken by the commission concerning the recognition of pre-existing water rights. Travel expenses of the commission shall be defrayed by the private persons requesting such service.

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312 Concerning the Establishment of Water Conduits and Aqueducts for a
749 Public Drinking Water Supply

Articles 25 to 29 set forth the prescribed width and other specifications for establishment along drinking water conduits and aqueducts.

The width of such aqueducts shall be stipulated by decree of the head of the government. The cutting out of plantations or construction work along these conduits is prohibited, and the administration may order the felling of trees already growing there and the demolition or change of any previously existing structures within such areas.

Waterworks Construction Associations

312 Upon the initiative of the interested parties and the head
479 of the government, [illegible] associations may be formed
154 for the purpose of building works for agricultural improvement, flood control, the repair, maintenance and cleaning of water courses, land drainage, reclamation, calcareous liming and the construction of embankments or irrigation works.

Requests addressed to the head of the government must contain all pertinent information as to the area involved, the purpose, the projects and the type of association intended.

If such a request, upon being reviewed by the Director of Public Works, is deemed worthy of approval, the local landowners shall be called to a meeting by the head of the government. The meeting shall proceed to the selection of a chairman, and the minutes of the meeting, including the names of the persons attending, shall be kept. The heads of municipalities, administrators of public property and the Director of land surveys for the public domain may also attend such meetings.

If the formation of such an association is voted by simple majority, the project, with complete details as to the nature of the association, its operation, the contemplated program of work and estimates of expenditures and contributions of each person involved shall be submitted to the head of the government who shall order a 30-day investigation of the matter, during which time any persons or persons who have not joined the contemplated association may either be exempt their land, against payment of an indemnity, to

the association organized.

While this period and after the Minister of Public Works has advised in favor thereof, the head of the government shall issue a decree stating that such an association has been established. This decree shall set forth its aim, the projected construction works and the method of defraying expenses by dividing them up among members of the association.

An annual budget shall be submitted for approval to the head of the government who is authorized to set or change the total tax sums to be set aside for this purpose.

Disputes over the operation of the association shall be heard by the administrative tribunals.

Plans and methods of execution of all construction works must be submitted to the Public Works Service which will exercise technical supervision.

The head of the government may grant non-interest bearing loans and subsidies to the association, on terms which he will prescribe, for a period of no longer than 20 years.

Articles 48 to 53 govern the rules of procedure of such associations, particularly their administrative organs (assembly,syndicate, director and staff), their procedure for their election and their term of office.

The general assembly, as written in the constitution, may also dissolve the association by a simple majority vote, provided such action is approved by the head of the government in an official decree.

The head of the government may, in case of mismanagement, place in the hands of one person full power over the director and the association, and he may also send representatives to all meetings or committees.

Jurisdiction and Penalties

Articles 57 to 59 prescribe jurisdiction and penalties.

It is stipulated that infractions of this decree shall be suppressed in the form of a deposition by officers of the

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313 judiciary police, officials of the Public Order Service or
631 police officers.

Infractions are punishable with a fine of from two to 250 pounds and prison sentences of from one day to six months, or either of these two punishing any person who obstructs the execution of authorized works may also be punished.Infractions fall under the jurisdiction of the local police courts.

Second offenders, committing a second infraction within a period of 12 months after their sentence, except in cases where their good faith can be proved, shall be subject to the maximum punishment of fines and imprisonment or one of these.If the same person commits a third offense, the penalties shall be doubled.

If any such infractions of the law causes damage to the public property, the delinquent, in addition to the fine,must pay for the reparations thereof.

Special Provisions

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313 To safeguard public health and general or stop floods, the
631 head of the government may revoke or change concessions,
656 deny persons desirous of voting rather to which he is legally entitled or campaign rather,discharge and reinstatement results may be an apparent payment of a sum decided upon by friendly agreement,or by any choice the right to transport such rental to indemnitory plots of ground by the procedure described in Article 13.

Final Provisions

The concluding articles of this decree (Articles 11 and 12) abrogate any standing provisions contrary to this decree and change the public authorities with the implementation thereof.

LIBYA

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313 Taxes in Libya were governed,until the time of the Italian
631 occupation in 1911, by the Ottoman articles of the Ottoman Capitulations. From 1911 to 1943, the Italian government

their relatives abroad. The villages are less compact than in other parts of the Near and Middle East, and separate farmsteads are common. Extremes of poverty, associated with primitive standards of sanitation, are most frequently encountered in the villages of southern Lebanon. In the cities, substandard housing is found chiefly in the old, congested quarters and in the Armenian sections.

The typical dwellings in all parts of the country are constructed of stone, cement or concrete blocks, with a surface of white-washed or tinted plaster. The roofs are of two general types: pointed and of red tile, or flat, with a covering of cement or of mud and brush. The houses vary in size from one to several rooms, sometimes with two or more stories. The use of wood as a building material is prohibited by the fire regulations in the towns, but small wooden sheds are occasionally seen on the outskirts.

Beirut is a cosmopolitan city, a mixture of Arabic and Western culture. The older parts of the city are overcrowded, with narrow streets lined by innumerable small shops, which frequently have living rooms in the rear. Apartment houses, interspersed with detached dwellings surrounded by colorful gardens, dominate the newer developments. Architecturally, all gradations are encountered between old Arab-style houses and modern villas.

ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

Water Supplies

Water supplies are obtained from streams, springs and wells, and, in general, are abundant in the coastal and the mountain districts but deficient in the interior. Beirut derives its water supply from the Nahr el Kelb, or Dog River, which is fed from an underground spring in the hills about 10 miles from the city. It flows by gravity through a tunnel and open canals to Chalhaya, 5 miles distant, where it is treated [illegible] preliminary rapid filtration, slow sand

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filtration and chlorination. It is then pumped to 3 service reservoirs in the city and subsequently to the separate house connections. This supply is used only for domestic purposes, but the capacity of the present plant will soon be inadequate to meet the needs of the rapidly expanding population. The water is subjected to bacteriologic tests every other day at the waterworks, and is also examined periodically in the French university laboratories on behalf of the government authorities. Private wells provide supplementary sources of supply in some areas on the outskirts of the city.

The water supply for Tripoli is derived from springs in the near-by mountains. It is chlorinated before distribution, but is not otherwise treated. The water is comparatively free from contamination at the source, but pollution sometimes occurs in the distribution system. In the mountains, water is usually taken from springs, and in some localities it is piped from a common source to several adjacent villages. In the larger towns, as Aley and Zahle, it is treated by chlorination. Supplementary supplies are often provided by rain-water cisterns. In the poorer districts of the towns, and in the rural villages, water is distributed through community outlets and may be transported a considerable distance by the individual families or by donkey carriers. Many well and spring sources are unprotected, and contamination is frequent. In parts of the Lebanon range the water passes through fissured limestone rock, and pollution may be traced to distant villages. The local water supplies are not continuously supervised by the government health officers, but samples are collected by the district physicians at irregular intervals, chiefly when contamination is suspected. These are sent to the bacteriologic laboratory of the French University medical school.

For many decades the only sewerage works in the country was at Beirut. In 1925, the government undertook the construction of a plant on the Litany River to benefit

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Lebanon to furnish filtered and chlorinated water to a number of villages in the area which were completely without suitable sources of supply. A program for the provision of satisfactory water supplies for most of the towns and the villages in the country has been projected by the Ministry of Public Works, which is responsible for their construction in consultation with the Ministry of Public Health.

Numerous small irrigation projects are in use, especially in the orange groves and the banana plantations of the coastal region and in the truck farm areas of the Bekaa. The majority depend upon wells operated by pumps. Two important large-scale programs have been undertaken within recent years: the diversion of the western portion of the Litany River, known as the Nahr el Kasimiya, to irrigate part of the coastal plain between Tyre and Sidon; and the construction of canals from the spring-fed Lake Yammouline, to provide for the irrigation of sections of the Bekaa, in the vicinity of Baalbek. The harnessing of the Litany River for irrigation and hydroelectric purposes was started in 1952, while plans are under way for the irrigation of the Bekaa plain from the Nahr el Kabir and adjacent streams and for the better utilization of the Orontes River.

Waste Disposal

Sewers exist in some of the larger communities, but septic tanks, cesspits and pit latrines are the usual methods of sewage disposal in most towns and villages. A sewerage system serves about 50 per cent of the city of Beirut, the sewage being discharged untreated into the sea from 7 major and numerous minor outlets. Septic tanks and latrines are employed for the houses which are not connected with the sewers. A municipal sewerage system also exists in part of Tripoli, but cesspits are used in many sections of the city. In some areas the sewage is collected in open drains for the irrigation of the orange groves, the fig orchards and the vegetable gardens.

and Sidon were roughly comparable. In a series of 1,131 complement fixation tests on miscellaneous human serums sent to the Wassermann laboratory of the University hospital, 7 per cent gave a positive reaction with Q fever antigen.

SUMMARY

Lebanon, formerly one of the French mandated Levant states, has been an independent republic since 1941. It is a compact territory, with an estimated population in 1942 slightly in excess of 1,220,000 and a density of roughly 300 inhabitants per square mile. Unlike the surrounding Arab countries, the Christian and the Moslem elements of the population are almost equal in collective numerical strength and political importance.

Responsibility for the health of the people resides in the Ministry of Public Health of the Lebanese government, which acts in co-operation with other ministries and numerous philanthropic and religious organizations. The public health and the medical care functions of the Ministry are directed from Beirut. The city is one of the leading medical centers of the Near and Middle East, with two university medical schools and associated hospitals. In 1942, there were 73 hospitals (including sanatoria) in the country, with an aggregate capacity of 3,101 beds, or approximately 4.2 beds per 1,000 population. Eight hospitals were maintained by the Ministry of Public Health, while 31 were conducted under private or philanthropic auspices and 5 by foreign organizations. In addition to the outpatient services of the hospitals, a central polyclinic, 17 rural dispensaries and 4 tuberculosis clinics were operated by the Ministry, a polyclinic by the municipal health department in Beirut, 16 dispensaries by the Lebanese Red Cross, and various units by other organizations.

Water supplies are derived from streams, springs or wells, and are usually adequate in the mountain region but often defective in the interior. Almost municipal water sup-

p. 181(B)

...ities are available in Beirut, Tripoli and some of the mountain resort towns, but many well and spring sources are unprotected and subject to pollution. Sewerage systems exist in parts of Beirut and Tripoli, but primitive methods of sewage disposal are employed in most towns and villages. The standards of food sanitation vary; the enforcement of sanitary regulations devolves upon the municipal health organization in Beirut and upon the government in other parts of the country.

The most prevalent disease problems are malaria, typhoid fever, dysentery and trachoma. Tuberculosis, pneumonia, venereal diseases, rheumatic fever, helminthiasis and skin infections are common. Rickettsia by...

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[illegible] trade [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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system of private schools. The report again an inflow method, but the share fell from 31.7 per cent of total appointments in 1961 to 11.4 in 1965. Nationally, although expenditure on public works increased, their share declined from 15.7 to 15.4 per cent.

[illegible]

During the period 1961 to 1970, inclusive, government expenditure on development totalled 11.76 million. Of this 11.175 million was spent through the ordinary budget and 0.125 million through the Development Works Fund, a special expenditure from the budget surpluses of the two sub-post years.

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Until the creation of the Bank of Economic Planning and Development, in February 1972, all development projects were planned and executed by the government departments concerned, principally the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Agriculture. The Bank, which consists of five executives and seven specialist advisers, is charged with assessing the country's economic resources and possibilities, administering a general development plan and supporting procedures for financing it. Decisions on, however, remained in the hands of the departmental ministers.

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[illegible]

Expenditure on irrigation and drainage from both the ordinary budget and the development fund totalled about 12.75 million in the period 1961 to 1971. This expenditure has resulted in the completion of 21,000 holdings, an increase of 1.25 per cent over the previously irrigated area, an additional 250 hectares has been irrigated by a private entrepreneur. The projects involved are now here in a small scale.

The principal irrigation projects being carried out in close consultation with the Ministry of Public Works, Transport, Tourism and Urban Property, which cover between them a catchment 12,000 hectares of land. The two main projects are the Greenmont, Knighton, New Dundee and Urban project. The Greenmont project, on the Upper River, was begun in 1961 and at present comprises 1,200 hectares in all to be completed to another 1,700 hectares in 1975, when every area comprises an 12.12 hectares, of which 8.1.2 million has been spent to the end of 1971. Negotiations to supplement the 1971.

1/ Rule 3, Section, The Bank, Bureau of Lithium. This represents 3.7 per cent of total expenditure during this period, the figures for 1970 to 1975 are today provisional.

2/ In November 1971, a Secretary of Economic Planning was established. Its membership the Permanent Board, the Bureau of Statistics, the Bureau of Trade, the Bureau of Trade and Industry of the Treasury and 1 Director and the Bureau of Trade. Its tasks are within a consultation and are also closely involved between Acting with consultations and appointment [illegible] Planning Commission Bureau. 7 February 1972.

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The other irrigation areas in northern Lebanon, which at present irrigate 5,000 hectares, are scheduled to cover a total of 15,000 hectares, of which 7,500 are to receive perennial irrigation and 7,500 spring irrigation. Total costs, including the registered portion, were estimated at 12.4 million. It is expected that work on the project will be finished by 1958.

Lake Tiberias, in north central Lebanon, at present provides 2,500 hectares with spring irrigation and 500 hectares with summer irrigation. These figures are to be raised to 10,000 and 1,000 hectares, respectively. The cost involved is 12.7 million, in addition to 12.1.7 million already spent. No date has been set for completion. Irrigation from the Litani River, in northern Lebanon, which at present covers 1,000 hectares, would be extended to an additional 4,000. An detailed plans have as yet been worked out.

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Both Lake Tiberias and the Litani River form part of a seventy-five year concession granted to a private company for the generation of electricity. [illegible] with a capacity of 4,000 kilowatts will be erected on Lake Tiberias and a further 3,000 kilowatts may be added later; generators with a capacity of 1,000 kilowatts, providing an estimated 25 million kilowatt-hours per month, will be set up on the Litani. The total cost, including transmission lines, is estimated at 12.10 million. A further 4,000 kilowatts may be added by using the fall of Lake Tiberias, to permit storage. The capital of the concessionary company is 12.20 million, of this 60 per cent has been subscribed by Lebanese residents and assignees and it is hoped to raise the balance from Europe and other foreign countries.

The Nahr Ibrahim hydroelectric works have a total capacity of 1,200 kilowatts and a maximum capacity of 4,000. Built by a concessionary company, they began operating in 1951, and in 1953 supplied 20 million kilowatt-hours of electricity. In 1954, the company was authorized to increase its capital from 12.1 million to 12.2.75 million. The Government has also proposed to guarantee a 12.1 million loan to be obtained by the company by the Bank du Liban et du Liban. A second power plant, with a maximum capacity of 12,000 kilowatts and an estimated annual output of 60 million kilowatt-hours, is to be built, at a cost of 12.17 million, including a tax and other considerations. It is hoped to complete the project in 1957, after which a third plant, with a capacity of 12,000 kilowatts is contemplated. A thermal station at Zouk, with a capacity of 12,000 kilowatts, is scheduled for completion by the end of 1957. The capacity will be doubled shortly after. 1/

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The Litani River project, which provides for both irrigation and power, is the most important scheme under study in Lebanon. It aims at irrigating, at a total cost of 12.72 million, 25,000 hectares 2/ of which 15,000 are to the Bekaa plain and 5,000 to the coastal plain, and incidentally controlling the unfavourable erosion of river. At the same time, power will be provided by

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1/ Le Commerce du Levant, 22 October 1954.

2/ This figure is exclusive of the 1,500 hectares in the Qasmieh scheme, which will also be irrigated by the Litani River. In addition, the Litani scheme will provide seasonal irrigation for 4,000 hectares.

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of the Westerners and the Murreh as groups. The Westerners are tradesmen, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thomalin, 1956, pp. 134-55). According to Cove Group informants, they, or other Maronites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily to their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. However, the Cove Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The Arabs furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Murreh are looked upon with some disapproval. The Murreh as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a percentage rent to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this rent is agreed upon with a view to the Cove Group members' getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Murreh, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the bakeries or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or laundresses. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes, in terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of supernatural-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sorts live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sorts which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degrees of economical superiority and local establishment which obtain in the particular case. In other words, as has been suggested above, Murreh is simply one localized example of the operation of Cove's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way colored by group avoidance or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in all social relationships in the village is equalitarian, continued, to be sure, with the various handicaps which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of itinerants: (1) Turkish and western gipsies, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the liveliness of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright, others work, perhaps sincerely, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawasir (Gypsies). One group of them was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular head-dress, their faces tattooed, marching up the road with

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of clinics and in the cities a shortage of qualified staff to undertake massage, radiotherapy, and orthopædics, and there is special need to combat tuberculosis. Syrians and Lebanese are not addicted to hashish which, however, is grown in the Biqaa and smuggled to Egypt. The Lebanese Government periodically burns many of the plantations, which inflates the price of the surviving crop.

Economic Survey

More than half the population of the two countries is engaged in agriculture which is the most important economic activity. Natural resources hardly exist; there is bitumen in Jebel Bishri in Syria but its production would not be economic; about 10,000 tons a year of asphalt is produced from the neighbourhood of Latakia; and salt is extracted in commercial quantities near Aleppo.

Petroleum

For a number of years, associates of IPC searched for oil in Syria and Lebanon but without finding it in commercial quantities; in consequence, the areas held by these IPC associates have been given up. However, the two Governments are still anxious for further efforts to be made to find oil in commercial quantities. The importance of petroleum in the economy of Syria and Lebanon lies in the situation of the two republics athwart the pipelines from the fields of northern Iraq and Saudi Arabia which have outlets on the Mediterranean.[1] From Iraq a 12-inch and 16-inch line carry oil across Syria by way of Palmyra and Homs to Tripoli in the Lebanon. Together, these two lines can carry about 8 million tons of oil a year (160,000 barrels daily). A third IPC line from Kirkuk to Homs then bears north of the other two and reaches the sea at Banias, and so does not run through Lebanon at all. This new line is 26–30–32-inches in diameter and can deliver oil at about 16 million tons a year (320,000 barrels daily). From the fields of Saudi Arabia a 30–31 inch American pipeline (Tapline) travels over 1,000 miles on its way to Sidon in Lebanon, passing through Jordan and Syria. At present the line is pumping at a rate of about 15 million tons a year (300,000 barrels daily). It should be noted that these four lines all carry crude oil, some of which is refined on the Mediterranean shore for local requirements but the bulk is shipped as crude to the refineries of Europe and elsewhere.

The line from Kirkuk to Haifa is not operating and the Haifa

[1] See Appendix IV, p. 570 below.

[illegible] Adam et al [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. The total area of [illegible] is about 1,500 square miles, the population being estimated in 1960 at [illegible] persons, of whom a high proportion live in the principal towns. The main ports have long maintained regular services to foreign countries, and it is said that [illegible] have served as [illegible] to the coast to their native land.

2. Labours to embody a fruit-growing agricultural economy, but [illegible] from Middle East and Florida are being sold during the country to research with early experimental [illegible] and [illegible] on the main. In the course this [illegible] may influence the economy of the country.

3. Great hopes of agricultural expansion - to be encouraged, it is claimed, by schemes of rural community development - are based upon the [illegible] and irrigation project. At the time of our visit this project was under discussion between the Government and the United States National Cooperative Administration (United [illegible]), but sections had not advanced sufficiently to justify our attempting to follow in detail the discussions with regard to community welfare centres.

4. The agency of the Lebanese Government responsible for social [illegible] recently [illegible] been raised to the status of Ministry. Until [illegible] recently, there had been a change of government and the new Minister of Social [illegible] were also held [illegible] other portfolios. The Director-General of the Department [illegible] had not been continuously in office over the past years. An inquiry had been returned by the relevant Department to the Secretary-General's request [illegible] the end of 1960 for information on community welfare centres. Background information was difficult to obtain. A decree which would have governed the provision of multi-purpose community centres and material government support to be given to each or by way of exemption, had been promulgated in 1951 (Appendix I). The decree had not, however, been put into operation. The initiative in launching or developing such multi-purpose activities as we had the opportunity of seeing at Chtoura, Anjar and Aitanit had come mainly from voluntary agencies.

5. We visited the Chtoura Intermediate Centre and Anjar project on the 4th and 5th of December. The purpose of the original centre was to provide for Armenian refugees from Kurdistan [illegible] and in the earlier stages both the Near East Foundation and the Emmet Armenian Commemorative Corporation shared responsibilities for financing and management of settlements in this area. More recently, the Near East Foundation decided to concentrate on activities in Syria and Greece and brought the work at Chtoura to a close. Mr. Poladian of the Near East Foundation, who had had a long experience between the wars in community organization in Bulgaria before coming to Chtoura, then transferred to the Armenian Corporation. With his wife, he now supervises the various activities in a group of villages located in the Bekaa Valley between Beirut and Damascus. These activities include control of malaria, recreational programmes, organization of marketing, provision of seedlings and plants, poultry breeding, adult co-operatives and educational projects.

6. At the time of our visit an illustrated lecture by an American voluntary expert [illegible] was in progress. The co-operative milk marketing scheme appeared to be successful and to make a useful contribution to the milk supply of Beirut. The housing provided for the settlers and the general appearance of the village at Anjar were satisfactory. That of the Arab village of Bedjah-Anjar was [illegible] away the less so. In a Primary School known there was a primitive [illegible] and adult

are farmers. Large holdings, owned by absentee landlords and worked according to the share-tenancy system, predominate, however, in the Bekaa valley, in the Akkar plain and in the province of South Lebanon.

A diversity of crops is grown in different parts of the country. The subtropical climate of the coastal plain permits the cultivation of citrus fruits and bananas, while olives, grapes, apricots and other fruits flourish on the terraced mountain slopes. Cereals and legumes are the chief crops of the Bekaa, but cotton, tobacco and numerous types of vegetables are also produced. Large numbers of goats, as well as sheep, cattle and other livestock, are raised, primarily as food or draft animals. Sericulture is carried on in many mountain villages, but the competition of artificial silks has contributed to its decline within recent years. The government encourages the expansion of agriculture through the promotion of co-operative credit and marketing facilities. There are no experimental farms or research stations, but instruction in modern methods of farming is provided by the agricultural division of the government's vocational school in Beirut and by the American University.

The mineral resources of the region are negligible. Small deposits of lignite, located in the hills above Beirut and Tripoli, are worked intermittently. Salt is also extracted in evaporating beds along the coast north of Beirut. The development of modern industry received some impetus during the war years 1941-45, but is handicapped by the scarcity of raw materials and the limitations of the internal market. Numerous small plants exist for the processing of consumer goods, including the manufacture of textiles, cement, soaps, distilled liquors, leather goods, cigarettes, olive oil and various foodstuffs. The Iraq Petroleum Company has recently established a refinery at Tripoli, the terminus of its pipeline from the oil fields in the Kirkuk region. The chief exports are olives and olive oil, textiles, silk, fruits and petroleum products.

p. 112(5)

Communications are excellent in the coastal districts, but some parts of the interior are inaccessible, especially during the winter months, when snow accumulates on the mountain ridges. Good roads stretch north and south along the coast and to the Bekaa, but the lateral connections are restricted by the nature of the terrain and the shortage of suitable national passes across the mountains. Trunk highways skirt the coast and extend from Beirut to Damascus, linking Lebanon and Syria. Beirut is also united with Damascus by a railway through Rayak, while a line from Rayak through Homs joins the Istanbul-Baghdad railway at Aleppo. Tripoli is linked with the latter system by a branch from Homs. A coastal railroad, extending from Tripoli to Haifa, was constructed by the British military forces during World War II, and the Lebanese portion is still in operation. Beirut, the principal modern port, handles a large volume of transit traffic for Syria, Jordan, Iraq and other parts of the Middle East. Tripoli is a port of secondary significance, except as an oil-shipping center. The ancient port of Sidon has recently been developed as the terminus of the trans-Arabian pipeline, serving as a Mediterranean port for the shipment of oil from the Saudi Arabian fields of the Arabian American Oil Company. The distances between local points are too short for the promotion of internal air services, but Beirut is an important junction for international airlines serving Europe and the Near and the Far East.

Food and Nutrition

The nutritional standards of the people differ according to the prosperity and the familiarity with food values of the individual families, but they are reasonably high in most parts of the country. Bread, and a coarse-grained cereal known as *burghul*, which are usually prepared from wheat but sometimes from barley or millet, are staple foods in both urban and rural areas. Rice is popular among all groups of the population. Liberal amounts of milk are consumed

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible] and to the opening of new markets overseas. Because of the large amount of unemployment, substantial wages were reduced, bringing down costs. Between 1947 and 1954, investment in plant and equipment in the principal [illegible] industries doubled, while employment rose by 14 per cent. [illegible] were [illegible] and rose further to 1955.

[illegible] Each new industry gave rise [illegible] to industries. Mining expanded to [illegible] a very active part in the economy. Building shows a doubled and tripled [illegible] supplies, such as [illegible] have [illegible] of [illegible] of this are [illegible] equipment, a total of [illegible] tons in that year. Output in 1954 was expected to reach [illegible] tons. The [illegible] of tar was at [illegible] per ton. [illegible]

[illegible] Imports of [illegible] have [illegible]. The [illegible] increased [illegible] of the war of 1954; the [illegible] increased from [illegible] tons in 1954 to [illegible] in 1955, and, after suspension of capacity in 1954, to [illegible] tons in 1955, [illegible] in 1956 [illegible] and [illegible] in the first half of 1954. [illegible] of major [illegible] have the [illegible] of [illegible] tons in 1954 and [illegible] in 1956. [illegible] The [illegible] of the [illegible] output of equipment to [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible], [illegible] [illegible] to [illegible] 1955. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] through the [illegible]

[illegible] The [illegible] of [illegible] to the main [illegible] of the [illegible] [illegible] have increased from [illegible] in 1947 to 1954 to [illegible] in 1947 and [illegible] in 1954, [illegible] to [illegible] in 1955. [illegible] increased from [illegible] to [illegible] in 1954 to [illegible] in 1955, to [illegible] in 1956, to [illegible] in 1957 and to [illegible] in 1958, the [illegible] of employees in [illegible] industries rose from [illegible] in 1954 to [illegible] in 1955, [illegible] in 1956 and [illegible] in 1957. The [illegible] increased in five [illegible] industries increased from [illegible] to [illegible] in 1954 to [illegible] in 1955, in [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and to the opening of new refinery overseas. Because of the large amount of unemployment, industrial regions have received, bringing down rates. Between 1950 and 1955, investment in plant and equipment in the principal European industrial branches, while employment rose by 10 per cent. [illegible] also increased considerably and was higher in 1955.

[illegible] Coal was losing here market from refineries to industry. Strong increases in coal's share would push to the economy. Existing mines in Alsace and in Lorraine [illegible] mainly to coke-making, [illegible] coal [illegible] coal's competitors and mines were to expansion. Since 1955, small amounts of coal are have been exported, a total of 30,000 tons in that year. Target to 1970 has expected to reach 40,000 tons. The ore content of the ore is 37 per cent. [1]

[illegible] Import of fuel and power have increased significantly. The French refiners started operating at the end of 1954. The throughput increased from 10,000 tons in 1954 to 20,000 in 1955, and, after expansion of capacity to 100, to 340,000 tons in 1956, 770,000 in 1957 [2] and 850,000 in the first half of 1958. Refinery's consumption of native petroleum have not increased at 60,000 tons in 1955 and 320,000 in 1956. [3] The remainder of the refinery's output is exported to Syria. Several refineries, and Rumania, began operations in February 1959. In this refinery [illegible] via natural through the trans-Alpine

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[1] The number of establishments in the main branches of the industries varied [illegible] between [illegible] from 477 in 1954 to 471 in 1955 and 465 in 1957, declining to 462 in 1958; capital invested rose from 4.5 billion in 1954 to 5.2 billion in 1955, to 6.0 billion in 1956 and to 6.5 billion in 1957; the number of employees in these industries rose from 5,100 in 1954 to 11,000 in 1955, 11,300 in 1956 and 11,700 in 1957. The capital invested in food processing industries increased from 14.7 billion in 1954 to 15.8 billion in 1955, to beverages from 5.7 billion to 6.2 billion in 1956 to tobacco from 14.3 billion to 15.2 billion, to non-metallic mineral products from 14.8 billion to 16.2 billion, to chemicals from 5.1 billion to 5.7 billion, to steel products from 4.7 billion to 5.7 billion and to printing from 2.1 billion to 2.3 billion. Capital invested in the leather industry fell from 1.1 billion to 1.0 billion to 0.9 billion in 1958 (Ministry of National Economy). Total capital investment in industry, excluding investments for building public utilities and buildings and various enterprises operated under concession agreements, such as the petroleum refineries and the tobacco monopoly, [illegible] between 11.07 billion and 11.70 billion, probably closer to the latter figure. Total employment in manufacturing, including handicrafts, is probably between 85,000 and 91,000

[illegible] [illegible] Ministry [illegible].

[2] Of this 800,000 tons consisted of fuel oil, 110,000 of gasoline, 60,000 of gas oil and 60,000 of kerosene (Ministry of National Economy, Bulletin statistique trimestriel, Beirut).

[3] Between 1948 and 1957, consumption of gasoline in Lebanon increased from 30,000 tons to 70,000; of kerosene from 15,000 tons to 25,000; of gas oil from 3,000 tons to 5,000; and of fuel oil from 70,000 tons to 110,000.

complete one of these rooms, and perhaps the other is a work room. The chimney is likely to be enclosed by one or the other of them.

Many of the tile-roof houses have the thick old-style walls, but some do not. Limestone, often fossiliferous, is the universal building material. The floors are of cement, or stone flags, or both.

After the era of great prosperity which ended with the start of the First World War, there appears to have been no building to speak of until the 1950's.

Of the modern houses, there are six which are essentially additions to older structures, either second storeys or side-by-side wings, and connected to the old. These more are entirely new. These also conform to older patterns in their low stone masonry, rectangular plan, and roof arrangement. The walls are, however, relatively thin, and cement is used much more liberally than of old to hold the stones together. Projecting porches, supported by cylindrical concrete pillars, are a new feature, but the most outstanding innovation is the flat, concrete roof.

There are two more modern houses each of which is in a class by itself. One is the highest house in the village, and at first glance it does not seem unusual. It is built of limestone and has a tile roof. On closer inspection, however, a number of unusual features become evident. There is an extensive all and a projecting porch in back. A sort of garden path leads to the front door on each side of which there is a trellis. The windows are large, and, of course, glazed. This house is somewhat in the style of the villas which can be seen in Lebanese mountain resorts. Its builder and owner is a man who works and lives in Tripoli, except in the summer.

The other modern house of [illegible] represents the most radical departure from the old patterns. It is not yet completed, consisting only of the frame which is made of reinforced concrete and of cinder blocks. (The old-type construction does not require a frame.) Probably it will have a limestone facing, including some curved surfaces, when it is finished, and it will conform in design and construction to a modernistic European style which is frequently seen elsewhere in Lebanon. This house, also, is being built by a summer resident.

The great increase in the use of concrete is worthy of comment, for cement is one of the few important non-agricultural products of modern Lebanon. Consequently, it is relatively inexpensive. In addition to this, there is its admirable property of plasticity. However, its use in roofs is, in the writer's opinion, a poor environmental adaptation. In winter, concrete roofs make cold, damp ceilings. In summer, they collect a great deal of heat, and the rooms which have them usually become very hot.

The significance of the ruined houses (khirbi) is much more of a social than a material nature. Many ruined houses are used as latrines for there are few specially constructed privies in the village, at least one has its floor planted up, and this is planted to onions. Otherwise, the ruins have no function whatever. It might be thought that the stones of which they are built would be removed and used in

[illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

still rise with the sun, although they go to bed after dark. On the whole, there is no specific horological time for meals. However, the village schools operate on a definite time schedule, and this affects quite a large proportion of the resident population—the teachers and their families, the children, and their mothers who prepare their lunches. Of course, those who are, or have been, working in the city, are quite thoroughly conditioned to clock-schedules. A good deal of apparently unnecessary reference to and synchronization of watches was observed in the village. On the whole, however, it can be said that future plans which involve exact hours are made and fulfilled in a casual manner. Perhaps a valid generalization would be that the average individual regards his watch as a symbol of prosperity, an instrument, on occasion, of practical value, and an interesting toy—all in about equal measure.

Combs, toilet soap, safety and straight razors, shaving lotion, etc. (all of European or American manufacture) are universally distributed. Some people have and use toothbrushes. The women do not appear to use cosmetics to any great extent.

A variety of containers have already been described, but several more must be added. The rectangular five-gallon gasoline can, with its top cut out and fitted with a wooden handle, is widely used for carrying water, cement and other bulk materials. Various sizes of coiled baskets, cylindrical with large handles over the top, are used for carrying food. Large, flat wicker trays are used for carrying such things as bread and laundry and for the display of vegetables in the stores. Formerly, silk worm cocoons were set out on them.

Carpenter's and mason's tools—hammers, saws, planes, levels, drills, screwdrivers, chisels, and trowels—appear to be the same in form as they are in the West. Probably most of the items now used are western-made, but most of the forms are very old in the Middle East.

Agricultural tools are conservative and of very ancient form. There are no horses in the village (the Arabs use them for riding rather than for traction), and the ox is the chief draft animal. The plow consists of a wooden shaft (in several segments) to which a round iron spike is set at an agle. The thresher is a heavy sledge into whose bottom sharp volcanic stones (from the Akkar) are set. (See Thoumin, 1936, pp. 134–36, for illustrations.) Grain is winnowed by tossing it up into the air with a rather crude fork made entirely of wood. Small saws and hand-clippers (the only recent foreign element in the toolkit) are used for pruning. The last item is an iron spade, which is, if possible, manipulated by two or three men. One man grasps the handle and shaft in the usual manner, and, in effect, pushes the spade. One or two other men pull the spade by means of cords attached to the shaft just above the shoulders of the blade.

The traditional means of communication were donkeys, horses, and human backs and legs, traveling over rough stone paths. To this, can be added a recent

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

usually in a row of three rounded or pointed arches. These were evidently the dwellings of people of some affluence, although no stories were related about this. The houses are evidently eighty to ninety years old.

The second house-type is the tile-roof style which was typical of the period 1890 to 1914. It was stated that all the tile-roof houses in the village were built with funds earned by emigrants in, or returned from, America. By and large, this is probably true. For Lebanon as a whole, Thoumin (1936, p. 295) makes the same statement. Weulersse (1946, p. 238) points out that this style of house, which is very common in Lebanon, is a symbol of prestige and wealth. Février (1949a, p. 163), commenting on this statement, says that actually this is no longer true, for now it is the even more European-style villa (*fille*) which the rich and influential build for themselves—not in ordinary villages, but in the luxurious suburbs and mountain resorts. At any rate, the tile-roof house, in Munqif as elsewhere, is one of the earliest and most conspicuous items in the process of material acculturation. The tiles are flat and grooved, mostly made in France—rather different from the semi-cylindrical Spanish and Italian tiles.

A map in Thoumin (1936, p. 220) indicates that Munqif is an area of relatively high frequency of tile roofs. Somewhat less than a third of the village's houses now have them.

There are two subtypes of the tile-roof house. The first is very like the old-style house in that it has only one room above, and a storage room or stable below. The major differences are the roof style, the fact that the masonry courses tend to be more even and are frequently wet-laid and the fact that there are more windows, mostly still unglazed.

The second subtype of the tile roof house is more elaborate. The triple arch, in glazed windows—which sometimes have some panes of colored glass—or in arcades, is a conspicuous feature of these houses. There is usually an ornamental cornice just below the roof, and just below the cornice there frequently are small round windows. These appear high up on the interior walls, which are often as much as twenty feet high, from floor to ceiling. The ornamental windows are invariably glazed, and others usually are. The panes of a window are set in double, wooden casements which open inward. In addition, there are solid wooden shutters outside. The doors and shutters of houses of all types usually have simple rectangular panels, and the doors have big iron locks with keys to match them in size. Some of the large tile-roof houses, however, have rather elaborate doors, somewhat baroque in style.

The interior floor plan of the large tile-roof house consists essentially of a large central salon (*maq'ad*—"seat") off which open perhaps two rooms on each side. The ornamental windows occupy a third wall of the *maq'ad*, with the front door in the opposite, fourth, wall. Assuming that this idealized pattern forms a rectangular plan, we can add that it is often modified into a shallow U-shape by building additional rooms on either side of the front door. The kitchen very often

463 224 city and re very expensive as a result. Otherwise the sample is small as might be expected in a city.

Processors of food and other agricultural products

463 This category of processing of food and agricultural products includes such sub-groups as bakers meat cutters, and those engaged in tobacco ad textile manufacturing. About three percent of the sample are in this category.

Clothing fabrication

Those who are engaged in the fabrication of finished clothing include such sub-groups as dressmakers, knitters and tailors. They represent almost five percent of the sample.

Fabricated wood and wood products

463 335 Subgroups include carpenters, paper-manufacturig employees, and others engaged in final processing of wood products. Carpenters were included in this category rather than in the construction industry, since the use of wood is almost negligible in the construction industry. Indeed, almost nothing but doors are made of wood. Th principal work of carpenters is in building furniture and cabinets. They almost invariably work out of small shops. The group includes les than three percent of the sample.

Printing

463 Less than half of one percent of the sample were engaged in the printing trade. This is probably anunderestimate.

Potters and allied trades

About one percent of the sample was engaged inthe making of pottery and the fabrication ofother stone and clay products.

Metal working

Metl working occupations were sub-divided into lackamiths, jewelers, machinists, and tinkers. Jewelers are primarily gold and silver craftsmen whith accounts for their inclusion in

12: Churchill 5-4 (1962) 1934 MI2 Lebanon MI2

463 this category. Almost four percent of the sample falls into this group.

Construction workers

Construction workers include masons, painters, plasterers, plumbers, tile setters and electricians. Of course, some of the electricians are working in servicing of electrical appliances rather than in construction. The plumber is usually also a tinker and sells electrical gadgets. More than three percent of the sample falls into this category.

[336]

Transportation

The largest single sub-category of transportation workers is the auto driver. The next biggest group is porters. These porters do miscellaneous carrying jobs for persons and firms who find human labour power cheaper than mechanical transport or whose volume of deliveries is not sufficient to hire porters full time. Other sub-groups are longshoremen, motormen, truckmen, and motor vehicle sales and service. Longshoremen (bahari) are a significant subgroup as befits such an important port and transit center as Beirut. The entire group is our fourth largest category constituting almost eight percent of the sample.

Miscellaneous

The miscellaneous occupational group represents over eighteen percent of the total sample, but is relatively insignificant when it is realized that of the eighteen percent, thirty percent were housewives, another thirty percent were retired or ill, and over twenty-six percent were unemployed.

6.2 Length of time at last job. Table 77

464 Respondents were asked how long they had worked at the job before their present one. About forty-two percent had never worked at another job while the modal group of those who had had other jobs was between ten and twenty years. This seems to be high stability of employment.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

342 occupies one of these rooms, and perhaps the other is a wash room. The cistern is likely to be enclosed by one or the other of them.

Many of the tile-roof houses have the thick old-style walls, but some do not. Limestone, often fossiliferous, is the universal building material. The floors are of cement, or stone flags, or both.

[331] After the era of great prosperity which ended with the start of the First World War, there appears to have been no building to speak of until the 1950's.

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● [339] The great increase in the use of concrete is worthy of comment, for cement is one of the few important non-agricultural products of modern Lebanon. Consequently, it is relatively inexpensive. In addition to this, there is its admirable property of plasticity. However, its use in roofs is, in the writer's opinion, a poor environmental adaptation. In winter, concrete roofs make cold, damp ceilings. In summer, they radiate a great deal of heat, and the rooms which have them usually become very hot.

[343] The significance of the ruined houses (*khirbi*) is much more of a social than a material nature. Many ruined houses are used as latrines for there are few specially constructed privies in the village; at least one has its floor plowed up, and this is planted to onions. Otherwise, the ruins have no function whatever. It might be thought that the stones of which they are built would be removed and used in

382 pipeline. Initial yearly capacity will be 500,000 tons, to be raised to 450,000 by 1956; by that date, total investment in the Refinery will be 80 million. Most of the output will be fuel for bunkering, but the lighter products will be available for domestic consumption, meeting all the country's needs for major oil products. 1/

377 Output of electricity has also expanded, from 57 million kilowatt-hours in 1945 to 104 million in 1949, 147 million in 1952 and 284 million in 1955; of the last figure, 65 million kilowatt-hours were produced by thermal generators and 219 million by hydroelectric generators.

331 Construction has been maintained at high level. Authorized construction in Beirut increased from 107,000 square meters of floor space in 1945 to 358,000 in 1948, 385,000 in 1952, 518,000 in 1953 and 267,000 during the first half of 1954. It is estimated that gross expenditure on construction was 11.81 million in 1948, 44.75 million in 1949 and 71.99 million in 1950. 2/ These figures represent some 7 to 10 per cent of the gross national product. Construction represents a large fraction, probably overhalf, of gross investment in Lebanon and absorbs a large proportion of small savings.

339 The building materials industries has expanded to meet construction needs.
323 Owing to expansion of capacity in 1947, output of cement rose from 148,000 tons in 1945 to 209,000 in 1948, 280,000 in 1951, 326,000 in 1953 and 182,000 in the first half of 1954. In recent years, exports have ranged between 20,000 and 60,000 tons. A new plant is under construction. Other industries, such as tile making and glass, have also expanded;output of glassware in 1952 reached 1,300 tons. Various cement products industries have been developed.

258 Food processing represents the most important group of industries, as regards capital employment and value of output (see table 45). Among the principal branches are sugar refining, whose output rose from a negligible amount to 6,000 tons in 1952 and 14,000 in 1955 at which capacity is being expanded; vegetable oils, whose output has risen fro 900 in 1945 to 5,600 in 1952; biscuits, whose output rose from 500 tons a 1945 to 1,800 in 1952; dough products, which increased from 500 tons to 2,400; chocolate, jam and various sweet-meats, with a combined output of 4,700 tons in 195; beer, whose output declined from its war-time peak to 2 million litres in 19; wine, arak and other alcoholic drinks, whose output has risen slightly in the post-war years, to 2.2 million litres in 1955; and soft drinks, whose output has increased more than fourfold, to 9.3 million litres in 1955. 3/ All these industries, except sugar, provide a small export surplus and all are operating well below capacity.

288 The textile industries have been facing difficulties. Silk reeling has declined into a minor occupation, but silkweaving has developed, output rising from 28 tons in 1945 to 580 in 1952; this amount represents only one sixth of Lebanon's consumption. Output of woollencloth has failed to exceed 150 tons,

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1/ Oil and Gas Journal, 7 March 1955.

2/ Albert F. Badre and Aggeig S. Altounian, "National Income of Lebanon", Monograph No. 8: "Income Arising inthe Construction Sector" (Beirut, November 1951).

3/ Figures from Le Commerce du Levant, July 1954, special issue on industry.

[Text continues on P. 161]

their relatives abroad. The villages are less compact than in other parts of the Near and Middle East, and separate farmsteads are common. Extremes of poverty, associated with primitive standards of sanitation, are most frequently encountered in the villages of southern Lebanon. In the cities, substandard housing is found chiefly in the old, congested quarters and in the Armenian sections.

The typical dwellings in all parts of the country are constructed of stone, cement or concrete blocks, with a surface of whitewashed or tinted plaster. The roofs are of two general types: peaked and of red tile; or flat, with a covering of cement or of mud and brush. The houses vary in size from one to several rooms, sometimes with two or more stories. The use of wood as a building material is prohibited by the fire regulations in the towns, but small wooden shacks are occasionally seen on the outskirts.

Beirut is a cosmopolitan city, a mixture of Arabic and Western culture. The older parts of the city are overcrowded, with narrow streets lined by innumerable small shops, which frequently have living rooms in the rear. Apartment houses, interspersed with detached dwellings surrounded by colorful gardens, dominate the newer developments. Architecturally, all gradations are encountered between old Arab-style houses and modern villas.

ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

Water Supplies

Water supplies are obtained from streams, springs and wells, and, in general, are abundant in the coastal and the mountain districts but deficient in the interior. Beirut derives its water supply from the Nahr el Kelb, or Dog River, which is fed from an underground spring in the hills about 18 miles from the city. It flows by gravity through a tunnel and open canals to Dubaiya, 9 miles distant, where it is treated by preliminary rapid filtration, slow sand

7- Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

421 till the chapters on "Kinship Structure and Marriage Patterns" and "The Patterns of Culture Change.")

BUILDINGS, HOUSES, AND HOUSE-TYPES

361 The map (Fig. 3) indicates the location of the institutional buildings in the village proper. Four of the six shops (sing. *dikkaan*, plur. *dakaakiin*) are concentrated in the *sahe*. Actually, building 9 was not open during the period of study, but building 6 is partitioned into halves in each of which there is an independent shop. Building 10 is also partitioned, one half being devoted to a shop whose proprietor is also a butcher. The other half is open when the need arises, being the place of business of one of the two barbers. Building 11, an old house, is occupied by the fifth shop, open only at times, which specializes in cloth. The sixth shop, also not of the "general-store" type, is located in the house of its proprietor, further down the main road. The two schools are rather widely separated, but this is probably accidental since the location of the private school is determined by the fact that it occupies the lower floor of the master's own house. Similarly the two bakeries, one in the *sahe*, are immediately adjacent to the houses of their respective owners, one of whom is the private school master. Building 5 is the only one in the village which is entirely devoted to an olive press. There are, however, two other presses in the village proper (one in the lower part of the one remaining occupied house in the al-Wusiiyya section, the other in the lower part of a house near the meeting point of the Sar at-Tiini and Dayr al-Qamiis sections); there is a third under construction in the eastern end of the *sahe*, and a fourth at Hilwi. Two of these presses are specialized for the reduction of carob pods to a mush from which *dibs*, a kind of jam, is made. There is also a mill, operated by a German-made gasoline engine, which is part of the store in building 8. The upper story, and part of the lower story, of building 8 is occupied by one of the Affiliate Families (see next chapter) of the village.

361 It has been noted that the long axis of most of the houses is parallel to the contours of the ridge, often flush with terrace walls. Not infrequently the paths between the houses are, in fact, the tops of wide terrace walls, and sometimes these are two or three feet higher than the earth which they support.

342 The great majority of the houses have two levels. In some cases these are directly superimposed. In many others, they are staggered, so that the roof of the lower level forms a very useful terrace which is flush with the floor of the upper level. There are invariably separate entrances to the upper and lower levels. The writer is aware of not a single instance of interior staircases leading from one level to another. Probably the reason for this is that staircases would take up a great deal of room which cannot be afforded. Frequently, the pitch of the ground is such that one can simply walk onto the roof of a house directly or by a very short flight of steps. More frequently, however, one must climb onto roofs, either on

1 - [AL-Munsif -- Analyst]

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

a wooden ladder or by an ascending series of stones projecting from the wall of the building.

The flat roofs are used extensively in the sunny part of the year. Apricots, almonds, and grapes are set out on them to dry. Many householders ornament them with potted plants and receive guests on them. In the hot of midsummer, the interiors of the houses tend to be stuffy at night since the gentle breezes do not penetrate inside. Consequently, all who can, sleep on the roof (or terrace) under a brush shelter called *khayme* ("tent").

Although no two houses are exactly the same, it is legitimate to classify all of them into a number of types, which are indices of successive eras in construction and design.

The first, which still has the greatest number of examples, has two subtypes. By far the most numerous of these has one room on the upper level, few windows, but often more than one door, and a flat earth roof. The lower level (*qabū*) is designed as a stable and storeroom and frequently consists of dung, low barrel-vault. The roof of the upper level (living quarters for the family) may or may not be supported on masonry pillars and arches, in addition to the outer walls. The walls are usually very thick, often exceeding three feet. In the old style of construction was two (dry-laid) stone walls with a rubble fill between them. The roof of the old-style house is constructed as follows: round or semi-round beams are laid from the top of one wall to the opposite one at right angles to the long axis of the house. A layer of shorter, thick sticks is placed across the beams, and then a layer of finer sticks is added. Finally, a layer of earth about a foot thick is packed down as hard as possible on top. To prevent leaking, the roof must be packed down several times each winter; for this purpose every old-style house is equipped with a stone roller (*madjū*), weighing about a hundred pounds. These houses are dark inside because of the paucity of windows which are unglazed and closed by solid wooden shutters. To counteract this, the inside plastered walls are either whitewashed or painted very pale blue. There is everymion to suppose that this style of house is very ancient indeed. However, none of the existing examples of it in Mansūf is probably more than a hundred and fifty years old, and some are probably as little as sixty years old. Repairs—sometimes amounting to rebuilding—and alterations have always been a matter of course. However, no houses of this type have been built since the early 1890's. Feuleme (1946, p. 267) says that this traditional Lebanese house is well adapted to its environment. It provides insulation against the chilly blasts of winter and against the heat of summer as effectively as any essentially primitive construction could.

The second subtype of old-style house has only two examples in the village. The construction is essentially the same as the foregoing, but the following features are added: two or more distinctly separate rooms in the upper level; sculptured ornamentation, including fully round columns, around the windows; and glazed ornamental windows, with rather elaborate designs formed by the lead mullions,

7: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

usually in a row of three rounded or pointed arches. These were evidently the dwellings of people of some affluence, although no stories were related about this. The houses are evidently eighty to ninety years old.

The second house-type is the tile-roof style which was typical of the period 1890 to 1914. It was stated that all the tile-roof houses in the village were built with funds earned by emigrants in, or returned from, America. By and large, this is probably true. For Lebanon as a whole, Thoumin (1936, p. 295) makes the same statement. Woolmer (1946, p. 250) points out that this style of house, which is very common in Lebanon, is a symbol of prestige and wealth. Féaux (1948a, p. 163), commenting on this statement, says that actually this is no longer true, for now it is the even more European-style villa (*fille*) which the rich and influential build for themselves—not in ordinary villages, but in the luxurious suburbs and mountain resorts. At any rate, the tile-roof house, in Munşif as elsewhere, is one of the earliest and most conspicuous items in the process of material acculturation. The tiles are flat and grooved, mostly made in France—rather different from the semi-cylindrical Spanish and Italian tiles.

A map in Thoumin (1936, p. 220) indicates that Munşif is an area of relatively high frequency of tile roofs. Somewhat less than a third of the village's houses now have them.

There are two subtypes of the tile-roof house. The first is very like the old-style house in that it has only one room above, and a storage room or stable below. The major differences are the roof style, the fact that the masonry courses tend to be more even and are frequently wet-laid and the fact that there are more windows, mostly still unglazed.

The second subtype of the tile roof house is more elaborate. The triple arch, its glazed windows—which sometimes have some panes of colored glass—or its arcades, is a conspicuous feature of these houses. There is usually an ornamental cornice just below the roof, and just below the cornice there frequently are small round windows. These appear high up on the interior walls, which are often as much as twenty feet high, from floor to ceiling. The ornamental windows are invariably glazed, and others usually are. The panes of a window are set in double, wooden casements which open inward. In addition, there are solid wooden shutters outside. The doors and shutters of houses of all types usually have simple rectangular panels, and the doors have big iron locks with keys to match them in size. Some of the large tile-roof houses, however, have rather elaborate doors, somewhat baroque in style.

The interior floor plan of the large tile-roof house consists essentially of a large central salon (*maq'ad*—"seat") off which open perhaps two rooms on each side. The ornamental windows occupy a third wall of the *maq'ad*, with the front door in the opposite, fourth, wall. Assuming that this idealized pattern forms a rectangular plan, we can add that it is often modified into a shallow U-shape by building additional rooms on either side of the front door. The kitchen very often

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

occupies one of these rooms, and perhaps the other is a work room. The cistern is likely to be enclosed by one or the other of them.

Many of the tile-roof houses have the thick old-style walls, but some do not. Limestone, often fossiliferous, is the universal building material. The floors are of cement, or stone flags, or both.

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The significance of the ruined houses (*khirbi*) is much more of a social than a material nature. Many ruined houses are used as latrines for there are few specially constructed privies in the village; at least one has its floor plowed up, and this is planted to onions. Otherwise, the ruins have no function whatever. It might be thought that the stones of which they are built would be removed and used in

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1965 ME1 Lebanon ME1

new constructions. This is not the case—at least, it is not to an observable degree. All the stones used in new building in the village are freshly quarried. Perhaps the reason for this is that nearly all the ruins have recognized owners, nearly all of whom are emigrants or their descendants. Even the villagers now admit that "they will never come back," but their property rights are still maintained, either because the older emigrants hesitate to relinquish their claims or because their American-born children are uninterested, both of which prevent local disposition of the property. However, most of the new ruined houses were of the old style, whose roofs would naturally go to pieces if not tended. Consequently, the roofs were removed so that the very valuable timbers in them could be used for other purposes. This hastened the partial collapse of many of the buildings' walls.

HOUSEHOLD ARRANGEMENT AND FURNISHINGS

Nearly every house has its own cistern (*bir*), either within the building or just outside it. The water is entirely winter rain water drawn from the roof of the house and conducted to the cistern, nowadays, by sheet-iron pipes. This is much more efficient than the older method of letting the water flow down a shallow vertical trough on the outside of the wall of the building. The cisterns have circular openings raised off the ground or floor on a stone or concrete curbing. The opening is fitted, more or less tightly, with a wooden cover.

It is one of the women's jobs to draw water from the cistern by means of a sheet-iron, European-made, bucket attached to a chain or rope. The water needed for the day is stored in large, two-handled, pointed-bottom jars (*jarra*), of pottery earthenware, which stand in wooden frames in the kitchen corner, or the kitchen room if there is one. From the *jarra*, water is transferred to cooking utensils, to the spouted pottery or glass drinking jars (*ibriq*), and to the two to three gallon, semi-cylindrical metal tanks in which washing water is stored. These hang against an outside wall or in the wash room if there is one. The tanks are called *hanafiyi*, a term primarily applied to the small brass spigots with which they are fitted. The term is derived from the Hanafi school of Muslim jurisprudence which decided that the use of spigots was not a violation of the provisions of the Koran. Near the *hanafiyi* one usually finds a dish for soap and a towel-rack. A few houses are equipped with hand-pumps, a raised tank, and a limited system of pipes and spigots. This, however, is unusual.

The interior arrangement of the one-room house is essentially the same in every case, although of course there are many minor variations. The following description is composite. On entering the front door, one will observe that the room is divided into two sections, front and back. The division is effected by tall cabinets, with doors and drawers, placed across the room. These are used for keeping clothes, dishes, and so on. This means of division may be supplemented by a curtain. In the front section, a long wooden seat, really a bench with a back and

7: Gulick E-3 (1952) 1959 ME1 Lebanon ME1

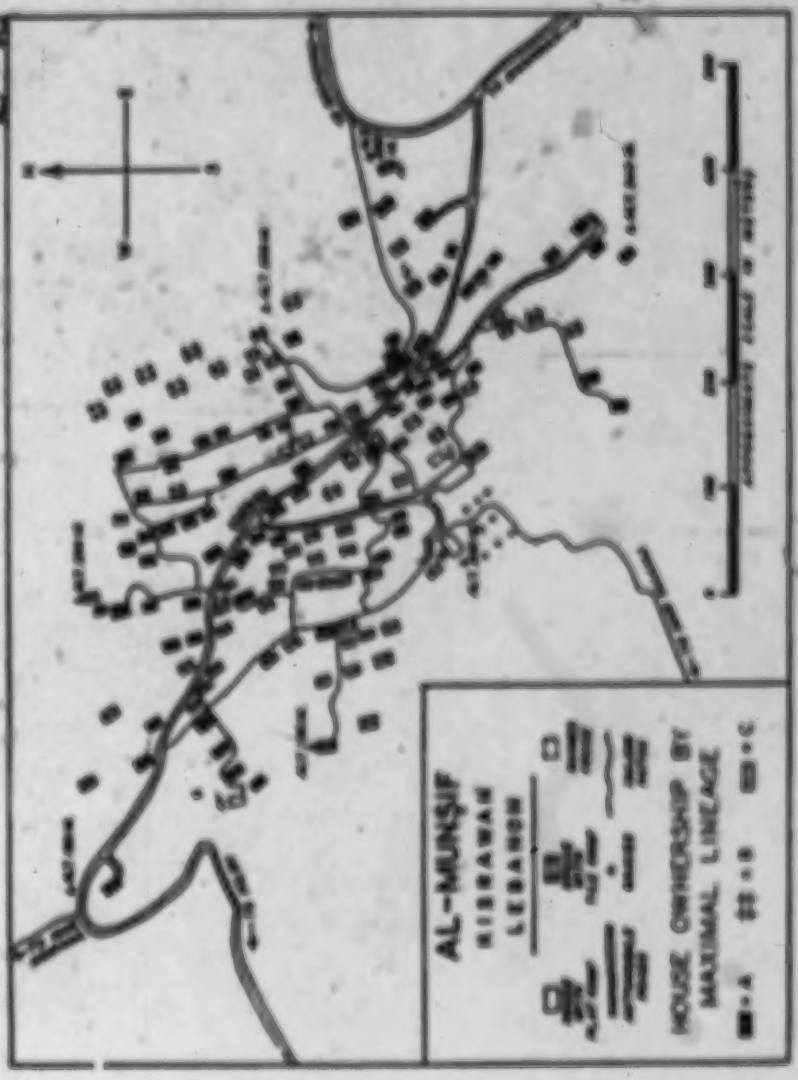

Fig. 4. Al-Munsif: Road Orientation of Maternal Lineage

342

HOUSE TYPES: OLD-STYLE

following p. 41 (4)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 MK1 Lebanon MK1

342

HOUSES THROUGH THE RAIN THEIR ROOF SEEN

following p 191 (5)

7: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

342

Gulick p 191 (6)

Homs Type: Modern

434 It is evident that in all the villages the great majority of the breadwinners must depend on sources of income other than their own fields. Therefore, younger members of the family seek income outside of the village, while the farmer himself must work part-time for one of the larger landlords or the oil company, hold a government job, get money from abroad, or subsist on a very low level.

Physical Description of Project Villages

392 It is not possible to describe with statistical accuracy the «average village home» in the project 365 area. A very general description must suffice until more detailed information is available. Homes are usually one-story stone structures of one or two rooms. They do not have electricity or running water. Usually the animals are accomodated in a stable connected to the house, or in a room in the house itself.

364 The villagers do not seem to be concerned with keeping their surroundings sanitary. In none 511 of the villages is there any attempt to collect and properly dispose of garbage. The uniform practice 744 is to «throw it in the fields». There are few toilets. Stone walls and fields close to town attest to 515 means commonly used for sewage disposal. To serve the 5,645 people in the project area there are 82 pit privies. There are no tubs or showers. Homes have no screens and flies are free to contaminate food and mosquitoes to torment and transmit disease.

515 Homes are nearly always neat and clean and the people attempt to clothe themselves decently 602 with well-scrubbed garments. Though extremely poor, the village family is very hospitable and 514 insists on sharing with a guest its meager supply of cigarettes or treasured coffee and sugar.

361 In the five project villages there are 1,100 buildings. This number includes 912 dwelling units, 34 business establishments, 143 separate barns and 11 public buildings. A detailed break-down of the types of buildings by village is shown in Table VIII. Included in the category of public buildings are seven mosques. Sarafand and En-Naariyah have two mosques each, while in each

110 The schedule included a number of questions designed to find out the status of housing in Beirut. These included the age of buildings, construction materials, building installations, condition of buildings, amount of crowding, and extent of home ownership.

7.1 Type of dwelling. Table 94

362 Beirut is a city of multiple family residences. Sixty-five percent of the sample was composed of residential buildings with two or more families in residence while only eighteen percent were single family. When it is realized that a good many of these one family houses are shacks it can be seen that the single family villa is not characteristic.

7.2 Basis of occupation of household. Table 95

362 Ownership of buildings has been achieved by a quarter of our sample which corresponds with our results showing most dwellings to be in multiple family buildings.

7.3 Building material used in dwelling. Table 96

361 362 Almost the entire city is built either of stone or concrete (94 %). The floors are usually of tile. The poverty stricken tin shacks represent a fraction of the total (3 %). Wood is much too expensive for construction purposes as it must be imported. One result of this is that fire is an almost non-existent danger. Beirut is probably better housed in all but the poorest sections than most metropolitan centers in the world.

1: Churchill 8-5 (1962) 1984 MFI Lebanon MFI

7.4 Number of floors in building, Table 97

342
342 The largest percentage of buildings in our sample were two stories in height (36 %) and the second largest group was of one story buildings (25 %). Tall buildings are relatively rare with only eight percent of the sample five stories or above.

7.5 State of building repair, Table 98

Only about one-fifth of the buildings were classified by the study as being in poor repair. Our definition of poor repair is a building in which extensive major repairs are necessary.

7.6 Age of building where household is located, Table 99

Approximately half (47 %) of the buildings in the sample are over twenty years of age, but the building boom in Beirut is shown by the unusually large percentage of relatively new buildings.

7.7 Permanency of building containing household, Table 100

Our residential sample indicated ten percent so-called "temporary buildings." Temporary is defined in the study as buildings not designed to be anything but temporary emergency shelters. The term is somewhat misleading because a large part of these so-called temporary buildings date back to those constructed to house the Armenian refugees who took refuge in Lebanon in the First World War. These are concentrated in the Medawar district. These places, plus shelters thrown up against permanent buil-

362 dings, constitute the physical housing problem
342 of Beirut.

7.8 **Incidence of garden plots attached to residences. Table 101**

342 A substantial part of the sample (41 %) live in buildings with adjoining garden plots. No attempt was made to analyze the size or usage of these plots.

7.9 **Number of dwelling rooms in building. Table 102**

The number of dwelling rooms per building has its highest incidence in the interval of four - six dwelling rooms per building (18 %) and decreases steadily until the catch-all category of over twenty-four.

7.10 **Number of people living in building. Table 103**

The concentration of people in buildings is shown in the table. The crude mode is eight per building but includes only twenty-two percent. It is hoped later to cross-tabulate the number of dwelling rooms in the buildings with the number of people.

7.11 **Number of families on floor of interviewed household. Table 104**

The great majority of the sample (67 %) are the sole occupants of the floors on which they reside. When those floors which accommodate only two families are added, we find that eighty-eight percent of the households are included.

7.12 **Number of rooms per household unit. Table 105**

The modal number of rooms per family apartment is four. This should be compared to the mean family size of 5.7.

427 7.13 **Terms of rental payment for dwelling. Table 106**

Rental payments are generally made either

p. 21 (A)

427 monthly (39 %) or yearly (30 %). When the owner and those not paying rent are subtracted, we find relatively few (6 %) who have other contract terms.

7.14 Location of kitchen facilities by privacy, Table 107

342 In investigating the adequacies of households in Beirut it was found that nine-tenths of the enumerated households had private kitchen facilities in the house. Cooking outside the house was principally for one-room shacks.

7.15 Location of toilet facilities in household, Table 108

[574] Toilet facilities in the buildings were found in over ninety percent of the sample. Of these, almost nine-tenths are private toilets. Arab types are found overwhelmingly.

7.16 Source of water in household, Table 109

312 365 Water, too, is piped into the overwhelming majority of houses (93 %) making relatively few who were forced to obtain water from outdoor cisterns or from more fortunate neighbors. In some cases, such as the agglomeration of tin shacks, a city faucet is the only source of water.

7.17 Type of lighting in household, Table 110

354 365 Lighting is by electricity in over nine-tenths of the households in the sample. Charateristically, electrical fixtures are ceiling lights suspended by cords. Lamps are used much less than in western cities, even where wall plugs are available. Less electricity is delivered to households due to a shortage of generating capacity. Almost all of the remaining households use oil lamps.

7.18 Type of heating in household, Table 111

354 Charcoal burners are the sole means of heat in over half of the houses (57 %). One-fifth of the houses have no means of heat; this is not surprising considering the relatively mild cli-

464

Table 93

Incidence of Work on Own Land for Those Working in Village for Part of Year

	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	91	100.00	
Yes	35	38.46	.050
No	38	41.76	.052
No answer	18	19.78	

342
361

Table 94

Type of Dwelling

Type	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1873	100.00	
One family house	340	18.15	.009
Multiple family	1211	64.66	.011
Combined dwelling & office	16	0.85	
Combined dwelling & commercial	250	13.35	.008
Combined dwelling & industrial	34	1.82	
Other	15	0.80	
No answer	7	0.37	

p. 53 (c)

12; Churchill S-5 [1956] 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

3412
363

Table 97

Number of Floors in Building

No. of Floors	Number	Percent
Total	1852	100.00
One	465	25.11
Two	672	36.28
Three	367	19.82
Four	193	10.42
Five	98	5.30
Six	38	2.05
More than six	15	0.81
No answer	4	0.21

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .030$
$v = .012$

Table 98

State of Building Repair

State of repair	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1825	100.00	
Good	714	39.12	.011
Fair	758	41.54	.011
Poor	348	19.07	.009
No answer	5	0.27	

p. 54 (a)

18; Churchill 6-5 (1952) 1964 MFI Lebanon MFI

p. 54(c)

Table 99

Age of Building where Household is Located

Age of building	Number	Percent
Total	1826	100.00
Less than 1 year	14	0.77
1 — 5 years	266	14.57
6 — 10 years	193	10.57
11 — 15 years	176	9.64
16 — 20 years	259	14.18
More than 20 years	858	46.99
No answer	60	3.28

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .203$

$v = .012$

342
562

Table 100

Permanency of Building Containing Household

Type of building	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1926	100.00	
Permanent	1727	89.67	.007
Temporary	199	10.33	.007

• 342

Table 101

Incidence of Garden Plots Attached to Residences

Garden plot	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1839	100.00	
Yes	748	40.67	.011
No	1087	59.11	.011
No answer	4	0.22	

p. 55(A)

19; Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 102

Number of Dwelling Rooms in Building

No. of dwelling rooms	Number	Percent
Total	1853	100.00
1 – 3	236	12.74
4 – 6	328	17.70
7 – 9	229	12.36
10 – 12	271	14.62
13 – 15	174	9.39
16 – 18	132	7.12
19 – 21	111	5.99
22 – 24	83	4.48
More than 24	275	14.84
No answer	14	0.76

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .180$
$v = .015$

Table 103

Number of People Living in Building

No. of people	Number	Percent
Total	1854	100.00
1 – 5	225	12.14
6 – 10	401	21.63
11 – 15	343	18.50
16 – 20	275	14.83
21 – 25	183	9.87
26 – 30	109	5.88
31 – 35	81	4.37
Over 35	189	10.19
No answer	48	2.59

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .028$
$v = .015$

p. 55(a)

Table 104

Number of Families on Floor of Interviewed Household

No. of families	Number	Percent
Total	1853	100.00
One	1230	66.39
Two	398	21.48
Three	132	7.12
Four	38	2.05
Five	15	0.81
Six	7	0.38
Seven	5	0.27
Eight	2	0.11
Nine	2	0.11
Ten	-	-
More than ten	2	0.11
No answer	16	0.86

χ^2 = .023
ϕ = .015

Table 105

Number of Rooms Per Household Unit

No. of rooms	Number	Percent
Total	1833	100.00
One	140	7.64
Two	263	14.35
Three	322	17.57
Four	334	18.22
Five	280	15.27
Six	211	11.51
Seven	151	8.24
More than seven	132	7.20

χ^2 = .047
ϕ = .011

p. 55(c)

Table 106

Terms of Rental Payment for Dwelling

Rental payment terms	Number	Percent	sp
Total	1700	100.00	
[illegible]	656	38.59	.032
[illegible]	75	4.41	.005
[illegible]	30	1.76	
[illegible]	645	38.18	.011
[illegible]	645	38.06	.009
[illegible]	73	4.29	.005
[illegible]	11	0.71	

Table 107

Location of Kitchen Facilities by Privacy

Location of kitchen facilities	Number	Percent	sp
Total	1743	100.00	
Private in house	1558	89.44	.007
Shared in house	108	6.20	.006
Private outside	58	3.33	.004
Shared outside	20	1.15	

p. 56 (A)

16:Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

to the term, is impossible under present circumstances. The most important crops are olives, figs, and grapes, none of which requires irrigation in the growing season. The orchards and vineyards grow on terraced land which is situated generally on the lower parts of the ridge slopes and at the heads of the wadis. Some vegetables and a few small orchards of mulberries (remnants of the once predominant cash crop—silk) grow immediately adjacent to the houses.

Al-Munsif can be seen from a distance quite some time before the traveler enters it. The houses, varying in color from white to gray to tawny, are perched, one directly above another, it seems, on the southern slope of the ridge—a few are on the crest itself, at its highest point. They number about 90 and are typical of the Lebanese countryside. About one-quarter of them have the pitched roofs of red tile and other architectural features which are reminders of the decades before World War I. The majority, however, are of a much more ancient style, with few windows and a flat roof made of timbers and a thick layer of packed earth. In some cases, the old earth roofs have been recently replaced by cement ones. A few houses have been built completely anew in recent years, but with two exceptions they are not particularly different in general style from the older ones. Household furnishings and equipment show the unmistakable influence of industrialized Europe and America—mostly the former. Kerosene pressure lanterns and stoves have almost completely replaced older forms. Bedsteads, wardrobes, tables, and chairs—all of European manufacture and/or design—are used in every house. However, the village has no electricity and no system of running water.

From the observation of physical externals, one may easily deduce that al-Munsif partakes both of the traditional and of the recently imported (that is, since the late 19th century). It therefore reflects the tumultuous culture change which at present colors life in Lebanon and in the Middle East generally. But material aspects of culture are only fragmentary indications of behavior. In themselves, they reveal little of a specific nature concerning motivations, loyalties, hopes, fears, and expectations. How did al-Munsif, as a community of people, come into being? What are its traditional foundations of life? How, and to what extent, have its traditions been altered by the far-reaching cultural changes of the late 19th and 20th centuries? What problems face its people as a result of these changes?

II

According to tradition, al-Munsif was established by a man who came to the site from Jabal Hawran in Syria, after a sojourn in Baalbek. All the 523 members of the village are believed to be direct descendants of the founder, a belief which is indicated in a genealogy which is in the possession of the priest. There is some disagreement among the villagers on details

irrigated. The whole of the land is cultivated every year, the rotation being wheat followed by potatoes, the potato crop being irrigated. The wheat yield is below the average for Syria, amounting to 6 hundredweight per acre, and the potato yield is 5 hundredweight per acre.

However, in spite of the greater intensity of cultivation, the shortage of land means that the majority of the peasants are not able to attain an adequate standard of living, measured in terms of a few essential commodities: 20 kilogrammes of wheat and 4 kilogrammes of meat per head per month, 100 kilogrammes of olive oil per annum, and 5 tins of kerosene. To attain this standard a family must own 3 hectares of land, and as only the rich peasants and a few of the medium peasants own so much, the majority of the medium peasants and the poor landless peasants do not achieve it. The majority of these supplement their income by remittances from their emigrant relations abroad. Those who have no income from abroad leave the village to work as unskilled workers or servants in the towns.

In this village, therefore, the cause of poverty is the shortage of land, since the land is much more equally distributed than in Syria and the system fairly intensive. Living conditions are far better than in Syria: the majority inhabit stone houses with two or more rooms. The richer peasants are also more sophisticated than those of Syria, preferring to gamble their money away in the neighbouring summer resorts rather than spend it on jewellery.

From these three studies three conclusions emerge. The first is that a higher income per acre depends on irrigation, since the net income from irrigated land is two or three times as high as from non-irrigated land.

INCOME PER HECTARE ON IRRIGATED AND NON-IRRIGATED LAND (in Syrian Pounds)

	Ashrafie		Mishrefe		Kfar Sa'ab
	Non-Irrigated	Irrigated	Non-Irrigated	Irrigated	Irrigated
Gross Income	353	887	108	633	873
Costs	118	247	75	58	248
Rent	—	—	30	304	—
Net Income	234	640	84	233	625

[1] [Kfar Sa'ab in the north Lebanon -- Analyst]

their relatives abroad. The villages are less compact than in other parts of the Near and Middle East, and separate farmsteads are common. Extremes of poverty, associated with primitive standards of sanitation, are most frequently encountered in the villages of southern Lebanon. In the cities, substandard housing is found chiefly in the old, congested quarters and in the Armenian sections.

The typical dwellings in all parts of the country are constructed of stone, cement or concrete blocks, with a surface of whitewashed or tinted plaster. The roofs are of two general types: peaked and of red tile; or flat, with a covering of cement or of mud and brush. The houses vary in size from one to several rooms, sometimes with two or more stories. The use of wood as a building material is prohibited by the fire regulations in the towns, but small wooden shacks are occasionally seen on the outskirts.

Beirut is a cosmopolitan city, a mixture of Arabic and Western culture. The older parts of the city are overcrowded, with narrow streets lined by innumerable small shops, which frequently have living rooms in the rear. Apartment houses, interspersed with detached dwellings surrounded by colorful gardens, dominate the newer developments. Architecturally, all gradations are encountered between old Arab-style houses and modern villas.

ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

Water Supplies

Water supplies are obtained from streams, springs and wells, and, in general, are abundant in the coastal and the mountain districts but deficient in the interior. Beirut derives its water supply from the Nahr el Kelb, or Dog River, which is fed from an underground spring in the hills about 18 miles from the city. It flows by gravity through a tunnel and open canals to Dubaiya, 9 miles distant, where it is treated by preliminary rapid filtration, slow sand

7: Gulick E-3 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

342 occupies one of these rooms, and perhaps the other is a wash room. The cistern is likely to be enclosed by one or the other of them.

Many of the tile-roof houses have the thick old-style walls, but some do not. Limestone, often fossiliferous, is the universal building material. The floors are of cement, or stone flags, or both.

[331] After the era of great prosperity which ended with the start of the First World War, there appears to have been no building to speak of until the 1930's.

Of the modern houses, there are six which are essentially additions to older structures, either second storeys or side-by-side with, and connected to, the old. Three more are entirely new. These nine conform to older patterns in their limestone masonry, rectangular plan, and room arrangement. The walls are, however, relatively thin, and cement is used much more liberally than of old to hold the stones together. Projecting porches, supported by cylindrical concrete pillars, are a new feature, but the most outstanding innovation is the flat, concrete roof.

There are two more modern houses each of which is in a class by itself. One is the highest house in the village, and at first glance it does not seem unusual. It is built of limestone and has a tile roof. On closer inspection, however, a number of unusual features become evident. There is an extensive ell and a projecting porch in back. A sort of garden path leads to the front door on each side of which there is a trellis. The windows are large, and, of course, glazed. This house is somewhat in the style of the villas which can be seen in Lebanese mountain resorts. Its builder and owner is a man who works and lives in Tripoli, except in the summer.

The other modern house of special note represents the most radical departure from the old patterns. It is not yet completed, consisting only of the frame which is made of reinforced concrete and concrete blocks. (The old-type construction does not require a frame.) Probably it will have a limestone facing, including some curved surfaces, when it is finished, and it will conform in design and construction to a modernistic European style which is frequently seen elsewhere in Lebanon. This house, also, is being built by a summer resident.

[339] The great increase in the use of concrete is worthy of comment, for cement is one of the few important non-agricultural products of modern Lebanon. Consequently, it is relatively inexpensive. In addition to this, there is its admirable property of plasticity. However, its use in roofs is, in the writer's opinion, a poor environmental adaptation. In winter, concrete roofs make cold, damp ceilings. In summer, they radiate a great deal of heat, and the rooms which have them usually become very hot.

[343] The significance of the ruined houses (*khirbi*) is much more of a social than a material nature. Many ruined houses are used as latrines for there are few specially constructed privies in the village; at least one has its floor plowed up, and this is planted to onions. Otherwise, the ruins have no function whatever. It might be thought that the stones of which they are built would be removed and used in

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

872 Since 1946, public school students have had the option of taking French or English (*ibid.*, p. 426), and in Munṣif English is the universal choice.

The national school follows more or less the same pattern, at the same and also more advanced levels, but of course the master is free to choose his own texts and to present his courses as he chooses. The one in Munṣif is very much concerned with having up-to-date books (American and English), and holds his plant and students up to strict hygienic standards. The school has a modern toilet, and the drinking water is filtered.

THE "SPORT CLUB"

575 345 The building which houses the government school is also the center of the Sport Club which was founded by the young people of the village about 1950.

[524] The building has a large central room in which there is a stage and four or five tables for playing cards and other games. There are four side-rooms, one of which has a shelf of books and pamphlets and is the headquarters of the club. The other three are schoolrooms, equipped with small wooden desks for the students and blackboards. The large room is used as an everyday meeting place for the [525] adolescents and young adults. It is also used for the annual play. So far, it appears that though the club itself is new, it has focused already existing activities, such as the plays and volleyball games, but has not initiated any new kinds of activity. It is active as a unit only in the summer when there are many older students and young adults in the village on vacation, and if causes may be adduced, it can be said that the primary cause of the club's coming into existence is the need of idle vacationers to organize their activities. There was no need for this before the beginning of the recent changes in the culture.

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

632 623 The village government consists of a mayor (*mukhtar*) and a four-man council of elders (*'adaa' akhtyaariyyah*). All five men serve concurrently for a term of four years. They are elected by the men of the village who have attained the age of twenty-one. The present mayor (C,XXI) has held the office for about tweive years. The tenure of his predecessor (B,XII), who was his father-in-law, extended back to about 1900.

[631] The present municipal statutes of Lebanon define three types of community. Beirut is in a class by itself. There follow one hundred and twenty "incorporated" towns. The remainder, about 1380, of which Munṣif is one, are classed as "unincorporated" villages. The unincorporated villages are governed according to the *Loi des Mukhtars* of 1928 (Ritsher, 1932, p. 1). Before 1928, the unincorporated villages were governed under the provisions of the Ottoman Vilayet Law of 1864 which, at the local level, was originally a formalization of the traditional pattern of government by a council of heads of households, one of whom was chosen as *shaykh*.

Middle East MI
7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

ME 795 L 795

that these patriarchates are "autocephalous" and independent of each other. The so-called "Ecumenical" Patriarch of Istanbul has never been more than *primus inter pares*, and frequently not even that. Following this pattern, Orthodox Churches in Europe have developed autocephalous patriarchates following national lines.

The strength of the Middle East patriarchates was maintained under the Ottoman Turks who established a system (the *Millet* system) whereby the Christian communities were set apart as more or less autonomous theocratic units, somewhat analogous to the supposedly theocratic rule of the Sultan who was also the Caliph of Islam. At first, the Muslims, understandably enough, lumped all the Christians together and called them "Ruum," after the Arabic name for the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Empire (Bliss, 1912, p. 22). At present, the Lebanese Orthodox still call themselves Ruum. However, this is often confused with "Ruumi," the popular designation for the Maronites (because of their connection with the Roman Catholic Church). Consequently, the Orthodox often refer to themselves as "Urtuduksiyyi," a term which, like "Qustanṭiinuubl," does not roll easily off Arabic-speaking tongues.

ME 791 L 794

Although it has an elaborate hierarchy of patriarchs and bishops, the Orthodox Church on the local level is notable for what might be called "independent congregationalism." This is characteristic of the Jews and most Protestants, but it is in striking contrast to the authoritarian Roman Catholic organization. "Considered externally, all orthodox churches represent free communions. Within the bounds of the oecumenical-orthodox rules of doctrine, regulation and cult, every separate orthodox church is free in its inner life and management" (Zankov, 1929, p. 24).

ME 621 793 795 L 621 793 795

What Zankov says of the Church in general is certainly true of its Arab members among whom local particularism is a conspicuous trait. Tannous says that the church in the Arab village is identified with the village rather than with the outside hierarchy which, in its turn, has very little to do with the village. The priest is a village member, chosen by the villagers, and after his ordination he is left very much on his own. He takes an active part in village life, working his own land if he has any. He is usually married (Tannous, 1944, p. 341). Zankov gives a similar picture of the orthodox priest in general, and he says that the "priests' service in no wise lifts them to a higher order, in which they are changed to another kind of person, or into other kinds of beings who stand between the world of God and the world of man" (1929, p. 86). And again: "The priests have never been themselves an object of faith in the Orthodox Church" (*ibid.*, p. 87).

L 346

Churches and Shrines. The church of Mar (Saint) Sarkiis in Munṣif is a long, low structure with a flat, concrete roof, and an open belfry (very typical in style of Lebanese village churches). The altar occupies the northeast end. There are two doors in the west wall, one for men, the other for women. In each of the three free walls there is one very small window high up. The ceiling is a barrel vault, plastered, painted pale blue, and speckled with small gilt stars. At about eye-level,

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

running around the room, a design with a cross motif has been impressed into the plaster, evidently with a rocker-stamp device. The altar, a stone table, is recessed in a niche and is surmounted by a wooden canopy supported on four posts. It is not possible to make out its details very well because the sanctuary (*baykl*) is rather effectively hidden from the congregation by the ikonostasis, a wooden partition about eight feet high running across the entire width of the wall. There are three doorways, closed by curtains, in the ikonostasis, each with one step up. The ikonostasis is surmounted in the center by a large, ornate gilt cross. Immediately beneath this, and extending the length of the ikonostasis, is a row of pictures in gilt frames, with Jesus in the center, flanked by the Apostles. Between the three doors there are pictures of various saints. All the pictures are in Byzantine style. The rest of the ikonostasis is ornamented with pilasters and panels and is painted in rather bright colors—brown, red, yellow, and blue. Just below the pictures of Jesus and the Apostles, there are four projections, somewhat reminiscent of gargoyles, each terminating in a representation of the human hand. From each is suspended a small, oil lamp.

Hanging from the ceiling in front of the ikonostasis are several small crystal chandeliers. Beneath these, on the floor, are two lecterns (flat-topped, square, wooden tables) and two huge brass candlesticks which rest on triangular bases. Each is about four feet high, surmounted by a cylindrical representation (blue) of a candle which is about four feet high. Real candles are inserted into the tops of these. Along each side wall there is a row of high wooden stalls, reserved for the women, and in the middle of the floor some wooden benches.

The priest is a Munṣifi and has held his office for twenty years. His predecessor (now in his nineties and entirely inactive) was from Shaykhan. There is a priest in Burbara, but he also is largely inactive by reason of age. The priest at Munṣif serves his own village and also the others in the Qurni when he is called to them. During the period of this study, a young man was installed as priest in Jiddayil. The priest wears his long black cassock and tall, cylindrical black hat on all occasions, even when he is out in the fields supervising, and partly contributing to, farm work. A full beard and long hair tied up in a bun behind also are insignia of his office.

Each shrine (*dayr*) has the interior arrangement of a church, with altar and ikonostasis. Mar Maama is not in good repair, and no longer contains any perishable equipment. Mar Jurjis and Mar Mukhail, however, are fully equipped inside. Figure 2 indicates the way in which the shrines are isolated from each other and from the village. Each shrine (as well as Mar Sarkiis) is surrounded by land (planted to olives and grapes) which from time to time has been donated in sections by private citizens as *waqf*. Mar Maama, though the building itself is believed to antedate the present village, is surrounded by a sizeable extent of *waqf* donated mostly by Maximal Lineage C, and the site is in the segment of land originally allotted to that lineage. Mar Jurjis and Mar Mukhail are in an exactly similar

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

position with respect to Maximal Lineages A and B, respectively, except that these shrines themselves were built after the founding of the village—"at least two hundred years ago." However, there are two kinds of *waqf*. The more common is land (or other property) given to a religious institution often in fulfillment of a vow, and its usufruct is reserved for religious purposes. In other words, it is an endowment. There is another kind of *waqf*, also, however, and this is represented in Munṣif by Mar Jurjis and its *waqf*. In this case the *waqf* is a sort of family trust. The usufruct of the land is reserved for the family or lineage (in Munṣif, A,III) which originally established it. Only when and if the lineage dies out is the property turned over to a religious institution. The Caliph Omar (A.D. 634–643) is credited with the invention of *waqf*, but actually the Byzantines had similar legal forms (Bonne, 1948, pp. 199–220). It happens that the present priest belongs to A,III, hence he would derive some income from Mar Jurjis even if he were not the priest. He is also the custodian of the other *waqf* lands, and the income from them is his. The disposition of *waqf* income is not made in this way everywhere, but this arrangement makes a sizeable contribution to the support of the priest and his family. In addition to being paid fees for performing rituals, the priest is also supposed to receive an annual contribution from each head of a household.

Some villages have religious schools attached to the church, but in Munṣif formal religious instruction is conducted by the priest periodically in the village school. For the most part the religious instruction of the children is left to their parents.

SCHOOLS

"Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to or approximates universal literacy" (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, p. 407). Munṣif is certainly one of these, and its condition is due to a long-standing emphasis on education.

In the village itself there are two schools, the government school and the "national" school. The government school is part of the government educational system. Instruction is free, except that the students must provide their own books. There are about seventy students and two teachers, both, at the moment, members of the village (A,V and C,XX).

The Lebanese public school system is based on the French, but it is incomplete. There is a fairly good distribution of public elementary schools, like that in Munṣif, which offer a six-year program (recently shortened to five years) at the end of which the student receives a *certificat*. There are some public schools (mostly in large towns and cities) which carry the process about three years further, a *brévet* being granted at the end. The student who wishes to continue his education beyond the *brévet* must do so outside the public school system, and he has three courses to choose from (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 417–18). He may choose

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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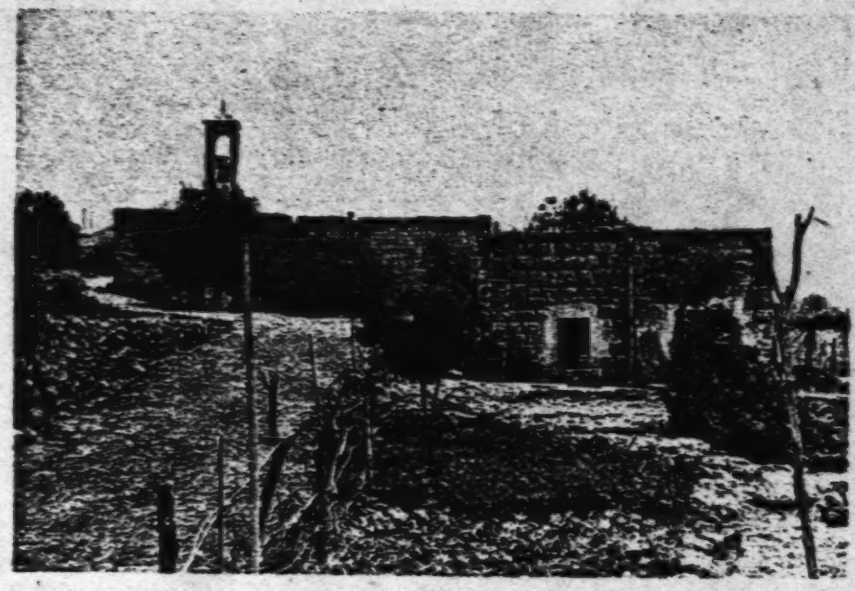

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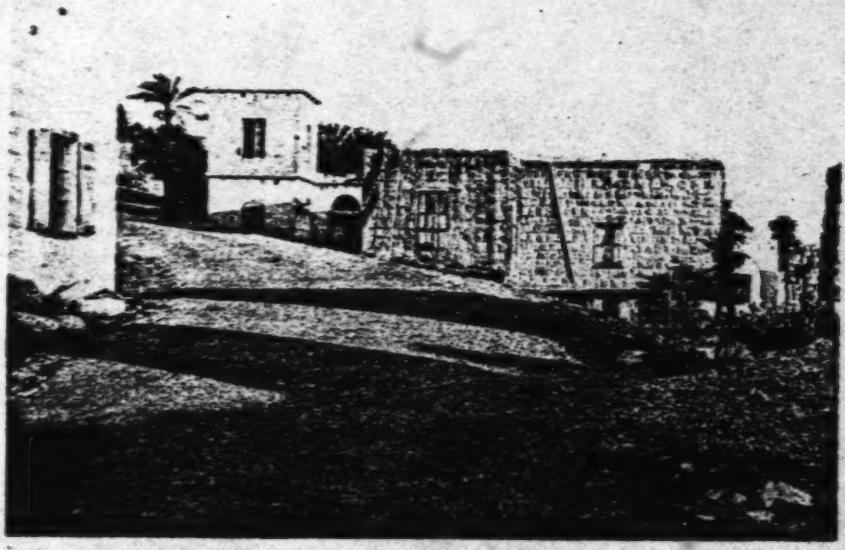

THE CHURCH, AND TWO STORES

following p 191 (7)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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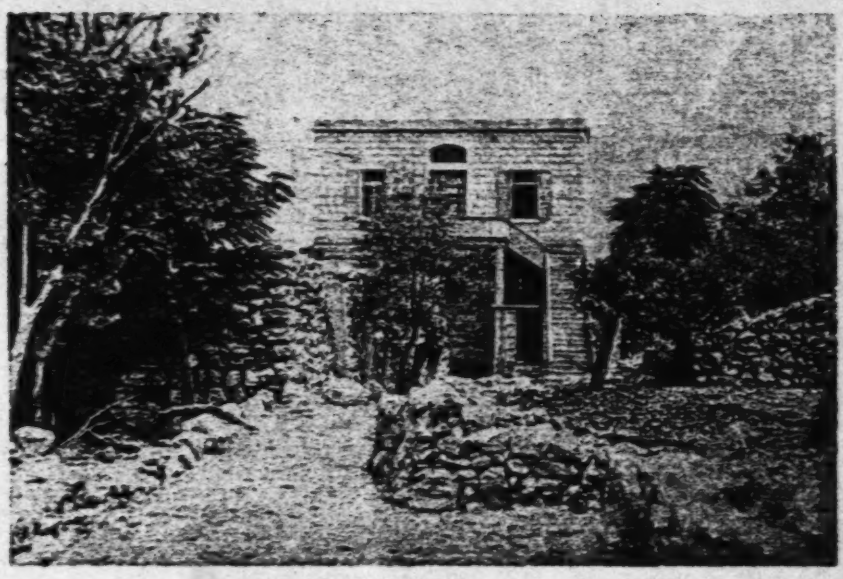

THE SCHOOLS

following p 191 (8)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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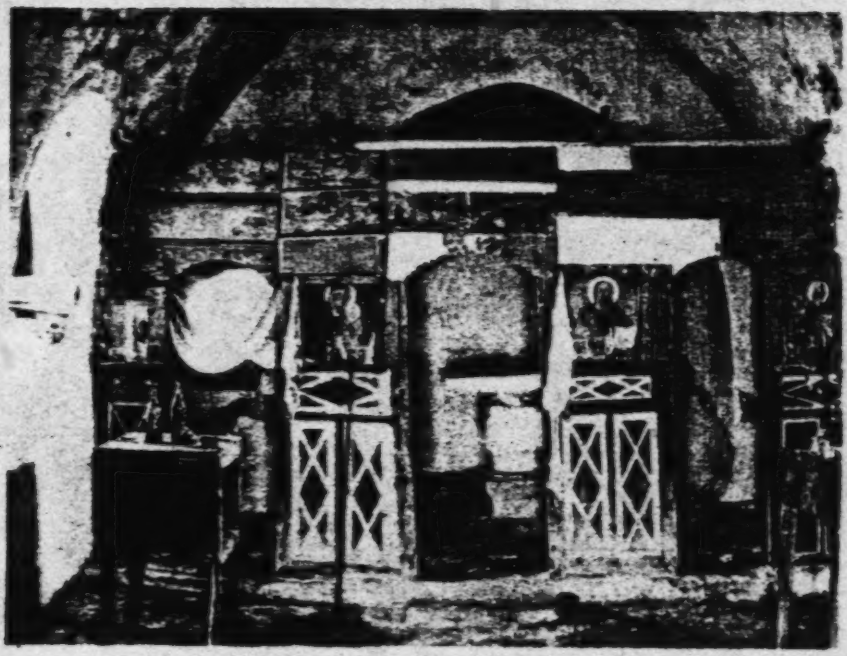

following p 191(9) MAR MUKHAIL SHRINE

water supplies are not only inadequate and unsafe, they are also unhandy. In all cases the source is outside of the dei'ah and may be a mile or more away. This necessitates a long walk on the part of the women who carry the water in jugs to their homes.

One of the major items included in plans for the improvement project is that of furnishing domestic water to the villages. A well has been drilled near Loubya by the Technical Cooperation Service and it is planned to pump from it to a reservoir to be built on a high point. From here a pipe line distribution system will furnish water to fountains in each village.

In each of the five project villages, the persons interviewed stated that the nearest doctor, nurse, or hospital is located in Saida. Only Loubya reported having no midwife. Sarafand reported two midwives while the other three villages each has one midwife living in the village. It is beyond the province of this report to report upon the qualifications or training of the local midwives.

Schools

The information on village schools in the project area was secured from the local teachers (Table X). All of the project villages have government-run elementary schools, with the exception of Loubya. Loubya has no schools while Saksakiyah has a privately-run school as well as the government elementary school. While the school in En-Nsariyah has two rooms, the remaining ones are simple, one-room affairs. None of the villages offers education beyond the elementary level. Such higher education, however, is available at Saida or Beirut.

The number of pupils in each school varies from 20 in the private school of Saksakiyah to 100 in the 'Adloun government elementary school. This latter school is the only one reporting two teachers. The one classroom is usually small and the children sit, closely packed, at their desks. It is interesting to note the breakdown of the students according to sex. While 247 students attend the five schools, only thirteen of these are girls. The Shee'ah Moslems do not encourage their daughters to attend school. They feel that it is a hindrance to a happy marriage and often encourages disobedience to one's elders.

9: Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

TABLE X

SCHOOLS

(Data from local teachers)

FIVE KASMIE RURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT VILLAGES

WINTER, 1952

DEI'AH	SPONSORING AGENCY	KIND E.H.S.	NUMBER OF TEACHERS	ANNUAL PAY	NUMBER OF ROOMS	ANNUAL RENT	PUPILS FROM VILLAGE MALE	PUPILS FROM VILLAGE FEMALE	PUPILS FROM OUTSIDE VILLAGE MALE	PUPILS FROM OUTSIDE VILLAGE FEMALE	TOTAL NO. OF PUPILS
Sarafand	Government	Elementary	1	1400	1	100	50	0	0	0	50
Sakzakiyah	Government	Elementary	1	1800	1	50	25	0	0	0	25
	Private	Elementary	1	350	1	60	20	0	0	0	20
Loubya	No School		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
En-Nsariyah	Government	Elementary	1	1700	2	110	35	3	4	0	42
'Adloun	Government	Elementary	2	1600 1700	1	250	100	10	0	0	110
TOTAL			6		6		230	13	4	0	247

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Above: Some of the students in the preparatory department of the American University of Beirut, some in native costumes, some in Western clothes. These youths come from various parts of the Arabian peninsula.

Below: Students approaching Bodenheim Hall of the American University of Beirut. This building, erected in 1910, was the gift of John D. Rockefeller, Sr.

Following P. 456 (a)

Lisbon mill

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Above: This view of the campus of the American University of Beirut shows the central location of its location. At the left is the observatory and at the right College Hall. Below: Jamestown School for Boys, Tripoli, Lebanon. Upper classmen in a tennis match. Outdoor sports are prominent in this school; all students participate in some sport.

following D-456 (b)

372
346

Above: A teaching class in a village primary school, Kalimantan, Indonesia
Below: A village primary school, Indonesia

Following P 488 (2)

Lebanon MEI
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following P. 488(B)
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The Church and Two Houses

Gleaning @ 1917

7: Gu'ick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

place of one. Close friends of each proprietor frequently sit down with him to a game of backgammon or cards. Other customers while away several minutes with small talk whenever they make a purchase, and small groups of them often collect in the store, some sitting, some standing, to discuss the news, prices, and to exchange gossip. There is not a great deal more to it than this. The point is simply that the stores are not merely agencies for the transfer of goods.

BAKERIES

As has been noted before, there are two, rather widely spaced, bakeries in the village. Like the stores, they are privately owned economic institutions, and they are intensively used as loci of social interaction on the part of women just as the stores are on the part of men. Here the women meet regularly and for protracted lengths of time.

The women who regularly make their own bread (some do not make their own but buy it) do not do so every day. Depending upon the amount she needs to feed her family, the housewife will make bread anywhere from once every three days to once a week. Each time she will spend two or three hours in the bakery with four or five other women. Standing outside one of the bakeries, one hears intermittently the crackle of brushwood just put on the fire, and constantly the women's chatter, laughter, and sometimes singing, accompanied by the rhythmical slapping of hands and dough on stone.

The interior of the bakery in the *tabu* is rather dark since it has no windows and only two narrow doors. The building is trapezoidal in shape, with the oven in the narrow end. The oven is a large rectangular masonry structure, with one aperture on the side at a convenient height above the floor of a small pit in which the baker stands. The floor of the interior of the oven is smooth stone or concrete. The fire burns on the left-hand side of this floor. Between the oven and the doors there is a large stone slab raised about a foot off the floor. Around this half a dozen women can sit and work comfortably. To the right of the table and the oven, between them, there are several bins into which the baker tosses the loaves as they come from the oven.

The woman prepares her dough at home, making the necessary number of fist-sized lumps each of which will be made into a loaf. These she then takes to the bakery on a large tray carried on her head. The women form their lumps of dough into disks about a foot in diameter by slapping and kneading them against the stone table. The operation does not call for the same kind of skill which is required in preparing another type of "mountain bread" which used to be made in Munqif and can still be found easily enough in some other villages, a loaf as much as two and a half feet in diameter. The baking technique is different, and only one loaf at a time can be done.

The baker is equipped with an elongated wooden paddle upon which five disks a ta time can be placed.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1965 ME1 Lebanon ME1

new constructions. This is not the case—at least, it is not to an observable degree. All the stones used in new building in the village are freshly quarried. Perhaps the reason for this is that nearly all the ruins have recognized owners, nearly all of whom are emigrants or their descendants. Even the villagers now admit that "they will never come back," but their property rights are still maintained, either because the older emigrants hesitate to relinquish their claims or because their American-born children are uninterested, both of which prevent local disposition of the property. However, most of the now ruined houses were of the old style, whose roofs would naturally go to pieces if not tended. Consequently, the roofs were removed so that the very valuable timbers in them could be used for other purposes. This hastened the partial collapse of many of the buildings' walls.

HOUSEHOLD ARRANGEMENT AND FURNISHINGS

Nearly every house has its own cistern (*bīr*), either within the building or just outside it. The water is entirely winter rain water drawn from the roof of the house and conducted to the cistern, nowadays, by sheet-iron pipes. This is much more efficient than the older method of letting the water flow down a shallow vertical trough on the outside of the wall of the building. The cisterns have circular openings raised off the ground or floor on a stone or concrete curbing. The opening is fitted, more or less tightly, with a wooden cover.

It is one of the women's jobs to draw water from the cistern by means of a sheet-iron, European-made, bucket attached to a chain or rope. The water needed for the day is stored in large, two-handled, pointed-bottom jars (*jarra*), of porous earthenware, which stand in wooden frames in the kitchen corner, or the kitchen room if there is one. From the *jarra*, water is transferred to cooking utensils, to the spouted pottery or glass drinking jars (*ibrīiq*), and to the two to three gallon, semi-cylindrical metal tanks in which washing water is stored. These hang against an outside wall or in the wash room if there is one. The tanks are called *ḥanafiyyi*, a term primarily applied to the small brass spigots with which they are fitted. The term is derived from the Ḥanafi school of Muslim jurisprudence which decided that the use of spigots was not a violation of the provisions of the Koran. Near the *ḥanafiyyi* one usually finds a dish for soap and a towel-rack. A few houses are equipped with hand-pumps, a raised tank, and a limited system of pipes and spigots. This, however, is unusual.

The interior arrangement of the one-room house is essentially the same in every case, although of course there are many minor variations. The following description is composite. On entering the front door, one will observe that the room is divided into two sections, front and back. The division is effected by tall cabinets, with doors and drawers, placed across the room. These are used for keeping clothes, dishes, and so on. This means of division may be supplemented by a curtain. In the front section, a long wooden seat, really a bench with a back and

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

352 arms at the ends, extends around the walls. This is fitted with hard, flat cushions which are upholstered in some very light color—often plain white. Very likely a set of modern, reclining chairs, with stiff cane backs and bottoms, will be set formally around a table in the center of the room. Here and there, there will be rather rough wooden stools with soft cane seats. At one side, there will be a large rectangular dining table with a cloth or plastic cover. In some houses, fully upholstered modern easy-chairs will be found.

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Especially in the older houses, there are recesses in the walls, often closed [251] with wooden doors. These are used for storage—for example, large jars for the year's supply of olive oil.

Only a close friend of the family will ordinarily be given the opportunity to go from the *maq'ad*, or front section, to the rear. Here are the sleeping quarters of the family, and cooking equipment will be found in one corner also—unless there is an additional room for this purpose, as is the case with several essentially one-room houses.

352 Every house is wholly or mostly equipped with metal bedsteads, springs,
513 mattresses, pillows, pillowcases, sheets and blankets, all of European manufacture and/or design. Sixty years ago everyone slept on the floor on sheepskins wrapped in blankets or quilted puffs. Only suggestions of this practice are now to be found in a few houses.

354 The traditional type of stove was a masonry oven with apertures in the top, in which the chief fuel was brushwood. Very few such stoves are now used. Rather, nearly every house is equipped with at least one "Primus" stove, a small, portable appliance, made in Sweden, which operates on the principle of the ignition of kerosene which has been vaporized by heat and pressure. Basic instructions for its operation are etched on the side of its brass fuel tank in Arabic, Hindustani, and Chinese, and we might say that this is an item in a process which might be called "deliberate diffusion." It is inexpensive to buy and operate and is quite efficient except for the fact that there is only one burner per stove.

415 A minimal assortment of cooking utensils would include: a teakettle; a set, in graduated sizes, of long-handled metal beakers (for boiling coffee); a cylindrical brass coffee grinder; pots, bowls, and platters of various sizes and shapes, made of metal or pottery; and a stone mortar and pestle. Hardware would include a ladle, knives of various sizes, and long-handled serving forks and spoons. Food is served

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Food is served on china platters and/or round plates. If necessary, everyone is provided with knives, forks, and spoons, but napkins are not ordinarily used. Cups and demitasses are provided for tea and coffee, respectively. (The only kind of coffee which is consumed in the village is "Turkish" coffee.) Wine is drunk from small glasses. The only acceptable way to drink water, however, is directly from the spouted jug called *ibriiq*. This is definitely an acquired skill which children are taught as early as possible. For this purpose, a small *ibriiq*, usually made of glass, is provided. With the exception of the coffee grinder, usually the coffee beakers, the pestle and mortar, and the *ibriiq*, all these items are of European manufacture and/or design.

Although kerosene heaters are readily available in Beirut, the standard means of heating houses in the village is by small, round, charcoal braziers which sit low on the floor. If a social group in one room of a multi-room house moves to another, the brazier around which the group has sat will be picked up and carried along. The idea, in other words, is to keep the people warm rather than to heat the room. The European and American kerosene heaters are undoubtedly more efficient, but they are a great deal more expensive to buy and operate. Besides, the charcoal braziers can also be used for boiling coffee and broiling meat on skewers.

Oil lamps, with glass chimneys, of European manufacture and of the same type which is still sometimes seen in rural areas of the United States, are used in many houses. Everyone keeps a supply of candles in case of emergency. But the most widely used type of illumination is provided by a kerosene pressure lantern. This gives a very strong light and is frequently suspended on an iron rod from the ceiling of the room.

Nearly every individual who is adolescent or older has a flashlight and uses it. On moonless or cloudy nights, the village is enveloped in pitch blackness, with only a few undiffused lights showing here and there from doors or windows.

Floor-covering is provided either by small "oriental" rugs or straw mats. Such ornamental or luxury items as elaborately inlaid boxes and furniture, engraved brass or copper trays, and painted pottery, are rare.

DIET

The villagers regularly eat three meals a day, of which the evening meal is ordinarily the largest, except on Sundays. Breakfast is likely to include the leftovers from the preceding evening meal. Bread is eaten at, and coffee served after, every meal. Lunch tends to be small, and the family is apt to be incomplete at lunch, for men or boys working in the fields usually take their lunches with them—a couple of loaves of bread, some olives, and perhaps an onion or cucumber or two, and a jug of water.

The villagers say that in summer they have more to eat than in winter. In effect, what they mean is that fresh fruits and vegetables supplement the year-

354 mate. Central heating is found in only a fraction (1 %) of the buildings. It is demanded only by non-Lebanese. Beirutis find it too warm for the type of clothing that they wear indoors and out in the winter.

7.19 Adequacy of living room furniture, Table 112

352 In general, the amount of furniture was judged adequate (80 %). Adequacy was defined as sufficient furniture in evidence in the

352 room in which the interview was held. Sufficiency was judged by the enumerator listing the furniture in sight, and judgement being made in the office.

7.20 Condition of furniture, Table 113

One quarter of those interviewed had furniture in such a poor state of repair that it was classified as bad or sub-standard. Interviewers made the judgement on the basis of their opinion of the state of repair.

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12: Churchill S-5 (1955) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

p. 57(a)

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Table 112

Adequacy of Living Room Furniture

Degree of adequacy	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1799	100.00	
Adequate	802	44.58	.011
Fairly adequate	646	35.91	.011
Inadequate	329	18.29	.009
None	17	0.94	
No answer	5	0.28	

Table 113

Condition of Furniture

Condition of furniture	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1787	100.00	
Good	537	30.05	.011
Fair	803	44.94	.012
Bad	442	24.73	.010
No answer	5	0.28	

16:Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

to the term, is impossible under present circumstances. The most important crops are olives, figs, and grapes, none of which requires irrigation in the growing season. The orchards and vineyards grow on terraced land which is situated generally on the lower parts of the ridge slopes and at the heads of the wadis. Some vegetables and a few small orchards of mulberries (remnants of the once predominant cash crop—silk) grow immediately adjacent to the houses.

Al-Munsif can be seen from a distance quite some time before the traveler enters it. The houses, varying in color from white to gray to tawny, are perched, one directly above another, it seems, on the southern slope of the ridge—a few are on the crest itself, at its highest point. They number about 90 and are typical of the Lebanese countryside. About one-quarter of them have the pitched roofs of red tile and other architectural features which are reminders of the decades before World War I. The majority, however, are of a much more ancient style, with few windows and a flat roof made of timbers and a thick layer of packed earth. In some cases, the old earth roofs have been recently replaced by cement ones. A few houses have been built completely anew in recent years, but with two exceptions they are not particularly different in general style from the older ones.

Household furnishings and equipment show the unmistakable influence of industrialized Europe and America—mostly the former. Kerosene pressure lanterns and stoves have almost completely replaced older forms. Bedsteads, wardrobes, tables, and chairs—all of European manufacture and/or design—are used in every house. However, the village has no electricity and no system of running water.

From the observation of physical externals, one may easily deduce that al-Munsif partakes both of the traditional and of the recently imported (that is, since the late 19th century). It therefore reflects the tumultuous culture change which at present colors life in Lebanon and in the Middle East generally. But material aspects of culture are only fragmentary indications of behavior. In themselves, they reveal little of a specific nature concerning motivations, loyalties, hopes, fears, and expectations. How did al-Munsif, as a community of people, come into being? What are its traditional foundations of life? How, and to what extent, have its traditions been altered by the far-reaching cultural changes of the late 19th and 20th centuries? What problems face its people as a result of these changes?

II

According to tradition, al-Munsif was established by a man who came to the site from Jabal Hawran in Syria, after a sojourn in Baalbek. All the 523 members of the village are believed to be direct descendants of the founder, a belief which is indicated in a genealogy which is in the possession of the priest. There is some disagreement among the villagers on details

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

352 arms at the ends, extends around the walls. This is fitted with hard, flat cushions which are upholstered in some very light color—often plain white. Very likely a set of modern, reclining chairs, with stiff cane backs and bottoms, will be set formally around a table in the center of the room. Here and there, there will be rather rough wooden stools with soft cane seats. At one side, there will be a large rectangular dining table with a cloth or plastic cover. In some houses, fully upholstered modern easy-chairs will be found.

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The villagers say that in summer they have more to eat than in winter. In effect, what they mean is that fresh fruits and vegetables supplement the year-

monthly (20 %) or yearly (10 %). Where the owner and those not paying rent are subtracted, we find relatively few (5 %) who have other contract terms.

7.14 Location of kitchen facilities by privacy, Table 107

In investigating the adequacies of households in Beirut, it was found that nine-tenths of the enumerated households had private kitchen facilities in the house. Cooking outside the house was principally for one-room shacks.

7.15 Location of toilet facilities in household, Table 108

Toilet facilities in the buildings were found in over ninety percent of the sample. Of these, almost nine-tenths are private toilets. Arab types are found overwhelmingly.

7.16 Source of water in household, Table 109

Water, too, is piped into the overwhelming majority of houses (93 %) making relatively few who were forced to obtain water from outdoor cisterns or from more fortunate neighbors. In some cases, such as the agglomeration of tin shacks, a city faucet is the only source of water.

7.17 Type of lighting in household, Table 110

Lighting is by electricity in over nine-tenths of the households in the sample. Characteristically, electrical fixtures are ceiling lights suspended by cords. Lamps are used much less than in western cities, even where wall plugs are available. Less electricity is delivered to households due to a shortage of generating capacity. Almost all of the remaining households use oil lamps.

7.18 Type of heating in household, Table 111

Charcoal burners are the sole means of heat in over half of the houses (57 %). One-fifth of the houses have no means of heat; this is not surprising considering the relatively mild cli-

rents. Central heating is found in only a fraction (1 %) of the buildings. It is demanded only by non-Lebanese. Beirutis find it too warm for the type of clothing that they wear indoors and out in the winter.

7.19 **Adequacy of living room furniture. Table 112**

In general, the amount of furniture was judged adequate (80 %). Adequacy was defined as sufficient furniture in evidence in the

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Table 110
Type of Lighting in Households

Kind of lighting	Number	Percent	¶
Total	1835	100.00	
Natural only	13	0.68	
Electricity	1664	91.18	
Candles	1	0.05	
All	148	8.11	

Table 111
Type of Heating in Households

Type of heating	Number	Percent	¶
Total	1980 *	100.00	

* Total is larger because some families have more than one source of heating

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1965 ME1 Lebanon ME1

new constructions. This is not the case—at least, it is not to an observable degree. All the stones used in new building in the village are freshly quarried. Perhaps the reason for this is that nearly all the ruins have recognized owners, nearly all of whom are emigrants or their descendants. Even the villagers now admit that "they will never come back," but their property rights are still maintained, either because the older emigrants hesitate to relinquish their claims or because their American-born children are uninterested, both of which prevent local disposition of the property. However, most of the now ruined houses were of the old style, whose roofs would naturally go to pieces if not tended. Consequently, the roofs were removed so that the very valuable timbers in them could be used for other purposes. This hastened the partial collapse of many of the buildings' walls.

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Nearly every house has its own cistern (*bîr*), either within the building or just outside it. The water is entirely winter rain water drawn from the roof of the house and conducted to the cistern, nowadays, by sheet-iron pipes. This is much more efficient than the older method of letting the water flow down a shallow vertical trough on the outside of the wall of the building. The cisterns have circular openings raised off the ground or floor on a stone or concrete curbing. The opening is fitted, more or less tightly, with a wooden cover.

It is one of the women's jobs to draw water from the cistern by means of a sheet-iron, European-made, bucket attached to a chain or rope. The water needed for the day is stored in large, two-handled, pointed-bottom jars (*jarra*), of porous earthenware, which stand in wooden frames in the kitchen corner, or the kitchen room if there is one. From the *jarra*, water is transferred to cooking utensils, to the spouted pottery or glass drinking jars (*ibriq*), and to the two to three gallon, semi-cylindrical metal tanks in which washing water is stored. These hang against an outside wall or in the wash room if there is one. The tanks are called *hanafiyyi*, a term primarily applied to the small brass spigots with which they are fitted. The term is derived from the Hanafi school of Muslim jurisprudence which decided that the use of spigots was not a violation of the provisions of the Koran. Near the *hanafiyyi* one usually finds a dish for soap and a towel-rack. A few houses are equipped with hand-pumps, a raised tank, and a limited system of pipes and spigots. This, however, is unusual.

The interior arrangement of the one-room house is essentially the same in every case, although of course there are many minor variations. The following description is composite. On entering the front door, one will observe that the room is divided into two sections, front and back. The division is effected by tall cabinets, with doors and drawers, placed across the room. These are used for keeping clothes, dishes, and so on. This means of division may be supplemented by a curtain. In the front section, a long wooden seat, really a bench with a back and

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

342 a wooden ladder or by an ascending series of stones projecting from the wall of the building.

[251] The flat roofs are used extensively in the sunny part of the year. Apricots, almonds, and grapes are set out on them to dry. Many householders ornament them with potted plants and receive guests on them. In the heat of midsummer, the interiors of the houses tend to be stuffy at night since the gentle breezes do not penetrate inside. Consequently, all who can, sleep on the roof (or terrace) under a brush shelter called *khaymi* ("tent").

Although no two houses are exactly the same, it is legitimate to classify all of them into a number of types, which are indices of successive eras in construction and design.

The first, which still has the greatest number of examples, has two subtypes. By far the most numerous of these has one room on the upper level, few windows, but often more than one door, and a flat earth roof. The lower level (*qabl*) is designed as a stable and storeroom and frequently consists of a long, low barrel-vault. The roof of the upper level (living quarters for the family) may or may not be supported on masonry pillars and arches, in addition to the outer walls. The walls are usually very thick, often exceeding three feet, for the old style of construction was two (dry-laid) stone walls with a rubble fill between them. The roof of the old-style house is constructed as follows: round or semi-round beams are laid from the top of one wall to the opposite one at right angles to the long axis of the house. A layer of shorter, thick sticks is placed across the beams, and then a layer of finer sticks is added. Finally, a layer of earth about a foot thick is [412] packed down as hard as possible on top. To prevent leaking, the roof must be packed down several times each winter; for this purpose every old-style house is equipped with a stone roller (*mabji*), weighing about a hundred pounds. These houses are dark inside because of the paucity of windows which are unglazed and closed by solid wooden shutters. To counteract this, the inside plastered walls are either whitewashed or painted very pale blue. There is every reason to suppose that this style of house is very ancient indeed. However, none of the existing examples of it in Munṣif is probably more that a hundred and fifty years old, and [356] some are probably as little as sixty years old. Repairs—sometimes amounting to rebuilding—and alterations have always been a matter of course. However, no houses of this type have been built since the early 1890's. Weulersse (1946, p. 267) says that this traditional Lebanese house is well adapted to its environment. It provides insulation against the chilly blasts of winter and against the heat of summer as effectively as any essentially primitive construction could.

The second subtype of old-style house has only two examples in the village. The construction is essentially the same as the foregoing, but the following features are added: two or more distinctly separate rooms in the upper level; sculptured ornamentation, including fully round columns, around the windows; and glazed ornamental windows, with rather elaborate designs formed by the lead mullions,

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

of the Winterers and the Mtawli as groups. The Winteres are transhumants, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thoumin, 1936, pp. 154–55). According to Core Group informants, they, or other Maronites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily in their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. However, the Core Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The flocks furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mtawli are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mtawli as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a prearranged sum to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this sum is agreed upon with a view to the Core Group members' getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mtawli, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the bakeries or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or laundresses. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of superiority-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degrees of numerical superiority and local establishment which obtain in the particular area. In other words, as has been suggested above, Munṣif is simply one localized example of the operation of Coon's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way colored by group avoidance or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in *all* social relationships in the village is equalitarian, combined, to be sure, with the various barriers which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of *itinerants:* (1) Tinkers and scissors grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the bedlam of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright; others seek, perhaps sincerely, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawaar (Gypsies). One group of them was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular head-dress, their faces tattooed, marching up the road with

3.23 Grandchildren of head of household, Table 7

592 162 Fifty-nine percent of the grandchildren of the heads of households are male. This figure is not significantly different from that of the children of the head of the household.

3.24 Siblings of head of household, Table 8

Females predominate slightly in the sample, although the difference is not statistically significant.

3.25 Other family members in household, Table 9

There is a significant difference in the sex ratio of other family members in the household which probably reflects the dependence of unattached females. At any rate, sixty-seven percent of this miscellaneous group are female.

3.26 Servants of household, Table 10

357 592 Servants in Beirut households are overwhelmingly female, constituting as they do about ninety-three percent of the sample of servants.

The incidence of servants living-in is high. Twenty-two percent of the families had at least one servant living with them. The only specialist category which is substantial is that of nurses. Generally, the maid cooks, cleans, and washes.

Age at Marriage of Members of Household

3.31 Male head of household, Table 11

592 100 The marital status of the male heads of household shows that only eight percent had not married. The modal interval for age at last

ter life span of females. About thirty-two percent married at the age of twenty or under.

3.35 Mother of head of household, Table 15

The same sex difference as with the head of the household and his spouse in age at marriage occurs. Over seventy-two percent of the mothers of heads of households were married by the age of twenty.

3.36 Father-in-law and mother-in-law of head of household, Tables 16, 17

There were many less fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law of heads of household in residence than of fathers and mothers. The presumption is that parents go with their male children, if possible. Other values are not significant, but are shown for completeness.

3.37 Grandchildren of head of household, Table 18

A total of two hundred and twelve grandchildren were tabulated in the sample in ninety-one families; or roughly one in twenty households had grandchildren living with them. Ninety-one families had at least one child living with them, while two families had as many as eight. Of these, only one is married.

3.38 Siblings of head of household, Table 19

A tendency towards extended family living is seen in the incidence of siblings living with the head of the household. There were three hundred and fifty-eight siblings living with one hundred and ninety-four families in ten percent of the sample. Over eighty-six percent were unmarried.

3.39 Other family members in household, Table 20

There were two hundred and eighty-eight miscellaneous family members living in the sample households, or in about fifteen percent. The most significant figure, again, is that fifty-five percent are unmarried.

3.39.1 Servants of household, Table 21

The great majority of servants are un-

357 married (88 %). Many of these continue as servants until marriage and are then replaced by younger unmarried girls.

Age Distribution

3.41 Population pyramid, Chart 1

162 The population pyramid as indicated in the sample seems to show a fairly normal distribution of ages with the exception of a bulge in the female group between sixteen and twenty. The lowest level bracket (0-5) covers a span of six years. This was done deliberately to compensate for the fact that the 1952 interviews covered the period between August and December, while the 1953 interviews were only from January to July. Therefore, the youngest age group was collected in parts of two calendar years, but covers only one full year.

3.42 Male head of household and wife of household head or female head of household, Table 22

The average age of male heads of households is forty-five. This is to be compared to the average of their wives and female heads of households which is almost thirty-nine. Interestingly enough, the modal age for both sexes falls in the same interval of 36-40. However, there is a decided tendency to marry younger among the women. By the time they reach the modal age only forty percent of the males as compared to fifty-eight percent of the females are married.

3.43 Birthdate by post-mandate, mandate or pre-mandate years.

128* Birthdates of household members were tabulated in three groups, those who were born after the mandate, those born during the mandate, and those born before. The purpose of this tabulation is to indicate to what extent household members were exposed to mandate rule with all that that implies in cultural conditioning.

3.44 Male head of household, Table 23

162 Of the male heads of household, about

p. 7(A)

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 ME1 Lebanon ME1

TABLE VIII

NUMBER OF BUILDINGS

SUMMER, 1952

(FIVE KASMIE RURAL IMPROVEMENT VILLAGES)

NAME OF DEI'AH	TYPE OF BUILDING				TOTAL
	DWELLING	BUSINESS	SEPARATE BARN	PUBLIC [1]	
Project Villages					
Sarafand	310	12	15	3	340
Saksakiyah	198	10	75	3	286
Loubya	60	1	20	1	82
En-Nsariyah	92	3	8	2	105
'Adloun	252	8	25	2	287
TOTAL	912	34	143	11	1100

(1) Public buildings include mosques, schools, and those used as government buildings.

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132
241
135
43
496
● 361

Lebanon ME1

For information on the topography, climate, agriculture, mineral wealth, railways, settlement pattern, productive capacity of the economy, and trade of the Levant coastland, see M1 Middle East, cat. 116, 21: Fisher, pp. 371-414.]

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

in existence about fifteen years. The road from Shaykhan through Munṣif to Ḥilwi has been built since 1945, and the segment between the shrine of Mar Jurjis and Ḥilwi is not yet paved. The road which connects Lower and Upper Burbara is usable but definitely still under construction. The villagers are very conscious of the fact that their road system is a new phenomenon and that it is as yet incomplete. The automobile roads more or less follow the line of old paths many of which are still used. Although the paving of these is generally too rough for any sort of wheeled vehicle, it is essential for any kind of travel in the muddy rainy season.

It would be a great mistake to deduce from the map (Fig. 2) that the plan of these villages (or of any Lebanese villages) is derived from the roads which pass through them. Middle Eastern villages in general are house-clusters, sometimes approaching the southwestern pueblo in degree of compactness. One finds one's way from house to house by a maze of twisting paths, which become alleyways in the larger towns. The only suggestion of physical planning is the frequent occurrence of an open space, *sāḥa*, where the small shops and the church or mosque tend to be concentrated (Tannous, 1944, p. 528). In the minds of their respective inhabitants, the plan of the Lebanese village is very different from its counterpart in North America, in which the village green, the courthouse square, or Main Street are definitely centers. The new roads in al-Qurnī are recent impositions on the traditional culture. The one which longitudinally bisects Munṣif follows, in part, an old path, but a number of old buildings had to be torn down to make room for it.

We have already seen that al-Qurnī has no ground water resources. All the water which is used in the district is winter rain water which is collected, Bermuda style, from the roofs of the houses and stored in large, semi-subterranean cisterns of which there are a great number. The physical poverty of the district (cf. Thoumin, 1936, p. 129) is due to its geological structure which Fisher has described:

> Your village lies in a limestone area (middle Cretaceous) underlain by a thin bed of impermeable Cretaceous sands, clays and lignite, with Jurassic limestone lower still. A fault at Tartij [East of al-Qurnī] has exposed a small amount of the impermeable layer, so that there is a *chance* that very deep wells sunk at el Munṣif might reach this horizon. On the whole, though, I am not very sanguine, as I have found round Jounieh and Maameltein [South of Jbayl] the fact that intensive cultivation stops when these particular outcrops are reached. Also, there is a break (at Tartij) with the main anticline of the mountains, so large springs are ruled out. The sudden change from a point N. of Jounieh from intensive garden cultivation to a sterile garrigue corresponds with the beginning of the limestone-marl outcrops. (W. B. Fisher, Personal Communication, Nov. 13, 1952.)

Before proceeding to a discussion of the flora and fauna of the district, it should be mentioned that at Ḥilwi there *are* two springs. Both, however, are small, and

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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FIG. 2. AL-QURNI

only one yields potable water—hence the name of the hamlet, which means "sweet."

The sparse natural flora of al-Qurni is an excellent example of garrigue which is widely distributed around the Mediterranean in districts which feature thin soils and calcareous outcrops. Comparing garrigue to the relatively more lush vegetation typical of the French Provence, Fisher says:

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Evergreen oaks, which are tolerant of greater acidity, persist,—although at wider intervals than in true maquis—but tall shrubs are much less common, and a low scrub of dwarf bushes and thorns take their place. Because of the more open nature of this vegetation, which rarely exceeds 5 feet in height, perennial plants can develop, and for some weeks after the spring rains, a carpet of flowers and herbs makes a striking display. Garrigue is often discontinuous, with bare patches of soil and rock interspersed with plants. (Fisher, 1950, p. 71.)

Mammalian fauna are very sparse indeed; as a matter of fact, as far as the writer knows there is virtually none. Snakes, however, are fairly numerous, are all regarded as being poisonous, and are killed on sight. Small lizards, spiders, six-inch centipedes, snails, scorpions, and large, wood-eating beetles are prominent among the other creatures which were observed. Birds are few, probably because those which venture into the district are generally shot, even if they are as small as sparrows. Flies are numerous, and there are some mosquitoes.

THE DISTRICT OF AL-QURNI

Now that its physical characteristics have been described, the question arises, On what basis can al-Qurni be considered to be a distinct district? The name, according to several informants, means "corner," and it is the impression of the writer that it is used primarily only by the inhabitants of the district itself. True, in terms of terrain, it has two features which set it apart from the land immediately surrounding it. It rises particularly sharply and suddenly from the sea; and from the south, say from the hamlet of el-Burj, the ridge upon which Rihani and Jiddayil are built looms up definitely higher than the nearer land, from which it is separated by an arroyo, the Wadi Ba'ishta. These distinctions are, however, rather minor, and, as far as is known, the people themselves do not perceive them. Within al-Qurni there is little of a physical nature to account for its being set apart as a unit. The land is sharply rolling, and the terrain consists, essentially, of three ridges which run roughly at right angles to the shore line. Upon the largest and highest of these, the three northern villages are built. Shaykhan and Mansif are on the second, middle one; and the third has been commented upon above. Such features are typical of most of the coastal zone from Juni to Tripoli.

Al-Qurni is not a political entity. It is simply a locality in Kisrwan, one of several districts in the Province of Mount Lebanon which is one of the five provinces into which the Republic is divided. Al-Qurni does contain six political units, each with its elected mayor and council, as well as its own church. These are the villages of Bsebrin, Ghazzrun, Shaykhan, Mansif, Jiddayil, and Rihani. Lower Bsebrin is merely an adjunct of the village proper. For political purposes, Bukh'an is part of Ghazzrun. Hilwi and 'Ariqi belong to Mansif. Ba'ishta is part of Rihani. For other than political purposes, the people consider themselves to be seven, rather than six, villages, separating Bukh'an from Ghazzrun. Of the seven,

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Munqid is by far the largest, being at least twice as large as Jibbayil which is the second in size.

Al-Qurai is a unit because its inhabitants consider it to be one. Within it, the individual villages regard themselves as independent, and the people even recognize minor cultural differences. For example, it was said that the phoneme *ao* is pronounced slightly differently in Bteboura, Munqid, and Jibbayil; that the people of one of the villages always marry people from the other villages rather than their own; that the women of one of the villages are more quarrelsome than those of another; and so on. Yet, in relation to the outside, al-Qurai is a unit. Why? It is not because of sheer proximity, although of course this helps. The reason is that, with minor exceptions concentrated in Jibbayil, al-Qurai is exclusively Greek Orthodox in religion and is completely surrounded, in depth, by Maronite (technically Roman Catholic) villages. In 1921, Kisrawan had a resident population of 41,004, plus an emigrant population of 14,290. Of the residents, 34,395 were Maronites, 2,629 were Mitwali (Shi'a Muslims), and 1,910 were Greek Orthodox (all figures from Hitti, 1936, pp. 410–11). Virtually all of the last must have been counted in al-Qurai.

It has not been possible to go very far into this study without encountering the phenomenon of units of loyalty and identification. Since this topic will occupy an increasingly important position as we proceed, nothing more will be said about it at this point, except this: Beyond, and except for, kinship and local connections, sectarian affiliation in the Middle East is the strongest bond which can unite a group of people and the most impenetrable barrier which can separate one group from another.

FROM BEIRUT TO MUNQID

Placed in its physical and cultural context, let us now turn to the village of al-Munqid itself. It might be asked why a community of farmers should settle in such an unfavorable environment in the first place. A tentative answer to this question will be presented in the chapter, "The Patterns of Culture Change." It might also be asked why, once established, such a community should grow greatly in size and continue to function even through periods of great economic difficulty. This is an easy question to ask. The remainder of this work is, essentially, an attempt to answer it.

Let us, now, in imagination, go to Munqid by automobile from Beirut. The trip will take perhaps an hour and a quarter.

Between Beirut and the mouth of the Dog River the road is lined, for the most part, with banana and citrus plantations, and lush stands of tall reeds. Beyond the river, however, the citrus plantations cease, but the banana plantations continue. We notice that water is brought to them in open cement conduits. On the upper slopes to our right, we pass innumerable small villages and their olive and fig orchards.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Finally, we come to the town of Jbayl whose population was estimated in 1932 to be 5000, (Himadeh, 1936, p. 9). It is now probably considerably more. It is surrounded by banana plantations and is currently enjoying a period of prosperity and growth largely because of the recently installed irrigation system. The highway runs right through the commercial center of the town, and though we must be careful to avoid collision with heavily laden donkeys, sheep, fowl, men, honking taxis, trucks and buses, we are aware that the street is lined with small shops of all kinds. On our left we pass the local courthouse, a neat modernistic structure from which the national flag flies, and around which stand or sit a few members of the national gendarmerie, in khaki uniforms, with rifles slung over their shoulders. If our eyes are sharp, we will notice also, a small sign which reads "Fouilles de Byblos," with an arrow pointing towards the sea. And in this direction we can hardly fail to miss seeing the cavernous vault which is all that remains of the upper levels of a castle built by the Crusaders. If we have prepared ourselves properly, we will know that this ruin is surrounded by others of much greater age which attest to the fact that the bustle through which we are passing is but the current phase in the life of one of the oldest continuously inhabited sites in the world. Later we will learn that Jbayl is the primary marketing center of Munṣif.

Shortly after leaving Jbayl, we pass the unpaved road which leads to the large village of 'Amshīt built on a small rise in the land at some distance from the highway. We must deduce its identity from our map, for there is, as usual, no sign. After the rather sharp turn near al-Burj, the road dips downward and our view to the north is suddenly blocked completely by the ridge to which some reference has already been made. The ridge appears to plunge, at a moderately steep angle, directly into the sea, but we notice that the highway continues on around it. We, however, turn sharply to the right on a side road which we can see winds up the ridge. We stop, athwart the railroad tracks, to allow a man, whose head is swathed in a *kaffiyah* and crowned by an *agal*, to drive his herd of fat-tailed sheep across the road. He pays no particular attention to us, for he is a stranger here himself, though he has probably come this way for years. However, after we have wound our way upwards for a few minutes we pass a group of men who are lounging in the shade of a carob tree, eating lunch. They stare hard and fixedly at us, and one of them gets to his feet to have a better look. Our major ascent is finished when we reach the crest of the ridge, and we find on each side of the road the neat terraces of figs and olives which belong to Jiblayil. Soon the houses close in tightly, but briefly, on both sides. As we pass through, a rooster flaps across the road, just missing our wheels. A few human figures step out of doorways to see who is coming and stand staring at us. Off to the right of the straight road from Jiblayil to Shaykhan we see smoke pouring from the open top of a limekiln. To the left, still at some distance, we see, at last, the houses of Munṣif, ranging in color from white to tawny to grey. They are perched, seemingly on top

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

of each other, along the flank of a crest which descends noticeably in the direction of the sea whose far horizon rises high in the western sky.

Shaykhan seems deserted as we drive through it, and then go down into Mansif. At first, olive terraces rise above us on the right and fall away below us on the left, but almost immediately they are replaced by houses. We stop in what appears to be the middle of the village, where no old car is parked and human activity is apparent. In the next half minute or so, a group of small barefooted boys, dressed in shorts, gathers, and they eye us intently as they talk among themselves in low tones. Across the road, an old man in a long striped gown leans on a heavy cane. While he stands looking at us, he is joined by a young man in a sport shirt and neatly pressed European-style trousers. Other figures appear, but no one moves, and everyone keeps his distance. Two women walk close by the car, peering into it as best they can without upsetting the large wicker trays which they carry on their heads. They do not stop, however, and disappear into a windowless building nearby. The loud chatter which has been coming from this building dies down suddenly to a murmur, and more people appear. Their faces seem expressionless except that they manage to convey a feeling of withdrawn, yet unabashed, curiosity. No one steps forward.

As we get out of our car, someone picks up a stone and hurls it at a large dog which has been barking savagely at us. It runs off, yelping. We approach the young man in European clothes and address him haltingly in Arabic, asking the whereabouts of one whose name we have been given. Almost before he has finished his reply, spoken in good English, the one we were seeking appears. We introduce ourselves, and he leads us to his house, elaborately inquiring after our health. Seated under his roof, we are offered cigarettes and small candies, soon his wife brings us coffee, and we experience for the first time the warm hospitality for which the people of Mansif are famous.

We have arrived and can begin our study.

9: Gulick E-5 (1954) 1956 ME: Lebanon ME:

THE MATERIAL BASE

THE PHYSICAL PATTERN OF THE VILLAGE

As a physical site, al-Mansūf has five parts (See Fig. 2): The hamlet of Ḥārat al-Ḥalabī and the three minor shrines each of which has been, at one time or another, the nucleus of a small house-cluster, and the village proper. The territory which belongs to the village is roughly triangular in shape. The apex of this triangle is at the eastern extremity of the village proper, the sides extend from the apex to the seashore which forms the base. The paths which lead from the village proper to the shore, via Mar Mūsā and Mar Mikhāʾīl, run along ridge crests. The boundaries of the village lie in the wadis (dry stream-beds) which are immediately adjacent to these crests, to the south and the north of them, respectively. All of the real property within the area thus defined belongs to the citizens of the village.

Ḥārat al-Ḥalabī owes its existence to its location on a main highway, near a small, shelter-ed cove, and, possibly, to the two springs which were mentioned in the previous chapter. The development and present significance of this hamlet will be discussed in subsequent chapters. Suffice it to say here that Ḥārat al-Ḥalabī has the most extensive fig orchards in the village, and, in a small building which is used as a store in the summer, there is a public telephone. This is the only electrical appliance of any kind, dependent upon a central public power system, in the entire village.

The shrines will be discussed in the chapter, "Formal Institutions." Of the three, only Mar Mikhāʾīl has recently had any significance as a residence site. At present, one family of outsiders lives there in the winter (See next two chapters). It will be noted that the site has a special name, Ṭurfā, besides that of the shrine.

The village proper (see map, Fig. 3) is built, as has been noted before, on the flank of a crest, extending in a northwest-southeast direction for the greater part of one kilometer and steadily decreasing in altitude from 300 meters above sea level in the southeast to 140 meters in the northwest. The highest houses in the southeast are virtually on the top of the crest. As the map and figure indicate, the village is also sharply tilted in a northeast-southwest direction. For the most part, the houses, as well as the terraces, are oriented longitudinally along the contours of the ridge. In the section of the village which lies to the south of the main road there is a very full distribution of functioning terraces, but in most of the northern part, terraces are either entirely absent or (except in the eastern extremity) fallen into ruins. In its essential details, this settlement pattern belongs to a type which is commonplace in Lebanon (Thoumin, 1936, p. 283).

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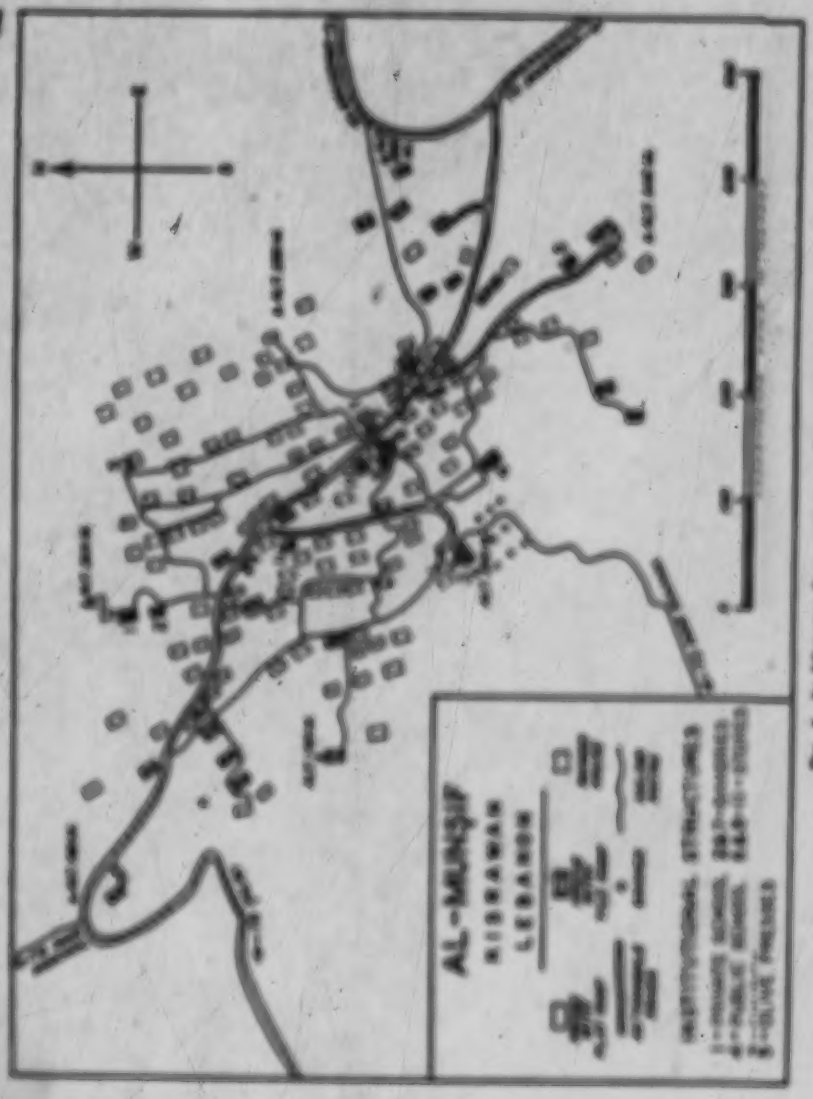

7: Gulick E-5 (1962) 1965 ME1 Lebanon ME1

361 103 Most of the territory of the village is divided into a large number of sections each of which has its own name. The map (Fig. 4) indicates the sections—*Ḥayy* (*ḥē*)—in the village proper. Most of these names are evidently very old, and those in the village proper were translated as follows: "fig place," "lowland" (i.e., the *wadi* which abuts it to the north), "infertile" (mostly bare rock), "surrounded" (connotation obscure), "lemon place" (no citrus plants are grown in the village), "little head" (a secondary crest, see Fig. 4, Sec. 33), "graves," "center of town" (*sahe*), "small green fertile place," "place of small olive press" (no longer so), and "priest's shrine" (obscure). Translations could not be obtained for a few others. Just outside the village proper there are two sections of whose names no one could even guess the meaning. They are probably not of Arabic origin. No particular name is given to some sections of the village proper especially in the central portion. The word *sahe* has been applied to part of this central portion for at least fifty years but apparently not much earlier than that. This suggests that the present concentration of commercial establishments (see map, Fig. 3) is relatively recent, for in general *sahe* means the part of a village where the stores are located.

These portions within the settlement which do not have specific names are generally referred to as *jinan*, which means the deep fertile soil which is usually devoted to the growing of vegetables. This is a generic term for this particular soil-type. Others in use in the village are *sahl* (plain—land without trees), *salikh* (land with trees), and *mulk* (orchards). Of these, the last is of particular interest. [42] *Mulk* really means "land held in fee simple." In Munqil, nearly all the land is divided in fee simple, and orchards are the most valuable property. *Sahl* is incorporated into some of the section names, but *salikh* and *mulk* are not, as far as could be determined.

On either side of the road leading to Ḥilwi (the old path which it superseded was called *tariq al-mughīra*—"road to the brackish spring"), there are eight named sections. Similarly, along the path which leads to Ḥilwi via Mar Mamma (*tariq al-Ḥilwi*—"road to the fresh-water spring"), there are twelve. In all, then, thirty-four named sections were recorded, and there are unquestionably a good many more. The names, in general, refer to physical characteristics of the land in question or to past owners or associated events; or their meaning is obscure or unknown. As far as could be determined, the named sections have no social significance except that they make it possible to specify exactly different parts of the village. This is very helpful in a situation where the individual's landholdings are usually widely scattered.

62 The map (Fig. 4) also indicates the division of the village into two halves: *ḥar fawqanni*, "the upper part," and *ḥar taḥtanni*, "the lower part." This division does, or at least did, have social significance. It was stated that up to about eighty years ago, the upper part was completely dominated by Maximal Lineage A, the lower part by Maximal Lineage C. (Further discussion of this matter must wait

FIG. 4. AL-MUNSIF: NAMED SECTIONS

7- Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

till the chapters on "Kinship Structure and Marriage Patterns" and "The Patterns of Culture Change.")

BUILDINGS, HOUSES, AND HOUSE-TYPES

The map (Fig. 3) indicates the location of the institutional buildings in the village proper.[1] Four of the six shops (sing. *dikkaan*, plur. *dakaakiin*) are concentrated in the *sahe*. Actually, building 9 was not open during the period of study, but building 6 is partitioned into halves in each of which there is an independent shop. Building 10 is also partitioned, one half being devoted to a shop whose proprietor is also a butcher. The other half is open when the need arises, being the place of business of one of the two barbers. Building 11, an old house, is occupied by the fifth shop, open only at times, which specializes in cloth. The sixth shop, also not of the "general-store" type, is located in the house of its proprietor, farther down the main road. The two schools are rather widely separated, but this is probably accidental since the location of the private school is determined by the fact that it occupies the lower floor of the master's own house. Similarly the two bakeries, one in the *sahe*, are immediately adjacent to the houses of their respective owners, one of whom is the private school master. Building 5 is the only one in the village which is entirely devoted to an olive press. There are, however, two other presses in the village proper (one in the lower part of the one remaining occupied house in the al-Wastiyya section, the other in the lower part of a house near the meeting point of the Sar at-Tiini and Dayr al-Qassis sections); there is a third under construction in the eastern end of the *sahe*, and a fourth at Hilwi. Two of these presses are specialized for the reduction of carob pods to a mush from which *dibs*, a kind of jam, is made. There is also a mill, operated by a German-made gasoline engine, which is part of the store in building 8. The upper story, and part of the lower story, of building 8 is occupied by one of the Affiliate Families (see next chapter) of the village.

It has been noted that the long axis of most of the houses is parallel to the contours of the ridge, often flush with terrace walls. Not infrequently the paths between the houses are, in fact, the tops of wide terrace walls, and sometimes these are two or three feet higher than the earth which they support.

The great majority of the houses have two levels. In some cases these are directly superimposed. In many others, they are staggered, so that the roof of the lower level forms a very useful terrace which is flush with the floor of the upper level. There are invariably separate entrances to the upper and lower levels. The writer is aware of not a single instance of interior staircases leading from one level to another. Probably the reason for this is that staircases would take up a great deal of room which cannot be afforded. Frequently, the pitch of the ground is such that one can simply walk onto the roof of a house directly or by a very short flight of steps. More frequently, however, one must climb onto roofs, either on

1 - [AL-Munsif -- Analyst]

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FIG. 6. AL-MUNŞIF: HOUSE OWNERSHIP BY MAXIMAL LINEAGE

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

a particularly unfavored district in the physical sense—more favored districts had already been occupied by others.

We have seen that the village territory was subsequently divided into three equal parts, each of which came in time to be dominated by a particular lineage, each descended from a son of the founder. The main house cluster was said to have been first located somewhat below the church, in a recess. This location made the community completely invisible from the coastal highway, and this was described by one informant as a necessary defensive measure. He added that he had heard that in the old days, when men went down to Ḥilwi to work their fields, they went in armed groups to protect themselves against marauding bands of Muslims. This was presumably during the century and more of virtual anarchy which followed the reign of Fakhr al-Din II. As the village grew in population, the house cluster was extended up and along the crest of the ridge, lineage A occupying the upper part, lineage C the lower part. Lineage B members lived mostly at ʾAraḥi, surrounding the shrine of Mar Mukhail, and only very recently moved entirely into the eastern and upper portions of the main house cluster.

We have seen that at present the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects the clustering of the houses by maximal lineage. Some of the exceptions to this patterning, especially in the highest part of the village, are due to very recent purchases of land and new construction. Those in the center, however, were explained by one informant as follows: "Maybe a hundred years ago many people were very poor. They sold their land to people in ʿAmshit. Then later some others bought it again. We don't know who they all were. People went to America to make money and then they came back."

There is at hand what might well be external evidence of this episode. Churchill (1853, vol. 1, pp. 72–73), writes of the spectacular rise of one Michael Toubea, a Maronite from ʿAmshit, "Making his native village of Amshet the centre of his operations, he conceived a system which soon brought him into intimate relations with the entire neighboring population—that of making advances of money on the silk crops. . . . Toubea has become an extensive landed proprietor, and as a landlord his character is unimpeachable."

Until about seventy-five years ago, Munṣif was a very nearly self-sufficient and self-contained community. We can assume that a good proportion of its wheat always had to be imported. As a matter of fact, Ḥilwi used to serve as a point of entry for imported goods which were brought to it by boat, this mode of transportation being cheaper, safer, and easier than overland transport. It was also, apparently, a regular practice for a number of men to do seasonal wage labor in other districts. One specialty of this type, which was hazardous but profitable, was sponge-diving.

But these activities do not seem to have essentially lessened the village's cultural isolation. It was common in those days, according to one informant, to en-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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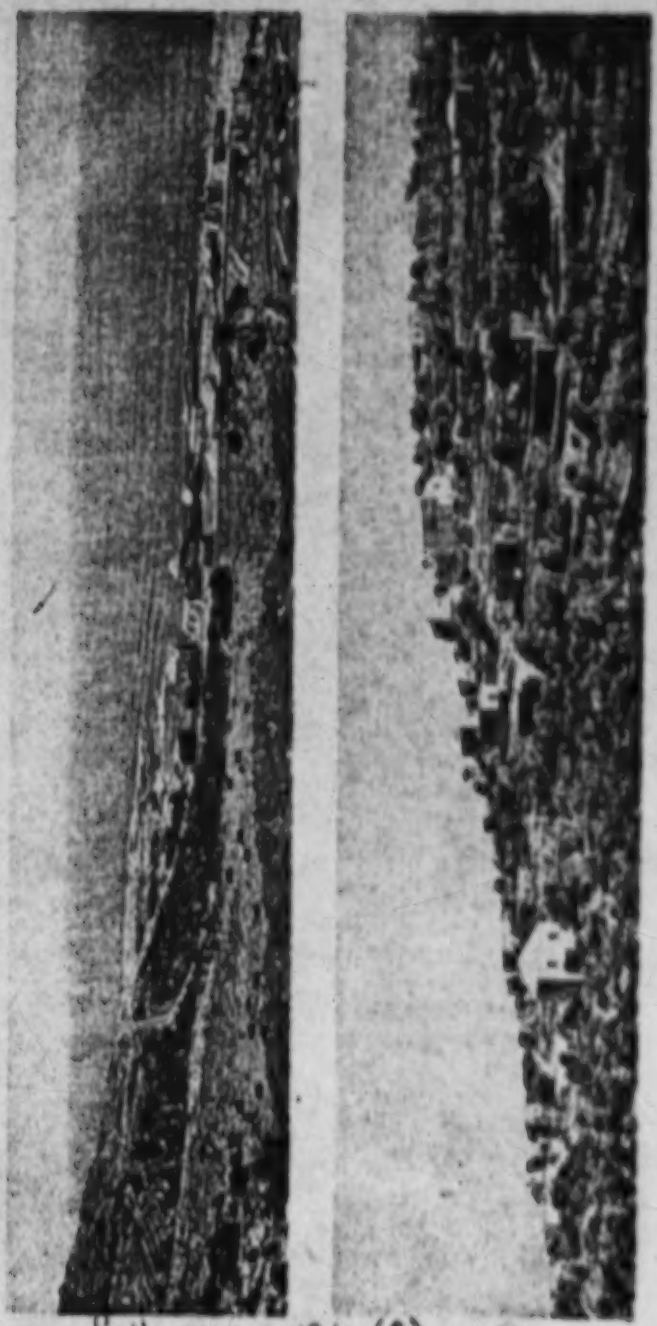
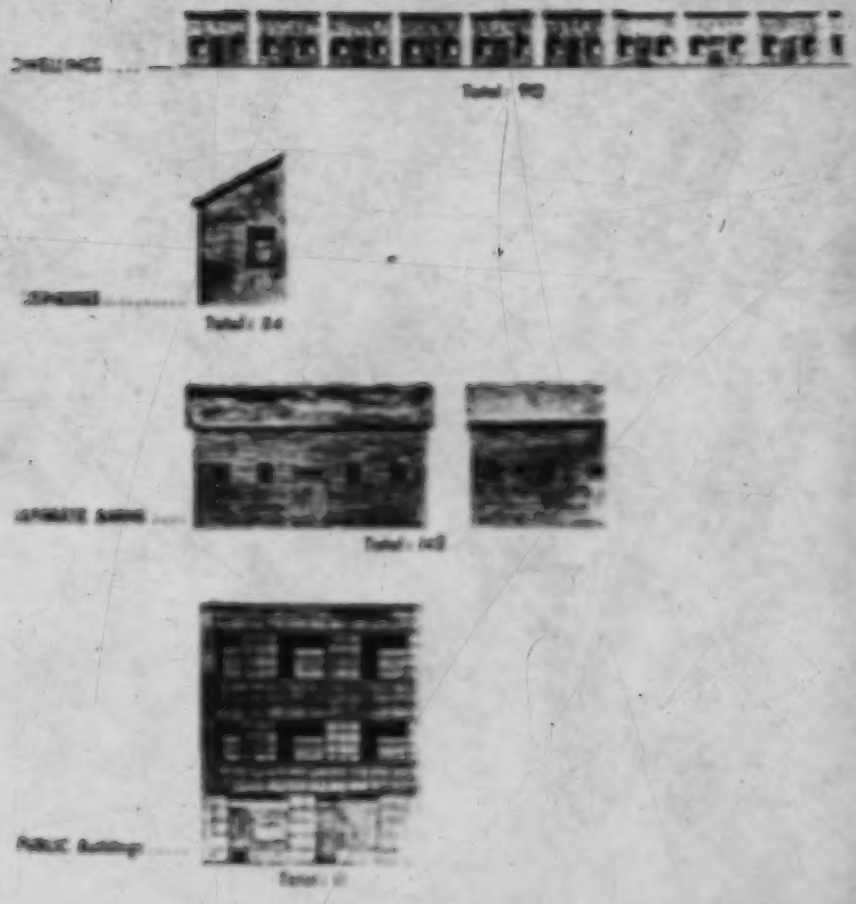


Following T 191 (2)

• 361

BUILDINGS

Five project villages
Each unit represent 100 buildings



9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

VILLAGE SURVEY

KASMIE RURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT

LEBANON

BY

William W. Goeren,
Miles Pennott,
Gabriel Nagar[1]

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The five villages to be affected by the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project are located along the northern branch of the Kasmie Irrigation Canal. The area comprising these khurays[2] includes land largely lies above the Kasmie Irrigation Project which, when completed, will service the rich coastal plain extending from Naida in the north to Ras-El-Ain three miles south of Tyre. The Kasmie Irrigation Project was begun under the French Mandate, continued during the British occupation, and partially completed under the Lebanese Republic. Due to a lack of funds, work on the project was discontinued in 1950 when about half of the canal area to be irrigated was under operating canals. It covers an area of 30,000 dunums of land and extends a length of 37 kilometers (23 miles). It averages 1.3 kilometers (one mile) in width. The completed portion of the irrigation works supplies water to prosperous new citrus orchards, banana groves and vegetable gardens.

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[1] Mr. Goeren is land agricultural economist with the Litani River Investigation Group and Chief of the Rural Statistical Surveys Project. Mr. Pennott is an associate professor of economics at the American University of Beirut who participated in this study as a consultant to the Lebanese Ministry of National Economy. Mr. Nagar is a junior economist on the staff of the Litani Group.

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[2] In the Arab Middle East the English term, *village*, can mean either the built-up area alone or the built-up area and all the surrounding land claimed by the villagers, subject to legally approximate use. To avoid misconception, two Arabic terms have been adopted. The term *khuraiy* is used to denote the larger concept which includes the built-up area and other lands appurtenant to it. The term *dar'aiya* is used to designate the built-up area on the town itself. Size, either of population or land area, is not involved in the use of these concepts.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

Physical Description of Area

361 The coastal plain in the Kasmie area is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea on the west and
132 the Lebanon range on the east. The climate is Mediterranean with dry summers, nearly all of the
184 rain falling between October and May. The soil is chiefly a heavy clay. Much of this coastal area
941 is suitable for irrigation. While some of the land is rocky and in the United States would not be used for farm land, nearly all land capable of cultivation has been brought under the plow. The steeper slopes are protected from serious erosion by rock wall terraces. The climate is favorable to the growth of temperate and sub-tropical crops. Citrus fruits, bananas, vegetables, and cereal crops are found in abundance.

361 The major markets for the products of the five villages are Beirut and Saida. All of the project
491 and control villages are linked to the Tyre-Sale-Beirut main coastal road by gravel surfaced roads
487 except for Loubya and Sakmakiyah, which are approximately equal roads. In no case is the dirt road
494 more than two miles from the main road. The traffic on this road is heavy and trucks and buses are frequently available for taking produce to Sida or Beirut. These towns are 32 and 62 miles, respectively, distant from 'Adloun, the most northerly village.

Village Government

622 The five villages included in the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project have a similar form of
623 local government. Each village has a mukhtar (mayor) who is elected in a more-or-less democratic
471 manner. In each village there is also a board of eldermen or village elders. This board is also
555 elected in other and it consists of from two to six members. The mukhtar is generally the largest landowner or operator and one of the wealthier men in the village. The elderman as well are among the more well-to-do villagers. However, the concept of wealth is relative. Often the buildings owned by local villagers may be large in comparison with others in their own community, but small indeed when compared to the sheaf buildings in the village controlled by persons living outside the village. The common fellah can see major improvements by his peers in this area whereby he has such aspirations in the town.

N.Lebanon G-8 (1952/1953) ARE Lebanon ARE

Farm Organization

The isolated farmhouse, typical of agriculture in the United States, is rarely seen in Lebanon. In the five project villages nearly all farmers live in the *dai'ah* or built-up area. Their wooden plows, harrows, and other farm equipment are stored each day in their houses in the *dai'ah*. Often a stable is connected to or is part of the living quarters to take care of the family cow or other livestock. The concentration of dwellings in our area in the Middle East often results in a considerable expenditure of time in walking to fields located sometimes two or five miles from the village. In the project villages the land lies in a narrow strip. Farms on the far ends require an hour or more to reach by walking.

The share-tenant or small landowner has a cow or two which he depends on for draft and milk, a simple wooden plow, and a few other simple hand tools. These comprise his capital equipment. The field work is shared by all the members of the family, although in this *dai'ah* modern area there is a fairly rigid division of labor between the sexes. Plowing is a man's work, while rarely will a man be seen carrying water from the village fountain.

In the project area no evidence is seen of tractors, harrows, mechanical threshers, or other mechanized farm equipment except on one or two large farms operated by non-resident owners. None of the project villages has electric power. Farm organization is based upon an intensive use of labor rather than capital. Low wage rates and an ample supply of laborers combine to make the use of labor more advantageous than mechanization. In 1952 the prevailing rate for farm laborers was LL. 3 (about 85 cents) for men and half that for women per 12 to 13 hour day.

Most of the project villages have a plot of land called the *baidar* where the villagers, often working in common, thresh their grain. Here the wheat or other seed crop is placed after it is brought from the field. For month after month in the summer, one finds the men pulling behind them a *mourej*, a flat board the underside of which is dotted with protruding stones or jagged pieces of metal. The farmer's wife or a small boy rides on this and with a stick directs the oxen over a layer of grain. In this way the kernels of grain are loosened and the straw is cut like fodder. In order to separate the kernels of grain from the chaff, the farmer tosses the mixed grain and chaff

434 It is evident that in all the villages the great majority of the breadwinners must depend on sources of income other than their own lands. Therefore, younger members of the family seek income outside of the village, while the former himself must work part-time for one of the larger landlords or the oil company, hold a government job, get money from abroad, or subsist on a very low level.

Physical Description of Project Villages

592 It is not possible to describe with statistical accuracy the average village homes in the project 345 area. A very general description must suffice until more detailed investigation is available. Homes are usually one-story stone structures of one or two rooms. They do not have electricity or running water. Usually the animals are accommodated in a stable connected to the house, or in a room in the house itself.

364 The villagers do not seem to be concerned with keeping their surroundings sanitary. In none 541 of the villages is there any attempt to collect and properly dispose of garbage. The uniform practice 794 is to throw it in the fields. There are few toilets. Stone walls and fields close to crops seem to 515 serve commonly used for sewage disposal. To serve the 3,602 people in the project area there are only 82 pit privies. There are no tubs or showers. Homes have no screens and flies are free to communicate food and mosquitoes to carriers and transmit disease.

515 Women are nearly always seen and clean and the people attempt to clothe themselves decently 602 with well-scrubbed garments. Though extremely poor, the village family is very hospitable and 579 insists on sharing with a guest its meager supply of cigarettes or treasured coffee and sugar.

361 In the five project villages there are 1,100 buildings. This number includes 912 dwelling units, 36 business establishments, 105 separate barns and 11 public buildings. A detailed breakdown of the types of buildings by village is shown in Table VIII. Included in the category of public buildings are seven mosques, Sarafand and En-Nastiyah have two mosques each, while in each

3.6 Of the other three project villages there is one mosque. There are no Christian churches here as this region is populated by Muslems of the Shen'ish sect. These are often referred to as Mirmadis and [illegible] are followers of the descendants of Ali.

3.6 The 912 dwelling units in the five project villages house an average of 6.1 persons per unit. A positive building trend has taken place in the area during the past five years. For this period, only 7 fellows reported more buildings were down or otherwise made uninhabitable than were reconstructed. In the other four villages the opposite trend was reported. No attempt was made to determine the types of units constructed and heavy reliance should not be placed on Table IX, «Construction Trend in Last Five Years», for the data in this table are subject to a high degree of error.

Business and Industry

3.6 In the project villages the business district generally is composed of a few small shops selling meat, grain, groceries, small items of hardware, and a limited amount of other items. In these five villages there is a total of thirty-four small shops. There are 17 general stores, 10 meat stores, 2 barber shops and 4 cafés. As the shopping centers of Berrar and Saida are easily accessible by low-cost bus transportation, general stores carry only those items in daily demand. Several of the cafés service the main Berrar-Saida Tyre road. Of all the businesses, only three cafés employ the services of permanent other than the proprietors. Only the village of Loudrye lacks any form of business center.

It is interesting to note that in these small villages the most shops often cooperate by assigning specific days of operation for each shopkeeper. On days allotted to one shopkeeper, the customers will hang from his booth, and nearby most shops will be closed. All the stores are extremely small and require but a meager capital investment.

4.2.5 There are no power-operated factories in the project area and very few home industries or handicraft enterprises. Two hand-operated olive presses were reported at Sidjakrish and one at Loudrye. With no wood or mineral resources on hand and with no electrical power available, the total lack of village industrialization is not surprising.

[Following p. 29 (C)]

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[For proper assembly of the map on p. ix, follow the diagram below:]

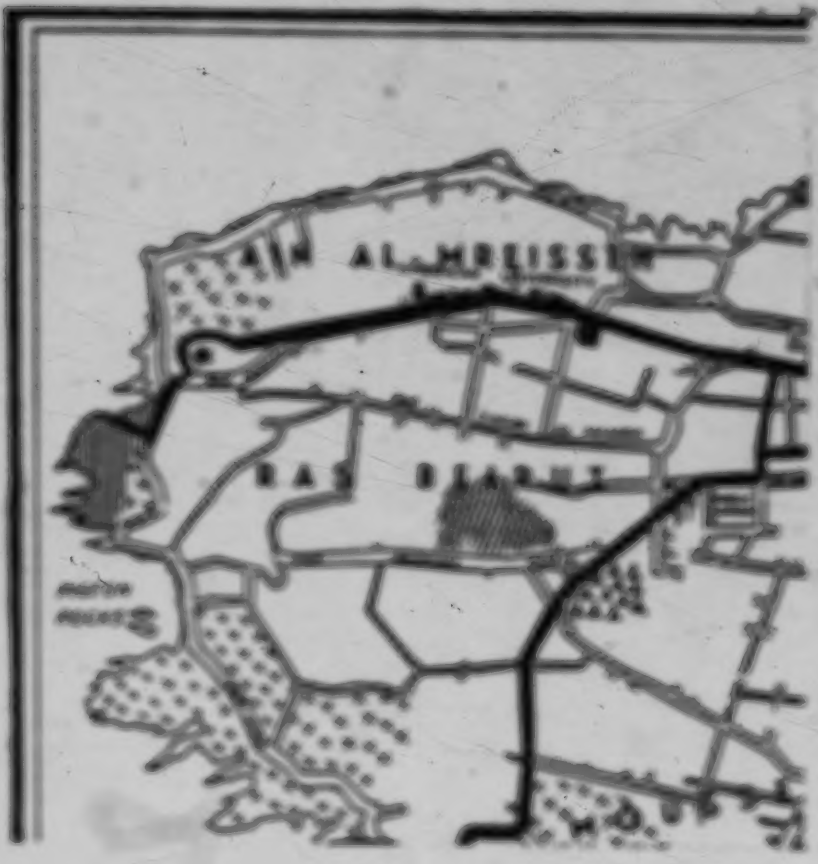

Fig. 1x(A)

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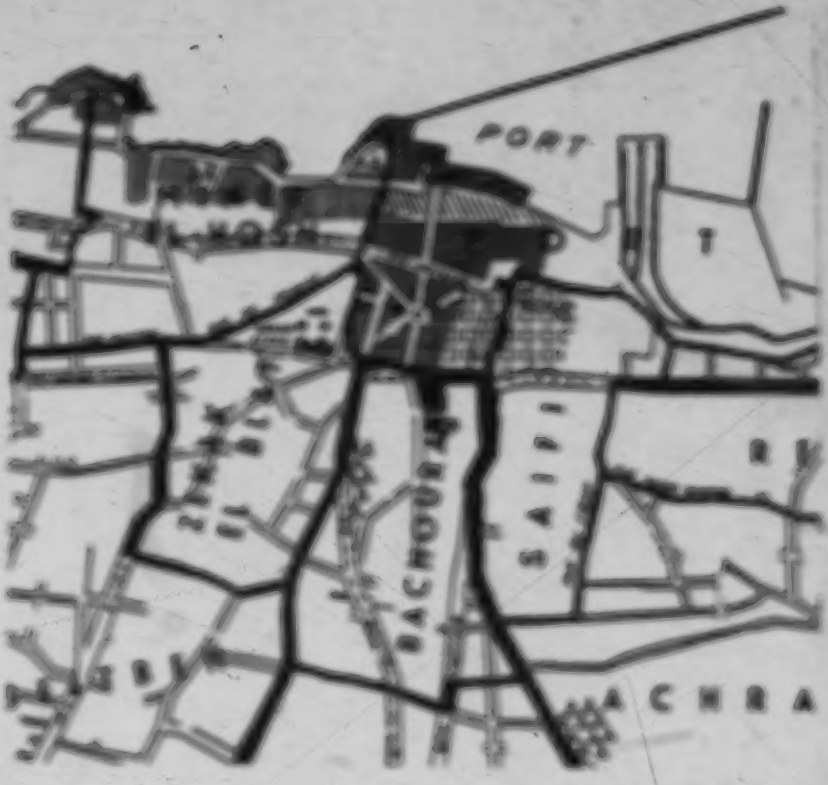
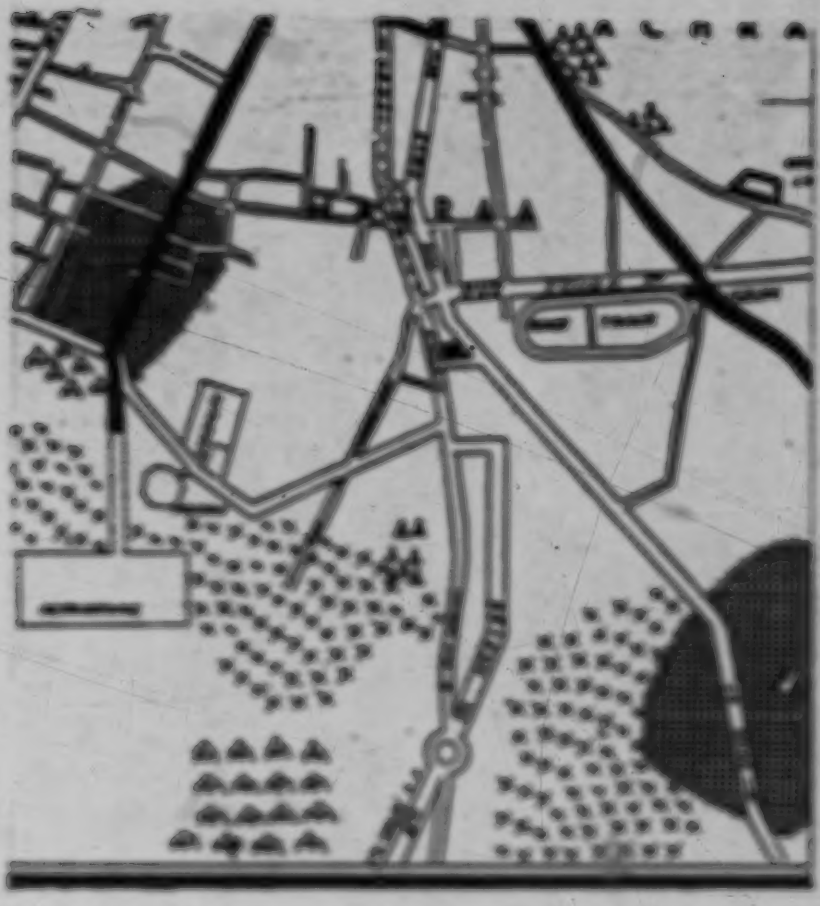


p. 22 (B)

ص ٤٤ (ع)

I PORT
II MINET EL-HOSN
III ZEKAK EL-BLAT
IV BACHOURA
V SAIFI
VI MEDAWAR
VII IBHEIL
VIII ACHRAFIYEH
IX MAZRAA
X MOUSSEITBEH
XI RAS BEIRUT
XII AIN AL-MREISSEH
BEIRUT

م. إذ (٥)



p. 25 (e)

ITD

The schedule included a number of questions designed to find out the status of housing in Beirut. These included the age of buildings, construction materials, building installations, condition of buildings, amount of crowding, and extent of home ownership.

7.1 Type of dwelling, Table 9A

Beirut is a city of multiple family residences. Sixty-five percent of the sample was composed of residential buildings with two or more families in residence while only eighteen percent were single family. When it is realized that a good many of these one family houses are shacks it can be seen that the single family ville is not characteristic.

7.2 Basis of occupation of household, Table 9B

Ownership of buildings has been achieved by a quarter of our sample which corresponds with our results showing most dwellings to be in multiple family buildings.

7.3 Building material used in dwelling, Table 9C

Almost the entire city is built either of stone or concrete (96 %). The former are usually of tin. The poverty stricken tin shacks represent a fraction of the total (3 %). Wood is much too expensive for construction purposes as it must be imported. One result of this is that fire is an almost non-existent danger. Beirut is probably better housed in all but the poorest sections than most metropolitan centers in the world.

p. 20(8)

Table 3

Sample by French Census Districts of 1962 of Households, Residential and Non-Residential Floors and Buildings by Map Count

District	Households in Sample	Floors					Buildings
		Total Floors	Residential		Non - Residential		
			Number	% of Total	Number	% of Total	
Total	1903	2289	1903	84.12	357	15.88	2279
I Pau	1	31	1	3.22	30	96.77	345
II Mines et Bord	44	65	42	70.33	23	29.67	468
III Arudeh et Mer	72	84	72	85.71	12	14.29	345
IV Bordeaux	87	112	87	77.68	25	22.32	1200
V Nelli	44	99	44	44.45	35	35.35	892
VI Medoc	24	114	74	64.95	40	35.05	1240
VII Rouell	100	288	180	62.50	35	12.50	1004
VIII Arcachon	222	354	332	93.78	28	8.29	2455
IX Blaye	200	230	200	86.30	30	9.30	1007
X Blanquefort	271	300	251	83.70	38	12.30	2550
XI Pas Balzac	232	264	232	87.90	32	12.10	1854
XII Isle et Dordogne	60	62	60	85.85	14	17.15	630
XIII Thouars *	60	77	60		*		1760
Agglomerations in Medoc							

* Tabulated separately because of special characteristics

[illegible]

Table

HLP 341

Population Size, Residential Floors and Ap
Estimated from the Sample and T

Stratum	Total	Flats		
		Residential		
		Number	% of Total	
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
1 Flats	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
11 Floors of Flats	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
111 Tenements of Flats	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
IV Maisonettes	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
V Mews	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
VI Bedsitters	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
VII Studios	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
VIII Terraced	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
VIII Semi-detached	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
IX Shops	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
X Warehouses	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
XI Flats Above	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
XII Use of Warehouse	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
XIII Vacant *	[illegible]	[illegible]		
Applications to Warehouse				

* [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 30(A)

Ans. 4

4 Apartments and Non-Residential Floors
of Total Buildings by Map Count

Floors					
	Non-Residential		Apartments	Buildings	Population
	Number	% of Total			
	6383	13.48	32394	35740	2940[illegible]
	1394	96.77	45	345	374
	396	28.47	1141	909	12361
	303	14.38	1834	745	10826
	464	33.32	2338	1099	14734
	439	35.33	1749	807	10448
	743	35.99	2893	1349	13436
	478	33.34	4874	1864	29856
	492	9.38	4294	3433	47796
	439	9.36	4773	4487	34884
	749	33.36	7849	3589	43748
	463	33.33	3433	1971	28948
	339	37.47	1846	638	9736
	396		3441	1784	33853

[illegible]

[illegible] Floors = 4.58
= 4.76

م. الملف (٥)

[illegible]

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Table 95

Incidence of Work on Own Land for Those Working in Village for Part of Year

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	91	100.00	
Yes	35	38.46	.650
No	38	41.76	.652
No answer	18	19.78	

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364

Table 96

Type of Dwelling

Type	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	1873	100.00	
One family house	340	18.15	.388
Multiple family	1211	64.66	.811
Combined dwelling & office	16	0.85	
Combined dwelling & commercial	224	11.96	.498
Combined dwelling & industrial	34	1.83	
Other	13	0.69	
No answer	7	0.37	

p. 83 (c)

Table 95

Basis of Occupations of Households

Census	Number	Percent	±
Total	1851	100.00	
[illegible]	439	38.00	.000
[illegible]	1340	72.24	.000
[illegible]	5	0.27	
[illegible]	4	0.22	

Table 96

Building Material Used in Dwelling

Type of bldg. material	Number	Percent	±
Total	1535	100.00	
[illegible]	1151	47.35	.001
[illegible]	61	3.17	.000
[illegible]	18	1.00	.005
[illegible]	7	0.36	
[illegible]	101	10.36	.001
[illegible]	9	0.47	

US Census Bureau, 1990s ASCII Technical Info

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE LEBANON

I. THE GENERAL MUNICIPAL CODE

The history of municipal government in the Republic of Lebanon goes back only to the Ottoman Municipal Law of 1877[1] which was largely based upon the Code Napoleon. The transition to the new municipal code promulgated in 1922 after the establishment of the French mandatory regime was comparatively simple. The general framework remains much the same with minor differences in procedure, particularly in the degree of centralization.

With only 130 incorporated municipalities among the 1300 odd towns and villages of Lebanon and with only eight of these with a population of more than ten thousand, no very elaborate code is required. The only large city, the capital, Beirut, with a population of 130,000, like the capital of France, is organized under a separate law. All the other municipalities of Lebanon are chartered under Arrêté No. 1208 of March 10, 1922[2] while the hundreds of unincorporated villages are governed through the institution under the *Loi des Moukhtars* of January 13, 1926.[3]

Municipal affairs are supervised and controlled by the national government through the Ministry of the Interior by means of its administrative officers in the various levels of local government. The Republic is divided into five principal administrative districts, each headed by an appointed administrator (*mohafiz*). The districts are in turn sub-divided into eighteen *kadas* each under the administrative control of an appointed *kaimmakam*.[4] Through French counsellors attached to the more important administrative posts the entire system is brought under the directing authority of the French High Commissioner.[5] All these officials exercise a constant and vigilant surveillance over the municipalities within their jurisdiction with powers even more extensive than those of the prefects in France, thus bringing municipal government well within the highly centralized system of national government.

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1. George Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1905), Vol. I, p. 48.

2. Recueil des Arrêtés et Décisions du Grand Liban, 1920–1932, (Imprimerie du Levant, Beyrouth, 1933), p. 241.

3. Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise (Imprimerie du Levant, Beyrouth), No. 5, 1926, p. 4.

4. [illegible] loc. cit. No. 5, 1926, p. 1. Formerly the Lebanon was divided into 22 *nahiyas* (districts).

5. All decisions and orders of the Administrator must be visaed by the French counsellor. Arrêté No. 1208, Art. 46.

[illegible]

CARTE DU LIBAN

NORD

KAA

MONT LIBAN
LIBEK

LIBAN SUD

In 1775 population of 1,200 people and general social organization, Bishkinzour is typical of the Lebanese village communities. It is situated in the foothills of the Lebanon mountains, fifty miles to the north of Beirut and twelve miles to the south of Tripoli, the two seaports of the country. The writer was born and grew up in this village. He is the product of its native Arab culture, as influenced and modified by the travelling American culture. The present article is based upon personal experience—his own, with an Arab-American background, and that of his people, who have lived in the same village for eight generations.

With respect to the religious situation in the village previous to the appearance of mission activity, it is sufficient to emphasize a few salient facts. In the first place, there were in the village three religious sects—a large majority of Greek Orthodox (about 1000 people), a small minority of Moslems (about 150 people), and three Maronite households, which will be neglected in the discussion. Secondly, the relationship between the two religious sects had always been such as could be characterized as harmonious and stable. Each sect took it for granted that there had always been and there will always be two sects in the village—Moslems and Greek Orthodox. Consequently, there had never been any attempt on the part of one sect to interfere with the religious practices of the other or to undertake any proselyting campaign. Thirdly, religion in the village had always been an integral part of the whole village life. It was not a matter of dogma, or

(2)

Mr. Gulick E-5 (1951)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

CONSERVATISM AND CHANGE IN A LEBANESE VILLAGE

John Gulick

THE COASTAL HIGHWAY which connects Beirut and Tripoli winds between the crashing surf of the Mediterranean and the sharply rising slopes of Mount Lebanon. At one point in the journey northward along this road, the traveler may notice before him a ridge which, from the distance, seems to block his way. If, instead of continuing toward Tripoli, the traveler turns off the main highway at the foot of this ridge and winds his way up the gravel road which climbs its face to the crest, he will find himself at the southern, seaward tip of a roughly semi-circular ring of six small villages. At the center of this ring is a seventh village considerably larger than the others. This village is al-Munsif.

Topographically, the area which is occupied by the seven villages consists of three main ridges which project toward the sea in a fanlike fashion, so that the shape of the area is roughly triangular. The ridges are separated by deep, dry wadis; in addition there are other minor creases and gullies, so that the over-all terrain is rough and broken. The land itself is unstable for the prevalence of limestone outcrops. The natural flora conforms to the type known as "garrigue," which features low, bushy scrub oak and a variety of small, thorny, aromatic plants. It is a landscape which could not inspire very much confidence in the hearts of ordinary farmers; even to Lebanese farmers, whose fortitude and resourcefulness are justly famous, it has presented a serious challenge.

But the challenge does not end with land features so rich. An even more serious problem is the lack of ground water. There are, indeed, two springs very close to the shore, but both are small and one is brackish. All the water used in the area is winter rain water drained off the roofs of the houses and stored in large underground cisterns, of which there are a very large number. This supply must provide for all the needs of the inhabitants for the entire year. The amount which can be devoted to watering plants is, therefore, extremely limited, and irrigation, in the sense generally applied in the Near East, is impossible. Under present conditions [illegible]

* This article is an anthropologist on the staff of the Department of Sociology at Antioch College. This article is a brief report of a community study which he made in Lebanon from January to July, 1950, under the direction of the Department of Anthropology of Harvard University. He is the author of "The Lebanese Village: An Introduction," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 53 (August 1951), which deals with certain technical aspects of Lebanese village social structure.

McGuire E-5 (1954)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

to the town, is impossible under present circumstances. The most important crops are olives, figs, and grapes, some of which receive irrigation in the growing season. The orchards and vineyards grow on terraced land which is situated generally on the lower parts of the ridge slopes and at the heads of the wadis. Some vegetables and a few small orchards of mulberries (remnants of the once predominant cash crop—silk) grow immediately adjacent to the houses.

Al-Mansūf can be seen from a distance quite some time before the traveler enters it. The houses, varying in color from white to gray to tawny, are perched, one directly above another, it seems, on the southern slope of the ridge — a few are on the crest itself, at its highest point. They number about 50 and are typical of the Lebanese countryside. About one-quarter of them have the pitched roofs of red tile and other architectural features which are reminders of the decades before World War I. The majority, however, are of a much more ancient style, with low windows and a flat roof made of timbers and a thick layer of packed earth. In some cases, the old earth roofs have been recently replaced by cement ones. A few houses have been built completely anew in recent years, but with two exceptions they are not particularly different in general style from the older ones. Household furnishings and equipment show the unmistakable influence of industrialized Europe and America — mostly the former. Kerosene pressure lanterns and stoves have almost completely replaced older forms. Bedsteads, wardrobes, tables, and chairs — all of European manufacture and/or design — are used in every house. However, the village has no electricity and no system of running water.

From the observation of physical externals, one may easily deduce that *al-Mansūf* partakes both of the traditional and of the recently imported (that is, since the late 19th century). It therefore reflects the tumultuous culture change which at present colors life in Lebanon and in the Middle East generally. But material aspects of culture are only fragmentary indications of behavior. In themselves, they reveal little of a specific nature concerning motivations, loyalties, hopes, fears, and expectations. How did *al-Mansūf*, as a community of people, come into being? What are its traditional foundations of life? How, and to what extent, have its traditions been altered by the far-reaching cultural changes of the late 19th and 20th centuries? What problems face its people as a result of these changes?

II

According to tradition, *al-Mansūf* was established by a man who came to the site from Jabal Hawrān in Syria, after a sojourn in Baalbek. All the 323 members of the village are believed to be direct descendants of the founder, a belief which is indicated in a genealogy which is in the possession of the priest. There is some disagreement among the villagers on details

in the genealogy, but there is no disagreement on their ultimate origin in the same town, often referred to as "our forefather." On the basis of the number of generations accounted for in the chart, it appears that the founder was probably born sometime late in the 18th century. Historical material is available which gives a clue to the reason for the founding of the village and at the same time supports the estimate of the date suggested by the genealogy. The reign of the Amir Fakhr al-Din II (1590–1635) is known to have been a period in which many Syrian Christians sought refuge in Lebanon to escape Turkish persecution. It is reasonable to suppose that the founder of al-Mansūr, a Greek Orthodox Christian, was one of them. The probable date of the establishment of the village suggests, further, the reason for the selection of a site which is far from ideal for agricultural purposes: the better-favored areas in Lebanon had already been occupied by other groups.

Once established, what manner of village was al-Mansūr? Everything that can be learned about "the old days" indicates that it must have been typical of the traditional pattern of village life in the Middle East, which in turn fits the criteria of the "folk community," as understood by sociologists in general.[1] Life in al-Mansūr, then, prior to the last quarter of the 19th century when the great cultural changes began, was focused on four major themes:

1. *Devotion to the Land.* Agriculture was the economic base of the community, the occupation of all its members except for a few specialists who also were often part-time farmers.

2. *Religious orientation.* Religious attitudes permeated all aspects of life; religious behavior was integrated with economic and family behavior. The religious affiliation of the village was sharply defined.

3. *Predominance of kinship statuses* in the patterning and regulation of interpersonal affairs, for example in mutual aid arrangements. The kinship group was a focus of intense loyalty for its members, so much so that members of the same lineage were often preferred in marriage.

4. *Extreme localism of knowledge, interests, and loyalties.* This was reflected in the prevalence of inter-village feuds and in the clear preference for the marriage of an individual to a member of his or her own village rather than to an outsider. (Village endogamy.)

In the case of al-Mansūr, there were a few variations on this normal structure. On the economic side, first, a certain amount of fishing has always been done right from the village itself. Second, the necessity of importing wheat has always made some money income imperative. It was therefore common for village men to do wage labor in other communities in slack seasons. Sponge diving was one such seasonal occupation, probably begun

[illegible]

[1] [illegible], "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 46 (1940), pp. 191–97; "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution* 1948 (1949), pp. 505–15.

Syria and Lebanon

Chapter Ten

SYRIA AND LEBANON

The Land and the People

The area of the present Syria and Lebanon lies to the north of Arabia Deserta and in the western horn of the Fertile Crescent. The two republics do not enclose within their boundaries a natural geographic entity and their climate and topography are best studied in relation to the surrounding countries;[1] but within the political boundaries of the two states, the following geographical divisions may roughly be distinguished:

(1) *The Coastal Strip.* This is about twenty miles wide near Latakia and rather less just north of Tripoli, but in some places disappears and the mountains meet the sea. Olives, bananas, citrus, and vegetables are cultivated intensively near Beirut.

(2) *The Mountains.* Starting from the north, the first coastal mountains are the Jebel Ansariya (also known as the Alawi Mountains), which average 4,000 feet and are well populated on the western slopes. To the south is the Homs–Tripoli gap and then starts the Lebanon range with peaks of over 10,000 feet. Even on the upper slopes of this range water is plentiful, there is close cultivation, and the villages and towns are prosperous. Near Beirut are situated the mountain resorts to which many of the city workers move each night when the summer brings its humid heat. The interior ranges of mountains lying parallel to that of the Lebanon are the Anti-Lebanon (between Homs and Zahle) reaching over 7,000 feet and the range of Hermon (between Zahle and the Israel border) which reaches 9,000 feet. Water and cultivation are far less plentiful on these than on the coastal mountains. Further inland still and to the south of Damascus lie the Leja, a bleak area of igneous rock, and the Jebel Druze, which reaches 5,000–6,000 feet and lies north of the Jordan border.

(3) *Plains and Plateaux.* Hardly any of the territory of Syria and Lebanon lies less than 700 feet above sea-level and south of Homs almost all the land is over 1,600 feet. The richest agricultural land is on fairly high ground and forms part of a

[1] See W. B. Fisher, *The Middle East: a Physical, Social and Regional Geography* (London, Methuen, 1950).

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

1. [illegible] 131
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2. [illegible] 241
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3. [illegible] 241
[illegible]
[illegible]

4. [illegible] 167
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5. [illegible] 161
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6. [illegible] 234
[illegible]
[illegible]

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A82c
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practical mechanical equipment which will eliminate excessive backbreaking labor and enable us to do the work on a larger scale more quickly. This includes mechanical implements as agricultural equipment of more modern type suitable for present primitive types.

b. Domestic services. One of the major obstacles to our humanitarian services which we have been endeavoring to meet is the scarcity of goods and trade goods now in demand. For this work we have been using small hand-operated spraying equipment. We are using many primitive mechanical implements especially for spraying the high grass roofs which are prevalent in the areas we serve. Since these grasses are considered an important by the life of the village here spraying becomes important.

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E94
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III. Leadership training. In the training of leadership we have three groups in view, the rural village leadership, area leadership and students. The first two of these look our service more dispersed, and can be carried on through our schools and extension services. The latter has as its variable the following:

1. Student Summer Work Camps. Where we use the students of the Bethel College for Women and the U.C.A. for work in the Kikuyu area. This work has been financed by the Lutheranian movement, but there is need for more equipment. This equipment would belong to the fellowship centers and would be used in the camps during the summer.

2. Visits of students from the departments of rural Education and Rural Sociology of the Bethel College for Women and the University of Kansas. As well the present time these visits have been limited to one-day visits, which have been very limited in effectiveness. We are anxious to have living quarters for these students, so that they would stay for longer or shorter periods of time, so that they could really get acquainted in our centers and make a contribution to our course.

We have building plans for such a center to be used in student training and the cost of simple equipment for such a building. Details of this are included in the earlier which reports and the Year Plan.

3. Rural Sociology Work. During the vacation in the spring, we are attempt to bring the challenge of rural services to the young people of the high schools which they have decided as careers of the church. This have not required special buildings or equipment as it would be the same we have used for the regular work of the Centers and for college student special field work and observation.

4. We are here a special opportunity to cooperate with the field work programme of the American University training centers for public health specialists and community health nurses. Our part in this training programme would be to maintain a field training center. The plan would be as follows:

1. We would provide the area where these trainees would have practical training. The nurse is one of the most needy areas in Lebanon so far as health facilities go, so it provided use of the best areas for field work. We have already had considerable discussing with the staff of the Public Health School of the American University of Beirut.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

TABLE [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

3.49.3 Tenants, Tables 34, 35

3.2
8.2

To investigate the amount of crowding, respondents were asked if they had any tenants living in the same apartment. In only seven percent of the cases was there an affirmative answer. These people were asked if the tenant were part of the household consumption unit. One-third indicated that they were. It is estimated that in the population there are about 7,000 tenants.

p. 8 (B)

The schedule included a number of questions designed to find out the status of housing in Beirut. These included the age of buildings, construction materials, building installations, condition of buildings, amount of crowding, and extent of home ownership.

7.1 Type of dwelling. Table 94

Beirut is a city of multiple family residences. Sixty-five percent of the sample was composed of residential buildings with two or more families in residence while only eighteen percent were single family. When it is realized that a good many of these one family houses are shacks it can be seen that the single family villa is not characteristic.

7.2 Basis of occupation of household. Table 95

Ownership of buildings has been achieved by a quarter of our sample which corresponds with our results showing most dwellings to be in multiple family buildings.

7.3 Building material used in dwelling. Table 96

Almost the entire city is built either of stone or concrete (94 %). The floors are usually of tile. The poverty stricken tin shacks represent a fraction of the total (3 %). Wood is much too expensive for construction purposes as it must be imported. One result of this is that fire is an almost non-existent danger. Beirut is probably better housed in all but the poorest sections than most metropolitan centers in the world.

p. 20(8)

7.4 Number of floors in building, Table 97

The largest percentage of buildings in our sample were two stories in height (36 %) and the second largest group was of one story buildings (25 %). Tall buildings are relatively rare with only eight percent of the sample five stories or above.

7.5 State of building repair, Table 98

Only about one-fifth of the buildings were classified by the study as being in poor repair. Our definition of poor repair is a building in which extensive major repairs are necessary.

7.6 Age of building where household is located, Table 99

Approximately half (47 %) of the buildings in the sample are over twenty years of age, but the building boom in Beirut is shown by the unusually large percentage of relatively new buildings.

7.7 Permanency of building containing household, Table 100

Our residential sample indicated ten percent so-called "temporary buildings." Temporary is defined in the study as buildings not designed to be anything but temporary emergency shelters. The term is somewhat misleading because a large part of these so-called temporary buildings date back to those constructed to house the Armenian refugees who took refuge in Lebanon in the First World War. These are concentrated in the Medawar district. These places, plus shelters thrown up against permanent buil-

Lib Churchill 8-5 (1968) 1964 MIT Lebanon MSS

342
342 dings, constitute the physical housing problem of Beirut.

7.8 **Incidence of garden plots attached to residences, Table 101**

342 A substantial part of the sample (41 %) live in buildings with adjoining garden plots. No attempt was made to analyze the size or usage of these plots.

7.9 **Number of dwelling rooms in building, Table 102**

The number of dwelling rooms per building has its highest incidence in the interval of four - six dwelling rooms per building (18 %) and decreases steadily until the catch-all category of over twenty-four.

7.10 **Number of people living in building, Table 103**

The concentration of people in buildings is shown in the table. The crude mode is eight per building but includes only twenty-two percent. It is hoped later to cross-tabulate the number of dwelling rooms in the buildings with the number of people.

7.11 **Number of families on floor of interviewed household, Table 104**

The great majority of the sample (87 %) are the sole occupants of the floors on which they reside. When those floors which accommodate only two families are added, we find that eighty-eight percent of the households are included.

7.12 **Number of rooms per household unit, Table 105**

The modal number of rooms per family apartment is four. This should be compared to the mean family size of 5.7.

427 7.13 **Terms of rental payment for dwelling, Table 106**

Rental payments are generally made either

p. 21 (A)

365
.792

Table 34

Number of Tenants in Household

No. of Household	Number	Percent
Total	1921	100.00
One	47	2.45
Two	20	1.04
Three	14	0.73
More than three	47	2.45
None	1793	93.34

$\sigma_z = .0144$
$\sigma = .086$

Table 35

Tenants by Membership to Household Consumption Unit

	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	118	100.00	
Considered Members	38	32.76	.044
Not Considered Members	76	65.52	.044
Some Yes / Some No	2	1.72	

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Table 97

Number of Floors in Building

No. of Floors	Number	Percent
Total	1852	100.00
One	465	25.11
Two	672	36.28
Three	367	19.82
Four	193	10.42
Five	98	5.30
Six	38	2.05
More than six	15	0.81
No answer	4	0.21

$\sigma_{\bar{y}}$ = .030
v = .012

Table 98

State of Building Repair

State of repair	Number	Percent	$\sigma_{\bar{p}}$
Total	1825	100.00	
Good	714	39.12	.011
Fair	758	41.54	.011
Poor	348	19.07	.009
No answer	5	0.27	

p. 54 (a)

U.S. Census of Housing: 1960. Vol. IV, Part 3

Table 95

Basis of Occupation of Household

Owned	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1831	100.00	
Yes	478	26.60	.020
No	1348	73.51	.020
Part owner or owned	5	0.27	
Yes but mortgaged			
No answer	4	0.22	

Table 96

Building Material Used in Dwelling

Type of bldg. material	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1926	100.00	
Stone	910	47.25	.011
Tile	61	3.17	.004
Wood	48	2.49	.003
Brick	7	0.36	
Concrete	891	46.26	.011
Other	9	0.47	

19. Churchill 0-4 (1969) 1954 MH Lebanon MH

Tibi Churchill 8-6 (1969) 1984 MIT Libraries MIT

Table 99

Age of Building where Household is Located

Age of building	Number	Percent
Total	1826	100.00
Less than 1 year	14	0.77
1 — 5 years	266	14.57
6 — 10 years	193	10.57
11 — 15 years	176	9.64
16 — 20 years	259	14.18
More than 20 years	858	46.99
No answer	60	3.28

χ^2 = .203
v = .012

Table 100

Permanency of Building Containing Household

Type of building	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1926	100.00	
Permanent	1727	89.67	.007
Temporary	199	10.33	.007

p. 84(c)

their relatives abroad. The villages are less compact than in other parts of the Near and Middle East, and separate farmsteads are common. Extremes of poverty, associated with primitive standards of sanitation, are most frequently encountered in the villages of southern Lebanon. In the cities, substandard housing is found chiefly in the old, congested quarters and in the Armenian sections.

The typical dwellings in all parts of the country are constructed of stone, cement or concrete blocks, with a surface of whitewashed or tinted plaster. The roofs are of two general types: peaked and of red tile; or flat, with a covering of cement or of mud and brush. The houses vary in size from one to several rooms, sometimes with two or more stories. The use of wood as a building material is prohibited by the fire regulations in the towns, but small wooden shacks are occasionally seen on the outskirts.

Beirut is a cosmopolitan city, a mixture of Arabic and Western culture. The older parts of the city are overcrowded, with narrow streets lined by innumerable small shops, which frequently have living rooms in the rear. Apartment houses, interspersed with detached dwellings surrounded by colorful gardens, dominate the newer developments. Architecturally, all gradations are encountered between old Arab-style houses and modern villas.

ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

Water Supplies

Water supplies are obtained from streams, springs and wells, and, in general, are abundant in the coastal and the mountain districts but deficient in the interior. Beirut derives its water supply from the Nahr el Kelb, or Dog River, which is fed from an underground spring in the hills about 18 miles from the city. It flows by gravity through a tunnel and open canals to Dubaiya, 9 miles distant, where it is treated by preliminary rapid filtration, slow sand

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon/E1

343

THE NEW AUTOMOBILE ROAD, AND AN OLD PATH IN THE VILLAGE

following p 191 (2)

434 It is evident that in all the villages the great majority of the breadwinners must depend on sources of income other than their own fields. Therefore, younger members of the family seek income outside of the village, while the farmer himself must work part-time for one of the larger landlords or the oil company, hold a government job, get money from abroad, or subsist on a very low level.

Physical Description of Project Villages

392 It is not possible to describe with statistical accuracy the average village home in the project
345 area. A very general description must suffice until more detailed information is available. Homes are usually one-story stone structures of one or two rooms. They do not have electricity or running water. Usually the animals are accommodated in a stable connected to the house, or in a room in the house itself.

367 The villagers do not seem to be concerned with keeping their surroundings sanitary. In none
514 of the villages is there any attempt to collect and properly dispose of garbage. The uniform practice
744 is to disperse it in the fields. There are few toilets. Stone walls and fields close to town attest to
515 streets commonly used for sewage disposal. To serve the 5,643 people in the project area there are 82 pit privies. There are no tubs or showers. Homes have no screens and flies are free to contaminate food and mosquitoes to increase and transmit disease.

515 Homes are nearly always neat and clean and the people attempt to clothe themselves decently
602 with well-scrubbed garments. Though extremely poor, the village family is very hospitable and
574 insists on sharing with a guest its meager supply of cigarettes or treasured coffee and sugar.

361, 34 In the five project villages there are 1,100 buildings. This number includes 912 dwelling units, business establishments, 143 separate barns and 11 public buildings. A detailed break-down of the types of buildings by village is shown in Table VIII. Included in the category of public buildings are seven mosques. Sarafand and En-Nauriyah have two mosques each, while in each

their relatives abroad. The villages are less compact than in other parts of the Near and Middle East, and separate farmsteads are common. Extremes of poverty, associated with primitive standards of sanitation, are most frequently encountered in the villages of southern Lebanon. In the cities, substandard housing is found chiefly in the old, congested quarters and in the Armenian sections.

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filtration and chlorination. It is then pumped to 3 service reservoirs in the city and subsequently to the separate house connections. This supply is used only for domestic purposes, but the capacity of the present plant will soon be inadequate to meet the needs of the rapidly expanding population. The water is subjected to bacteriologic tests every other day at the waterworks, and is also examined periodically in the French university laboratories on behalf of the government authorities. Private wells provide supplementary sources of supply in some areas on the outskirts of the city.

The water supply for Tripoli is derived from springs in the near-by mountains. It is chlorinated before distribution, but is not otherwise treated. The water is comparatively free from contamination at the source, but pollution sometimes occurs in the distribution system. In the mountains, water is usually taken from springs, and in some localities it is piped from a common source to several adjacent villages. In the larger towns, as Aley and Zahle, it is treated by chlorination. Supplementary supplies are often provided by rain-water cisterns. In the poorer districts of the towns, and in the rural villages, water is distributed through community outlets and may be transported considerable distances by the individual families or by donkey carriers. Many well and spring sources are unprotected, and contamination is frequent. In parts of the LeLanon range the water passes through fissured limestone rock, and pollution may be traced to distant villages. The local water supplies are not continuously supervised by the government health officers, but samples are collected by the district physicians at irregular intervals, chiefly when contamination is suspected. These are sent to the bacteriologic laboratory of the French University medical school.

For many decades the only treatment works in the country was at Beirut. In 1948, the government undertook the construction of a plant on the Litany River in South

Lebanon to furnish filtered and chlorinated water to a number of villages in the area which were completely without suitable sources of supply. A program for the provision of satisfactory water supplies for most of the towns and the villages in the country has been projected by the Ministry of Public Works, which is responsible for their construction in consultation with the Ministry of Public Health.

Numerous small irrigation projects are in use, especially in the orange groves and the banana plantations of the coastal region and in the truck farm areas of the Bekaa. The majority depend upon wells operated by pumps. Two important large-scale programs have been undertaken within recent years: the diversion of the western portion of the Litany River, known as the Nahr el Kasmiya, to irrigate part of the coastal plain between Tyre and Sidon; and the construction of canals from the spring-fed Lake Yammouline, to provide for the irrigation of sections of the Bekaa, in the vicinity of Baalbeck. The harnessing of the Litany River for irrigation and hydroelectric purposes was started in 1952, while plans are under way for the irrigation of the 'Akkar plain from the Nahr el Kebir and adjacent streams and for the better utilization of the Orontes River.

Waste Disposal

Sewers exist in some of the larger communities, but septic tanks, cesspits and pit latrines are the usual methods of sewage disposal in most towns and villages. A sewerage system serves about 90 per cent of the city of Beirut, the sewage being discharged untreated into the sea from 7 major and numerous minor outlets. Septic tanks and latrines are employed for the houses which are not connected with the sewers. A municipal sewerage system also exists in part of Tripoli, but cesspits are used in many sections of the city. In some areas the sewage is collected in open drains for the irrigation of the orange groves, the fig orchards and the vegetable gardens.

p. 45(a)

Government regulations provide for the construction of sanitary facilities for every household in the rural areas, but they are not adequately enforced in many villages. The standards of sanitation are often low, particularly in South Lebanon, and pollution of the ground is a common practice. Night soil is frequently utilized as fertilizer, and the consumption of uncooked vegetables contaminated in this manner contributes to a high prevalence of intestinal infections.

Fauna and Flora

Arthropoda. Mosquitoes. To date, 9 species of anopheline mosquitoes have been reported from Lebanon, but only three—*Anopheles superpictus*, *A. sacharovi* (— *A. elutus*) and *A. claviger* (— *A. bifurcatus*)—are of primary concern as vectors of malaria. *A. pulcherrimus*, *A. sergenti*, *A. algeriensis*, *A. hyrcanus*, *A. multicolor* and *A. martini* have also been identified, but all are rare or localized in distribution.

A. superpictus is widespread and the most difficult to control, since it breeds prolifically in the numerous mountain streams, as well as in pools formed by the overflow from springs, in sand pits and in irrigation canals and seepages, where the water is clear and at least partially exposed to the sun. Larvae are found from April to November, with peaks of prevalence from July to September, in localities below 2,000 feet and over shorter periods at elevations up to 4,000 feet. *A. sacharovi* breeds in swampy areas and along the vegetated margins of ponds, cisterns and neglected irrigation canals and seepages. It is most abundant around the coastal swamps formed by obstructions at the mouths of the rivers and in the marshlands bordering large undrained springs in the Bekaa. Like *A. superpictus*, it breeds from April to November, while its prevalence varies with the degree of flooding during the rainy season. The preponderance of both species is influenced to a large extent by the timing and the volume of the winter and the spring rainfall.

p. 115(b)

diseases in Lebanon. A section for the compilation and the study of morbidity and mortality statistics was established in the Ministry of Public Health in 1951, but the data collected over previous decades are admittedly incomplete. With relatively few exceptions, the notification of communicable diseases was not compulsory. Resistance to quarantine regulations and fear of the social stigma often attached to certain diseases are among the factors contributing to a general laxity in the reporting of cases treated outside government hospitals and clinics. Although facilities are being expanded continuously, many cases of illness in the rural areas still receive little or no medical attention. Moreover, due to the inadequacy of laboratory services, the differential diagnosis is lacking in many conditions. For the most part, the mortality statistics are reliable in the towns, but in the more remote villages the causes of death may be certified by nonmedical officials. The deficiencies in reporting and the inaccuracies in diagnosis then detract from the validity of the disease statistics available.

Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Intestinal or Urinary Tract

Typhoid and Paratyphoid Fevers. Enteric fevers are among the most important endemic diseases in the country. Typhoid fever is prevalent, with from 718 to 1,824 cases reported annually in the 8 years 1943-49. Water-borne outbreaks, caused by the pollution of spring and well supplies, are frequent, especially in the smaller towns and villages. The individual outbreaks vary in severity, but, in general, the fatality rates range from 5 to 11 per cent. One of the largest epidemics in recent years occurred in Zahle in 1946: over 1,000 cases were recorded. Typhoid fever persists throughout the year, usually with peaks of prevalence between May and October, and again in December and January. Water-borne outbreaks often coincide with the onset of the heavy rains in the early winter. The

government's increasing concern for the improvement of water supplies was reflected in a diminution in the number of recorded cases from 1,274 in 1949 to a low of 562 in 1950. 164 264

The relative prevalence of paratyphoid fevers is uncertain, since the differential diagnosis is seldom confirmed by laboratory examination. Paratyphoid B infections apparently predominate. Cases of paratyphoid A fever are sometimes seen in the hospitals, and, in the opinion of local observers, are typically serious. *Salmonella kirschfeldii* (C) is also reported from this region. 164

Mass immunization with typhoid-paratyphoid A and B vaccine is undertaken by the health officials in all communities from which cases have been notified. Immunization is also carried out routinely each year in the government schools in urban districts and in the child health centers. 751

Dysenteries. Dysentery ranks with typhoid fever as a major public health problem in Lebanon. The insanitary methods of sewage disposal in towns and villages, the abundance of flies and the widespread use of night soil as fertilizer promote the spread of bacillary and amebic infections through contaminated food and water supplies. In the official statistics for the 2 years 1947 and 1948, the deaths listed under the group heading, dysentery, averaged about 11 per cent of the total recorded deaths.[24] 164 264 136 241

In a survey reported in 1939,[29] *Endamoeba histolytica* was identified in from 10 to 16 per cent of the fecal specimens from the inhabitants of three widely separated rural villages in the Lebanon Mountains, the Bekaa and the southern littoral. Competent authorities in Beirut believe that the carrier rate is normally higher, however, and that it may reach 50 to 75 per cent among the adults in some sections of the population. Acute amebiasis is common, and accounts for about 10 per cent of all the cases of dysentery treated in the local hospitals. 164

Bacillary infections, a large proportion of 164 136

p. 123(A)

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
M1 Middle East
LEBANON ME 1

and Sidon were roughly comparable. In a series of 1,151 complement fixation tests on miscellaneous human serums sent to the Wassermann laboratory of the University hospital, 7 per cent gave a positive reaction with Q fever antigen.

SUMMARY

Lebanon, formerly one of the French-mandated Levant states, has been an independent republic since 1943. It is a compact territory, with an estimated population in 1948 slightly in excess of 1,229,500 and a density of roughly 300 inhabitants per square mile. Unlike the surrounding Arab countries, the Christian and the Moslem elements of the population are almost equal in collective numerical strength and political importance.

Responsibility for the health of the people resides in the Ministry of Public Health of the Lebanese government, which acts in co-operation with other ministries and numerous philanthropic and religious organizations. The public health and the medical care functions of the Ministry are directed from Beirut. The city is one of the leading medical centers of the Near and Middle East, with two university medical schools and associated hospitals. In 1948, there were 73 hospitals (including sanatoria) in the country, with an aggregate capacity of 5,181 beds, or approximately 4.2 beds per 1,000 population. Eight hospitals were maintained by the Ministry of Public Health, while 56 were conducted under private or philanthropic auspices and 9 by foreign organizations. In addition to the outpatient services of the hospitals, a central polyclinic, 17 rural dispensaries and 4 tuberculosis clinics were operated by the Ministry; a polyclinic by the municipal health department in Beirut; 16 dispensaries by the Lebanese Red Cross; and various units by other organizations.

Water supplies are derived from streams, springs or wells, and are usually abundant in the coastal region but often deficient in the interior. Treated municipal water sup-

plies are available in Beirut, Tripoli and some of the mountain resort towns, but many well and spring sources are unprotected and subject to pollution. Sewerage systems exist in parts of Beirut and Tripoli, but primitive methods of sewage disposal are employed in most towns and villages. The standards of food sanitation vary; the enforcement of sanitary regulations devolves upon the municipal health organization in Beirut and upon the government in other parts of the country.

The most prominent disease problems are malaria, typhoid fever, dysentery and trachoma. Tuberculosis, pneumonia, venereal diseases, rheumatic fever, helminthiasis and skin infections are common. Hookworm infection is prevalent in localized foci.

p. 132 (A)

9:Lebanon G-S (1952)1953 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Farm Organization

The isolated farmhouse, typical of agriculture in the United States, is rarely seen in Lebanon. 361
In the five project villages nearly all farmers live in the dei'ah or built-up area. Their wooden plows, harnesses, and other farm equipment are stored each day in their houses in the dei'ah. Often a stable is connected to or is part of the living quarters to take care of the family cow or other livestock. The concentration of dwellings in one area in the Middle East often results in a considerable expenditure of time in walking to fields located sometimes two to five miles from the village. In the project villages the land lies in a narrow strip. Farms at the far ends require an hour or more to reach by walking.

The share-tenant or small landowner has a cow or two which he depends on for draft and 231
milk, a simple wooden plow, and a few other simple hand tools. These comprise his capital equip- 592
ment. The field work is shared by all the members of the family, although in this shee'ah moslem 462
area there is a fairly rigid division of labor between the sexes. Plowing is a man's work, while rarely will a man be seen carrying water from the village fountain.

In the project area no evidence is seen of tractors, harrows, mechanical threshers, or other 407
mechanized farm equipment except on one or two large farms operated by non-resident owners. 365
None of the project villages has electric power. Farm organization is based upon an intensive use 464
of labor rather than capital. Low wage rates and an ample supply of laborers combine to make 465
the use of labor more advantageous than mechanization. In 1952 the prevailing rate for farm laborers was LL. 3 (about 85 cents) for men and half that for women per 12 to 15 hour day.

Most of the project villages have a plot of land called the beidar where the villagers, often 423
working in common, thresh their grain. Here the wheat or other seed crop is placed after it is 476
brought from the fields. For month after month in the summer, one finds the oxen pulling behind 241
them a mauraj, a flat board the underside of which is dotted with protruding stones or jagged pieces of metal. The farmer's wife or a small boy rides on this and with a stick directs the oxen over a layer of grain. In this way the kernels of grain are loosened and the straw is cut fine for fodder. In 241
order to separate the kernels of grain from the chaff, the farmer tosses the mixed grain and chaff

434 It is evident that in all the villages the great majority of the breadwinners must depend on sources of income other than their own fields. Therefore, younger members of the family seek income outside of the village, while the farmer himself must work part-time for one of the larger landlords or the oil company, hold a government job, get money from abroad, or subsist on a very low level.

Physical Description of Project Villages

392 It is not possible to describe with statistical accuracy the «average village home» in the project 365 area. A very general description must suffice until more detailed information is available. Homes are usually one-story stone structures of one or two rooms. They do not have electricity or running water. Usually the animals are accomodated in a stable connected to the house, or in a room in the house itself.

364 The villagers do not seem to be concerned with keeping their surroundings sanitary. In none 514 of the villages is there any attempt to collect and properly dispose of garbage. The uniform practice 744 is to «throw it in the fields». There are few toilets. Stone walls and fields close to town attest to 515 means commonly used for sewage disposal. To serve the 5,645 people in the project area there are 82 pit privies. There are no tubs or showers. Homes have no screens and flies are free to contaminate food and mosquitoes to torment and transmit disease.

515 Homes are nearly always neat and clean and the people attempt to clothe themselves decently 60? with well-scrubbed garments. Though extremely poor, the village family is very hospitable and 574 insists on sharing with a guest its meager supply of cigarettes or treasured coffee and sugar.

361 In the five project villages there are 1,100 buildings. This number includes 912 dwelling units, 34 business establishments, 143 separate barns and 11 public buildings. A detailed break-down of the types of buildings by village is shown in Table VIII. Included in the category of public buildings are seven mosques. Sarafand and En-Nsariyah have two mosques each, while in each

427 monthly (39 %) or yearly (30 %). When the owner and those not paying rent are subtracted, we find relatively few (6 %) who have other contract terms.

7.14 Location of kitchen facilities by privacy, Table 107

342 In investigating the adequacies of households in Beirut it was found that nine-tenths of the enumerated households had private kitchen facilities in the house. Cooking outside the house was principally for one-room shacks.

7.15 Location of toilet facilities in household, Table 108

[574] Toilet facilities in the buildings were found in over ninety percent of the sample. Of these, almost nine-tenths are private toilets. Arab types are found overwhelmingly.

7.16 Source of water in household, Table 109

312 365 Water, too, is piped into the overwhelming majority of houses (93 %) making relatively few who were forced to obtain water from outdoor cisterns or from more fortunate neighbors. In some cases, such as the agglomeration of tin shacks, a city faucet is the only source of water.

7.17 Type of lighting in household, Table 110

354 365 Lighting is by electricity in over nine-tenths of the households in the sample. Charateristically, electrical fixtures are ceiling lights suspended by cords. Lamps are used much less than in western cities, even where wall plugs are available. Less electricity is delivered to households due to a shortage of generating capacity. Almost all of the remaining households use oil lamps.

7.18 Type of heating in household, Table 111

354 Charcoal burners are the sole means of heat in over half of the houses (57 %). One-fifth of the houses have no means of heat; this is not surprising considering the relatively mild cli-

18; Churchill S-5 (1962) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

P. 36 (c)

Table 110

Type of Lighting in Household

Kind of lighting	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1825	100.00	
Natural only	12	0.66	
Electricity	1664	91.18	.006
Candles	1	0.05	
Oil	148	8.11	.006

Table 111

Type of Heating in Household

Type of heating	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1990 *	100.00	
Central	27	1.36	
Charcoal	1142	57.39	.011
Kerosene	56	2.81	.004
Fuel Oil	39	1.96	.003
Electric	193	9.70	.007
Wood	102	5.12	.005
Butagas	3	0.15	
Other	2	0.10	
None	405	20.35	.009
No answer	21	1.06	

* Total is larger because some families have more than one means of heating.

16:Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

to the term, is impossible under present circumstances. The most important crops are olives, figs, and grapes, none of which requires irrigation in the growing season. The orchards and vineyards grow on terraced land which is situated generally on the lower parts of the ridge slopes and at the heads of the wadis. Some vegetables and a few small orchards of mulberries (remnants of the once predominant cash crop—silk) grow immediately adjacent to the houses.

Al-Munsif can be seen from a distance quite some time before the traveler enters it. The houses, varying in color from white to gray to tawny, are perched, one directly above another, it seems, on the southern slope of the ridge — a few are on the crest itself, at its highest point. They number about 90 and are typical of the Lebanese countryside. About one-quarter of them have the pitched roofs of red tile and other architectural features which are reminders of the decades before World War I. The majority, however, are of a much more ancient style, with few windows and a flat roof made of timbers and a thick layer of packed earth. In some cases, the old earth roofs have been recently replaced by cement ones. A few houses have been built completely anew in recent years, but with two exceptions they are not particularly different in general style from the older ones. Household furnishings and equipment show the unmistakable influence of industrialized Europe and America — mostly the former. Kerosene pressure lanterns and stoves have almost completely replaced older forms. Bedsteads, wardrobes, tables, and chairs — all of European manufacture and/or design — are used in every house. However, the village has no electricity and no system of running water.

From the observation of physical externals, one may easily deduce that al-Munsif partakes both of the traditional and of the recently imported (that is, since the late 19th century). It therefore reflects the tumultuous culture change which at present colors life in Lebanon and in the Middle East generally. But material aspects of culture are only fragmentary indications of behavior. In themselves, they reveal little of a specific nature concerning motivations, loyalties, hopes, fears, and expectations. How did al-Munsif, as a community of people, come into being? What are its traditional foundations of life? How, and to what extent, have its traditions been altered by the far-reaching cultural changes of the late 19th and 20th centuries? What problems face its people as a result of these changes?

II

According to tradition, al-Munsif was established by a man who came to the site from Jabal Hawran in Syria, after a sojourn in Baalbek. All the 523 members of the village are believed to be direct descendants of the founder, a belief which is indicated in a genealogy which is in the possession of the priest. There is some disagreement among the villagers on details

7· Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

till the chapters on "Kinship Structure and Marriage Patterns" and "The Patterns of Culture Change.")

BUILDINGS, HOUSES, AND HOUSE-TYPES

The map (Fig. 3) indicates the location of the institutional buildings in the village proper.[1] Four of the six shops (sing. *dikkaan*, plur. *dakakiin*) are concentrated in the *saḥa*. Actually, building 9 was not open during the period of study, but building 6 is partitioned into halves in each of which there is an independent shop. Building 10 is also partitioned, one half being devoted to a shop whose proprietor is also a butcher. The other half is open when the need arises, being the place of business of one of the two barbers. Building 11, an old house, is occupied by the fifth shop, open only at times, which specializes in cloth. The sixth shop, also not of the "general-store" type, is located in the house of its proprietor, farther down the main road. The two schools are rather widely separated, but this is probably accidental since the location of the private school is determined by the fact that it occupies the lower floor of the master's own house. Similarly the two bakeries, one in the *saḥa*, are immediately adjacent to the houses of their respective owners, one of whom is the private school master. Building 5 is the only one in the village which is entirely devoted to an olive press. There are, however, two other presses in the village proper (one in the lower part of the one remaining occupied house in the al-Waaṭiyya section, the other in the lower part of a house near the meeting point of the Sar at-Tiini and Dayr al-Qassiis sections); there is a third under construction in the eastern end of the *saḥa*, and a fourth at Ḥilwi. Two of these presses are specialized for the reduction of carob pods to a mash from which *dibs*, a kind of jam, is made. There is also a mill, operated by a German-made gasoline engine, which is part of the store in building 8. The upper story, and part of the lower story, of building 8 is occupied by one of the Affiliate Families (see next chapter) of the village.

It has been noted that the long axis of most of the houses is parallel to the contours of the ridge, often flush with terrace walls. Not infrequently the paths between the houses are, in fact, the tops of wide terrace walls, and sometimes these are two or three feet higher than the earth which they support.

The great majority of the houses have two levels. In some cases these are directly superimposed. In many others, they are staggered, so that the roof of the lower level forms a very useful terrace which is flush with the floor of the upper level. There are invariably separate entrances to the upper and lower levels. The writer is aware of not a single instance of interior staircases leading from one level to another. Probably the reason for this is that staircases would take up a great deal of room which cannot be afforded. Frequently, the pitch of the ground is such that one can simply walk onto the roof of a house directly or by a very short flight of steps. More frequently, however, one must climb onto roofs, either on

1 - [AL-Munsif -- Analyst]

12: Churchill 6-5 (1965) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

p. 56 (d)

Table 108

Location of Toilet Facilities in Household

Location of toilet facilities	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1904	100.00	
In house	1534	80.57	.009
Outhouse	115	6.04	.005
Public	16	0.84	
Shared	200	10.50	.007
None	32	1.68	
No answer	7	0.37	

514
312
365

Table 109

Source of Water in Household

Source of water	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1840	100.00	
City	1718	93.37	.006
Neighbour	76	4.13	.004
Cistern	28	1.52	
None	18	0.98	

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Lebanon was chosen for this study because of the writer's interest
the country itself and because he had undertaken preliminary research on it. It
must be noted that Lebanon has a number of characteristics which tend to differ-
entiate it somewhat from its neighbors: it has been a refuge area for various re-
ligious sects, half of its population is Christian, it is one of the most intensively
acculturated of the Arabic-speaking countries, it is not the headquarters of any
nomadic tribes as such, and it is primarily a country of agricultural villages and
urban seaport centers. Urban studies in Lebanon, or in any other Middle East
country, will be of tremendous value and importance, but they must be based on
as thorough as possible an understanding of village life. This is because so many
city dwellers were village born and bred. Furthermore, urban studies in the Middle
East should probably be undertaken by teams of researchers which include other
social scientists in addition to anthropologists. A village study is therefore the
most suitable type of research for a single anthropologist in Lebanon.

This work attempts to do two things: (1) to present as detailed a description
as possible of the culture-in-change of a Lebanese village; (2) to isolate the major
themes in the traditional culture and in the change process, and to present a
theoretical scheme which serves to give some form and meaning to the observed
phenomena.

In line with this purpose, there are two parts to the work. Part I is a descrip-
tive analysis of the village culture as of the time of investigation. This is the way
the people lived it and the way it was observed. Probably there is nothing unusual
in the categories into which this material is divided for presentation. However, a
note on them is in order. There can be little disagreement with Bateson's sugges-
tion (1935, p. 179) that such categories as "religion," "social life," and "eco-
nomics," lead to serious difficulties in the study of other cultures, especially when
the concepts behind their use are directly applicable only to the investigator's own
culture. Involved in this problem is the fact, brought into clear focus by the func-
tionalists, that the elements of culture and society are, by and large, interde-
pendent. One cannot, therefore, get very far into the discussion of such an inclu-
sive category as "religion," for example, without soon becoming involved in
questions of "economics" and "social life," as well as "ritual."

Afif Tannous has analyzed the Middle East village quite handily in terms of
three major categories: "Land," "Religion," and "Kinship Organization" (1944).
These he considers to be the major themes in village life. The present writer does
not follow this conceptualization in Part I, although he does draw upon it in
Part II. Tannous's categories of Land and Kinship Organization are approximately
covered in two separate chapters, but phenomena all of which could be subsumed
under Religion are discussed separately, for reasons which should become clear.
Categorical lines must be drawn somewhere if system is to be used, as it must be.
The problem is to define categories in such a way that there is no undue repetition
and yet so that the interdependent, or overlapping nature of cultural elements is
given recognition. The arrangement of Part I is an attempt to achieve these ends.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The living pattern of the summer residents generally amounts to the wife and non-working children living in the village for about three months in the summer. Heads of households and working children commute, usually by day and, of course, spend their vacations of two to four weeks in the village. This pattern is familiar to Americans who can afford it. In Lebanon, however, it is a money-saving device as well as an escape from the summer discomforts of the city. City living is definitely more expensive than village living. This has evidently always been true, but the situation has been greatly aggravated since 1940. In Beirut, food prices increased about five hundred per cent between 1940 and 1950, other commodities about four hundred per cent, causing severe hardship especially among the lower and middle classes (Cooke, 1952, pp. 131–32). This fact accounts for the occurrence of eight households in which the children and usually the wives live in the village all year around, while the husbands commute, usually returning to the village only on weekends.

When we look at Table 1 from the point of view of sources of income, we can deduce that the trend to urbanism is definitely increased as contrasted with urbanism in terms of residence only. Twenty-six (virtually 30 per cent) of the heads of household have city jobs and presumably support their families primarily thereby. In addition, a large number of unmarried young adults have city jobs. As we shall see shortly, the village is preponderantly dependent upon urban, rather than rural, sources of income. In this connection, we may cite Jurkat who classifies Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and western Turkey as an area in which less than 70 per cent of the population are dependent upon agriculture (Jurkat, 1944, p. 302).

Twenty-five individuals are listed as "absent." Of these seventeen are women who have married outsiders and are living away from the village, returning only for occasional visits. Most of them are living in Lebanon. The remainder, eight persons, are living outside of Lebanon, mostly in Baghdad. They maintain contact with the village and are still legal residents of it.

The urban trend is more marked in Ḥilwi than it is in the village proper, partly because Ḥilwi is better located from the point of view of rapid communications with the outside. Ḥilwi's population is as follows: resident, 38; summer, 41; absent, 3; emigrated, 2; total 84. None of its eleven households is wholly resident, and three of them are wholly summer.

OCCUPATIONS

A detailed study and discussion of Table 5 will bring out most of the important facts concerning the occupations of the villagers. Let us first consider the series of totals. The number of males far exceeds that of females who have gainful or purposeful employment outside the home, 171 to 44. The discrepancy in sex ratio which these figures suggest is corrected by the fact that 120 females are housewives or "at home." The total of 76 heads of household does not tally with

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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582

after World War I. It will be remembered that it has only been during this period that efficient long-distance communications and residence away from the village on a large scale (giving opportunity to meet outsiders) have developed. The table also shows how the tendency is steadily increasing, though of course the percentage for 1950–52 is not comparable to those for entire decades.

About half of those now married to outsiders are women, and in only a few cases have the husbands of such women settled in Munqif (thereby establishing affiliate families). In other words, the present trend to exogamy is removing a large number of women from the village, and the children of these women belong to their fathers' families and villages, not to Munqif. The marriage of women to outsiders means a real loss to the village. One might, therefore, expect the villagers to prevent it. There is evidence that the phenomenon is regretted and some of the expressed opinions about it have already been noted. However, most of the husbands in these cases appear to be young men of reasonably good prospects who are working in the city, not in their natal villages. The parents of the girls seem to recognize that the chances are good that their daughters will be as well cared for by the outsiders as they would be by local husbands. Besides, if it came to an economic show-down, the parents in most cases would be unable to deliver any ultimatum to their self-supporting daughters. The whole trend is quite clearly correlated with the current acculturative process, wherein the city with its material conveniences has a particular appeal to the young housewife. And a girl's marriage to an outsider *living in the city* is quite a different matter from her moving to his village where she would remain a social outsider for some years.

[369]

TABLE 11. MARRIAGES OF ALL TYPES, CONTRACTED 1860–1952

DATE	ENDOGAMOUS		EXOGAMOUS			TOTAL ENDOG.	TOTAL EXOG.	% EXOG.
	VILLAGE	QUSAI	GREEK ORTH.	OTHER CHRISTIAN	MUSLIM			
1860–1869 *	3	—	—	—	—	3	—	0.0
1870–1879 *	7	3	—	—	—	10	—	0.0
1880–1889 *	17	4	—	—	—	21	—	0.0
1890–1899	21	3	1	—	—	24	1	4.0
1900–1909	9	4	1	—	—	13	1	7.0
1910–1919	7	0	—	1	—	7	1	12.5
1920–1929	23	6	2	1	—	29	3	9.0
1930–1939	22	3	8	4	—	25	12	33.0
1940–1949	14	3	3	5	3	17	11	39.0
1950–1952	1	1	—	5	—	2	5	71.0
Total	124	27	15	16	3	151	34	18.4

* Figures for these decades are fragmentary.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

VILLAGE LIFE VERSUS CITY LIFE

It should be apparent by now that the village as an institution is a significant focus of loyalty and identification for everyone in it regardless of age. This unity of sentiment is not, however, matched by unity of opinion as to which is better, living in the village or living in the city. On this three different points of view were expressed: (1) regret at the passing of the "good old days," coupled with complete resignation to the present situation; (2) regret at the passing of the "good old days" coupled with the desire to revitalize village life, by bringing in irrigation; (3) outspoken preference for the material advantages and comforts of city life, without, however, much spiritual satisfaction in it. By adhering to any one of these views, the average Munsifi necessarily finds himself afflicted with nostalgia, frustration, or both.

Illustrative of the first point of view is the following quotation from the remarks of a middle-aged resident. The occasion was a moment when the investigator had stopped to ask about an enormous mound of small stones, one of many in the village.

> Our grandfathers worked very hard. They took the stones from the ground and put them here, so they could plant. Now people do not work hard. Our grandfathers worked hard, and they lived well. Now we are poor. They were not rich, but they were strong and well.

The second point of view was expressed by another middle-aged man as follows:

> Most of these young people now don't want to work the way their grandfathers did. They want to go to Beirut and make a few easy piasters. And when they get a job there, what happens? It costs so much to live there that they are not any better off than they would be here.
>
> I would like to see these young people settle down here on the land again. Most people here don't want to make a lot of money. All they really want is to make enough so they will not be hungry and without clothes. That is why we need to bring water to the village. Not many can live on the land here now because the land is so poor, because it needs water.

One can read into this statement the problem which many of the young people face: educational emphasis leading away from village life and its satisfactions over and beyond the problem of adequate financial return.

The third point of view was revealed, in significantly ambivalent form, by a young adult who had received the highest type of education. He once remarked: "I think those of us who live in Beirut appreciate the ways of the village more than those who live in the village all the time." But he immediately added that there was very little to do in the village, and for a person of his interests and ambitions, this was certainly the truth. He went on to voice the concern of many young fathers

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

who worked in the city over where they would send their children to school, back in the village or in the city.

Another young adult was completely explicit in his expression of preference for the material and mechanical conveniences of city life which are not available in the village. The scorn for manual labor on the part of Western-educated Arabs has been noted by other students, and is clearly in evidence. In Beirut, for example, Arabs of the most modest means employ a housemaid if they possibly can. This "effendi-complex" is symbolized by many men by a practice whose resemblance in both form and meaning to a proverbial Chinese one is really quite striking—the nails of the little fingers are allowed to grow conspicuously long. This practice is not followed by everyone, but it is very common.

NATIONALISM AND XENOPHOBIA

The rise of nationalism in the Middle East, especially since 1918, is a much written upon topic, full details of which cannot and need not be given here. But we are concerned with the way in which the rise of nationalism has affected the Lebanese village in general, Mazraʿ in particular. Tannous sums the matter up in the following words:

> Perh. ps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. *National consciousness & present permeates rural life in Lebanon* [our italics]. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. *Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities* [our italics]. (Tannous, 1948, p. 162.)

The penetration of nationalistic sentiments into villages such as Mazraʿ would, of course, have been impossible without modern techniques of communication, particularly the press and radio. Rapid surface transportation also has drastically reduced the number and extent of isolated communities. And nationalism itself is a consequence of, and a reaction to, the culture contact situation. (Cf. Schurtz, 1902a, p. 51.)

As has been pointed out, the public school curriculum includes regular exhortations in the interests of patriotism, national pride and unity. Small national flags are frequently seen displayed in such unconventional places as automobiles and buses. The national emblem (a cedar tree with triangular foliage and a thick, short trunk) is often seen, in Mazraʿ and elsewhere, scrawled on walls. It is by no means true, however, that national loyalty has replaced local loyalties in the manner, for example, of modern Japanese villages (cf. Embree, 1939, p. 302). In terms of the in-group analysis in this chapter, the nation has become, for the individual villager, the fifth in the series of in-groups which engage his feelings of loyalty and identification.

7: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

knowledge of English were becoming commonplace. The village school had become a primary agent of culture change in marked contrast to the situation recently observed in Tangier (cf. Schurgar, 1952b, p. 254). With widened horizons and increased financial means, a demand for Western material goods, particularly household furnishings and clothes, was created and satisfied, as far as possible, by the villagers.

The first World War brought an abrupt and temporarily devastating halt to this process of change. Lebanon, though a province of the Turkish Empire, was blockaded by the Turks because of the well-known Allied sympathies of many of its people. During the blockade, both emigration and emigrants' remittances were stopped and many segments of the rural population, including Munsif, were reduced to near starvation. (See Hourani, 1946, especially pp. 33–40, for a general review of this period.)

When the war ended, the Munsifis could neither turn back the clock nor could they quite pick up where they had been forced to leave off in 1914. Silk production never regained its former pre-eminence. Emigration resumed, but in 1924 emigration to the United States was virtually ended. Emigration to other parts of the world correspondingly increased, but never on the same scale as it had been to the United States.

Meanwhile, the French had assumed the League of Nations Mandate over Lebanon (and Syria) and had embarked upon a program of modernization of the country, a policy which was exactly the opposite of their attempts in Morocco at preventing acculturation (cf. Coon, 1940, p. 451). The French established in Lebanon a constitutional form of government which strongly resembled their own, and it included a public school system also modeled on their own. One of the chief purposes of these activities was to disseminate specifically French culture. This was not particularly appreciated by many of the sect groups in the country.

The French were responsible, in another line of endeavor, for the building of a system of paved highways, and the beginning of a network of telephone lines, of airports, and of rural electrification in a few districts. The establishment of rapid communication and transportation systems created a profound change in the entire country. In Munsif, as in many other villages where economic problems had become acute, the change consisted of the beginning of an intensified drift of villagers to the cities to earn their livelihood. Life in the cities tended to make the villagers more aware than before of foreign artifacts and values and to elevate their notion of what constituted an adequate standard of living (see Bonne, 1948, especially pp. 271–72). For the first time, villagers now had the opportunity of meeting and interacting with outsiders on a large scale, and village exogamy, a rarity before, began to become rather frequent (see Patai, 1947, especially p. 15, for an examination of the types of change which have occurred in Palestine, but also Lebanon).

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types, economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the importation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

3. The drift of villagers *en masse* to the city for employment—in part in consequence of factors 1 and 2.

4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

The intellectual factors in the economic change in Munqif were brought about by the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In this connection, three consequences must be noted:

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village and urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied *both* with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well-recognized by many. Malinowski (1945, pp. 67–68) has remarked on its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Woolerse (1946, p. 268) refers to education as unfitting people for village life. Keen (1946, p. 43) speaks of a prevailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Richardson and Butzi say:

> Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The technical backwardness, the contrast of enormous wealth and extreme poverty, the group hatreds, nepotism, the apathy of peasant millions and overlords alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West form small listless "middle-class" groups talking progress, but either powerless, unwilling, or thwarted in their attempts to change a millennia-entrenched system. (1949, pp. 489–90.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts in values among the Munqifin, as among other Middle Easterners. The various changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of traditional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Munqifin are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a means of sub-

16:Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEl Lebanon MEl

6211 178 167 458 scale. The drastic decline in the market price of silk led to greatly reduced production with a consequently increased interest in other occupations. Meanwhile, the road-building program of the French Mandatory regime, coupled with the introduction of motor vehicles, reduced the physical isolation of the village, and the interest of villagers in nonagricultural occupations away from the village was greatly augmented.

IV

6211 178 Consideration can now be given to the effects of these processes of change on the traditional culture as they were observed in 1952. To anticipate for a moment, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the effects of change have not been uniform throughout the entire village culture, some aspects of which have been more altered than others. In other words, there now are striking cultural disparities in the village, whereas before there was a high degree of consistency. The result is conflict in the minds and souls of the villagers. In what follows, we shall expand, in turn, upon the four basic criteria which were used in describing the traditional culture. The problem of conflict will be considered at the end, under the heading of Localism.

6211 178 162 4614 *Economics.* The most far-reaching changes in al-Munsif, without any question, have been in the area of economic behavior. To comprehend this change, attention must be paid to age distribution and residence pattern. The population of the village in 1952 totalled 523: 258 males and 265 females. A relatively weak representation of persons in their 30's (born during and just after World War I) is to be noted. Formerly all members of the village regularly lived in it. In 1952 only 54.6 percent (286) of the people lived in it all year round, while 35.9 percent (188) regularly lived away (in Beirut or Tripoli for the most part), returning to al-Munsif only during the summer and for various special occasions. Of the remainder, 12 persons commuted on a daily or weekly basis between the village and the city, and 26, though still considered to be members of the village, visited it only on rather rare occasions. This group of 26 comprised 17 women who had married complete outsiders and 9 other persons who lived and worked in other parts of the Middle East, mostly in Iraq.

6211 178 369 The residence factor can also be looked at in terms of households. There were 87 independent households in al-Munsif. In 22 of them all members were resident in the village all year round. In 16, no members were resident all year round; they returned as groups only in the summer. In 8 cases, the heads commuted on a daily or weekly basis while their wives and children lived in the village. In the remaining 41 cases, the personnel of each household was split; in general the head and his wife remained in the village while most of the children lived regularly in the city. In other words, a majority of the people, heavily weighted by the older age groups and those

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who hold formal authority, are still predominantly village-centered. However, the number of those living away most of the time is impressive, and it includes most of the younger heads of household. In the future, then, it appears probable that the number and proportion of those living away will increase. Yet, of the large number who live away most of the time, few if any have broken effective and affective ties with the village. This is a very important point, and more will be said about it later.

There are two reasons for the prevalence of residence away from the village: (1) education at a higher level than that provided by the two schools (one public, one private) in the village; and (2) urban occupations, qualification for most of which depends on at least a primary education. Education and nonagricultural jobs thus go hand in hand, and the basic motivation rests in the very understandable desire to make a better living than that which farming in the area is likely to provide.

The people of al-Munsif are very proud of their educational status, which they have attained by diligent efforts and considerable sacrifice over a period of several decades. Nearly 100 percent literacy prevails, and in many cases it is bilingual. Forty-eight persons between the ages of 15 and 29 (43 of them between 15 and 19) were still receiving their education in 1952 — in the village schools, in boarding schools, and at the college level. Most of them are boys, but 11 girls are included. The majority of the college students attend the American University of Beirut, and there are several graduates of that institution in the population.

The segment of the population between the ages of 15 and 69 can be looked upon as the potential working force of the village. Thus, 335 people are involved, of which 171 are males and 164 are females. To arrive at the number of people who are gainfully employed outside the home, we must subtract the 48 students, the 120 females who were either housewives or girls "at home," and the 19 men who were clearly unemployed at the time of the study. The actual working force, in terms of earning capacity, therefore amounted to 148 people (115 men and 33 women).

Of these wage earners, 49 were working in the village and 99 away from it. Economically, then, the urban trend appears to be even more pronounced than the population by residence figures, alone, suggests. It must be kept in mind, however, that the majority of heads of household, whatever their primary occupation, are also landowners and derive some income from the produce of their land even though most of them do not do the farm labor themselves.

The village occupations include 10 full-time farmers (mostly middle-aged men) who operate their own farms and also perform various tasks — such as plowing — for other landowners who are not farmers. Services of this kind are paid for in cash. There are 14 other men who work as hired hands for the farmers or for non-operator landowners. Then there are

16:Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEl Lebanon MEl

6211 178 seem to be fatalistically resigned to it. Others make contemptuous comparisons between their forefathers, whom they picture as stalwart, hard-working yeomen, and the young people of today, who, they say, have gone soft. Still others believe that if only agriculture could be revitalized in the village, so as to be reasonably profitable, many of the present city workers would gladly return. This would require bringing irrigation water into the village in long-distance conduits.

6211 178 182 On the other hand, the power of the village as a focus of local, religious, and kinship identity and solidarity, and hence of psychological and social security, continues to be forceful. This is revealed among the city dwellers in their strongly felt obligation to return to the village for important ceremonies and in their tendency to cling together in their social activities while in the city, almost as if they were a colony in an alien land.

6211 582 178 The only apparent break in the strong social structure of the village is the increasing number of marriages to outsiders. Before 1920 such marriages were rare, and the outsiders, being women, were incorporated into the village. However, between 1920 and 1952, 30 percent (31) of the 104 marriages contracted were to outsiders. Seventeen of these, as mentioned before, involved village girls. Their children are lost to the village so far as membership is concerned. Thirteen of the 31 marriages were to coreligionaries, but 15 were to members of other Christian sects and 3 were to Muslims. So far, however, these external marriages do not appear to have had a deleterious effect on the concept of village unity.

6211 178 369 In general, group problems still appear to be conceived as family problems or village problems. And yet these people now work in and are dependent upon a larger society: the city and its institutions, and the nation. And these wider social groups have their problems which affect all.

The villager who lives and works in the city, in particular, is caught in a network of conflicting forces. His personal status and his strongest sense of belonging are still rooted in the village, but because of his education—and the more education he has, the more this is likely to be true—he has become unfitted, in terms of his interests and ambitions, to participate fully in village life. As it were, while his heart is in the village, his head and his hands are in the city. Out of economic necessity, he seeks his fortune in the city. But here, current conditions often prevent his finding work which is, in his eyes, suitable for a person of his educational status. Consequently, he is likely to be unable to participate in urban or extra-village social groups to an extent which is emotionally satisfying to him. Hence there is a tendency toward generalized dissatisfaction and cynicism.

In resolving this problem, it would be unwise to think in terms of the elimination or rejection of the bonds of village and kinship groups, for these are still fundamental factors in the morals, values, and emotional satisfactions of the people. Rather, the city dwellers need to identify them-

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selves with other groups *in addition* to the traditional ones, groups which are concerned with the application of sober study and rational action to problems of general concern. Perhaps the temptation of reacting in terms of emotionally charged scapegoats could thereby be lessened and a more satisfying urban life achieved.

Al-Munsif is just one Lebanese village out of many hundreds. It is probably unusual in the high educational level of its members, but in other respects it is not significantly different. It is well known that a very large number of urban dwellers in Lebanon (and elsewhere in the Middle East) were not born and bred in the city but in small villages. Superficially, the people who are encountered in offices, shops, and classrooms often appear to be thoroughly oriented in the heavily Westernized life of the city. It is usually apprehended, however, that there is a good deal more that lies beneath the surface and is related to the more traditional ways of life. It is not sufficient to dismiss this matter by making vague statements about East meeting West and Old meeting New. Rather, the situation must be studied and described in specific detail in a number of different cases. This paper presents some of the conclusions of one such case study. There are others, but there should be many more, by a variety of researchers, for only on that basis can a really effective understanding be reached.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

THE VILLAGE IN THE NATIONAL LIFE OF LEBANON

Afif I. Tannous

369 THE MIDDLE EAST reveals itself most fundamentally through a study of its rural society. There is indeed no other road to an authentic understanding of this part of the world. Agriculture is the mainstay of its economy; it also holds the greatest promise for widespread economic development. Of even greater importance, however, is the human factor: between 70 and 80 percent of the people of the Middle East are rural, depending upon agriculture for a living. By sheer numbers, if nothing else, these masses of the population would constitute the substance of national character. But more than that, they have a distinctive culture of their own which has determined the wide base upon which national life must develop. That this basic stratum of Middle East society is inarticulate and has been ignored for long centuries does not alter its fundamental significance.

369 The rural society of the Middle East consists of two major segments — the pastoral tribe and the agricultural village — 6211 which supplement and merge into each other, economically, biologically, and culturally. In some countries of the area, for example Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, and Iran, the nomadic or semi-settled tribe plays a significant role.[1] In others, such as

113 [1] Afif I. Tannous, "The Arab Tribal Community in a Nationalist State," *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), 5-17.

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114 v AFIF I. TANNOUS, Lecturer at The Middle East Institute on the cultural organization of the Arab peoples, is regional specialist in charge of the Middle East Section, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture. The discussion here presented is developed from a chapter by the author in the *Report* of the United States — Lebanon Agricultural Mission, of which he was a member.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Egypt, Turkey, and Lebanon, it is the agricultural village that is paramount. The Lebanese, it is true, are generally known abroad as a trading people, whose ships have sailed throughout the Mediterranean world since ancient times. But this urban, merchant community has always been backed by the rural community of the Mountain.

In few other countries do we find the village-community type of human settlement so firmly established and so influential in the development of national life as in Lebanon. The village has existed continuously there since ancient times. Despite great upheavals, the farmer of Lebanon has patiently and persistently cultivated the soil, produced his crops, and raised his livestock. He has found in the rugged mountains a refuge from persecution and oppression. He has adapted himself efficiently to the difficult terrain, blasting the rocks and terracing the steep slopes in order to make room for his trees, vines, and grains. Over many centuries of adjustment to his peculiar physical and societal environment, he has succeeded in developing a clearly defined and firmly established way of life. He stands at present as the main pillar of national life in the mountains of Lebanon, the embodiment of a long and rich cultural heritage.

In appraising the significance of the village community in the life of present-day Lebanon, one can readily point out three major contributions. The first of these is biological: the replenishment and revitalization of the population in general, and of the urban population in particular. A study of the development of Lebanon over the past half century reveals clearly that rural areas have been mainly responsible for the building up of the flourishing urban or partly urban centers of Sidon, Beirut, Tripoli, and Zahleh. They have maintained a high birth rate, true to the trend prevailing in all rural areas of the Middle East. Due to a healthful climate and relatively high standards of sanitation, infant mortality has been lower in Lebanon than in the other countries of the Middle East. The result has been a constant stream of vigorous emigrants leaving the villages for urban centers.

Some fifty years ago this population overflow produced such pressure on the limited land and technological resources of

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Lebanon that it could no longer be absorbed within the country. The village folk had the choice of submitting to a life of poverty or of emigrating abroad, seeking new opportunities and fortunes. The first alternative was incompatible with their cultural heritage. They were mostly independent farm owners, not share croppers; they were awakened by a comparatively high degree of learning; they were exposed to influences of the West; and they had a long history of struggle against great odds, demanding initiative and enterprise on the part of the individual and the group.

Consequently, they resorted to emigration for relief. Some sought opportunities in the urban centers of neighboring Arab countries. They established themselves there as merchants, teachers, publishers, doctors, and as government officials in various capacities. Most of them, however, turned toward the promising New World, north and south. It is estimated that these emigrants, together with the families they have reared, now exceed in number the population resident in Lebanon itself.

Recent estimates put the population of Lebanon at 1.2 million, of whom about 75 percent are rural. There seems to be no slackening in the high rate of increase. The density of population, one of the highest in the world, amounts to about 300 per square mile of total area, and 1,200 per square mile of cultivated area. In the Middle East it is exceeded only by Egypt, which holds the world record with a density of about 2,000 per square mile of cultivated area.

This biological resource of the village community constitutes both a serious problem and a challenge to Lebanon. Emigration possibilities for the surplus population are no longer as readily available as they were prior to a decade or two ago. A realistic, long-range solution lies in the application of an enlightened population policy and developmental program that would result in controlled growth on the one hand, and in the efficient development of the country's natural resources on the other.

The second major contribution of the village community to the country is economic. This is readily apparent and needs little elaboration. Dwellers in the villages are the farming folk of Lebanon. Their agricultural activity is the mainstay of the

17; Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

national economy. They produce most of the food consumed by the country, as well as raw materials for industries and some surplus products for export. In fact, agricultural items are Lebanon's principal exports. Agriculture is also destined to play an even greater role in the future. At present the area under cultivation amounts to 640,000 acres, including less than 100,000 acres under irrigation. The crop land can at least be doubled, mainly by means of expanded irrigation. The abundant water resource could be much more efficiently utilized than it now is for increasing crop production, for the generation of power, and for household uses. There are good possibilities for the development of such agricultural and cottage industries as canning, dairying, cold storage for fruit, tanning, and handicrafts. Furthermore, production can be materially increased by the application of improved methods of cultivation. In other words, the village folk of Lebanon are in a position to make an even greater contribution to the national economy than they now do, provided they are given the necessary technical training and expert guidance.

In the third place, the rural community has been a main contributor to the cultural development of Lebanon. By culture here is not meant the conventional fine arts or those items of refinement in behavior that are shared by the few. We mean rather the pattern of living that is characteristic of Lebanon as a whole. We find here certain distinctive features, many of which can be traced directly to their origin in the village community. It is true that cultural influences from abroad have been finding their way into urban centers and thence into rural areas. These influences, however, together with those that have originated in urban centers, have not superseded the main body of culture, which remains predominantly rural. Family solidarity, group loyalty, individual initiative and enterprise, co-operativeness, community consciousness, a democratic way of living involving basic equality, and folk poetry are outstanding examples.

Finally, mention should be made of the significant leadership, in the various walks of life, that has been produced by the Lebanese village. The majority of leaders in politics, education, medicine, law, business enterprise, literature, and the other pro-

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

fessions, although they flourish in urban centers, have either had a direct rural upbringing or are but one generation removed from it.

II

Nearly all farmers of Lebanon live in villages, not on isolated farmsteads. This is the prevailing pattern of the Middle East and of most the Old World. In some parts of Europe and in most of the United States farmers live in relative isolation, each on his own land. These two different patterns have contributed to marked differences in the way of life among farming folk.

The typical Lebanese farming settlement consists, in the first place, of the village proper. This is a conglomeration of dwellings concentrated in a relatively small area. The houses, ranging in number from about 100 to 500, stand close to one another. Sometimes there is room between them for small gardens or orchards. Usually the center of this nucleated structure is the church or the mosque. In the adjoining open space, the *saha,* the people assemble to celebrate, exchange news, or hold a market. Dwellings stretch from this center in various directions. Usually, sections of the village are differentiated along kinship-group lines. Another important center is the well, or spring, in the village proper or just outside it. Agricultural land, consisting mainly of orchards, vineyards, and open fields, extends in all directions from the central group of dwellings. During the greater part of the year, the farmers and their animals take a daily trip, going to the fields early in the morning and returning to the village at sunset.

The outstanding feature of this type of close settlement is that it provides the individual with a situation that is highly socializing. People know one another intimately. In many important situations they act as a group, yet leave room for individual initiative. A genuine feeling of neighborliness, or *jirah,* prevails. The Arabic term is significant, properly meaning "help" or "cooperation." A child growing up in such a milieu must learn from his early days how to rub elbows with people and get along with them. He must develop the art of adjustment not only to his age group but also to his elders and those younger than himself.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

He soon develops a keen consciousness of belonging to the community. Through such consciousness his personality is expanded. The attainment of his life's objectives is tempered by a firmly established sense of responsibility as a member of the group.

It is in such surroundings that a spirit of true democracy is nurtured and developed. Viewed from this angle, the village community of Lebanon assumes a new national significance.

From the economic viewpoint, this type of physical structure has resulted in the development of a widespread problem of fragmented holdings. The Lebanese farmer frequently owns property that consists of some 10, 15, or 20 small plots, scattered in all directions from the village where he lives. Agriculturally, this type of landholding is inefficient. The farmer wastes much time and energy in walking from plot to plot. Furthermore, he cannot develop a satisfactory over-all plan of management for his land. A national plan for the consolidation of holdings, launched on a voluntary co-operative basis, thus is in order. Consolidation alone, however, would be only a temporary solution, for the prevailing system of dividing the land among the heirs and the practice of selling a small portion of a plot upon need would in time cause the fragmented holdings to reappear. Other complicating factors, some social and some religious, require that the problem be given more detailed study and analysis before a satisfactory solution can be devised.

The Lebanese farmer manifests a deep-rooted attachment to his land. It is his main source of living, and before him it supported a long line of his ancestors. It is an integral part of his being; he speaks of it with religious fervor. The various plots he owns carry personalized names, referring to certain qualities, incidents in village history, ancestors, or patron saints. By virtue of owning them and being a good farmer he is given status in the community and plays a role in its affairs. To sell out and migrate to another locality is abhorrent to him, a threat to his whole existence. When he is forced to emigrate abroad, he does so with the fervent hope that some day he will return to his village community, to the land that ties him in an organic manner to a long line of ancestors. If he is forced to mortgage or sell some of his land upon departure, his first concern is to remit money to pay

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

off the mortgage or to reacquire the land sold. At present there are many among the old emigrants who refuse to sell the land they own back home, although they have lost the hope of ever returning to live there.

This attachment to the land and to the community life that has developed on it is one of the fundamentals of national existence. It contributes essential stability and continuity to national character, especially in times of crisis and change. There are, however, factors such as a faulty land-tenure system, lack of adequate credit facilities, and absentee landownership that have been threatening this basis of security in village life. Although most of the land in Lebanon is privately owned, held in fee simple either by the individual farmer or by the joint family group, in certain sections of the country, mostly outside the central mountain region, share cropping prevails. There is no doubt that this condition, associated in many cases with absentee ownership, has retarded agricultural development and resulted in an appreciably lower standard of living, especially in many of the villages of the Akkar plain and the Bika' valley.

Religious experience is another outstanding feature in the life of the rural folk of Lebanon. They take their religious organization, Christian or Moslem, seriously. Like their land and their agricultural activity, it constitutes a major part of their existence. Religion is not confined to formal services at the church or the mosque. It is expressed in wholesome recreation that takes place in connection with various festivals honoring patron saints. The Arabic word for festival, *'id,* is the symbol of a rich cultural complex indicating joy, relaxation, sociability, and religious fervor. When the farmer refers to his land, crops, or animals, he invokes Allah's name and blessing. On certain occasions some of the season's produce is carried to the church to be blessed. The normal greeting between farmers at work is not "Good morning" or "Good evening," but rather "May Allah give you health and strength."

Furthermore, there is a striking identification of the religious organization with the local community. It is the people of the village who donate the land and erect the church or mosque building. The priest or imam is a member of the village, chosen

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MAIN CROPS

	Area (000 hectares)		Production (000 metric tons)		Yields (100 kg. per ha.)
	1951	1952	1951	1952	1950
Wheat	61	70	43	50	7·5
Barley	15	20	14	27	11·2
Cotton	5	2	1	..	..
Tobacco	..	..	3	2	..
Citrus fruit	..	..	75	90	..
Grapes	21	..	80	..	..

.. = not available.

(Sources: Banque de Syrie et du Liban, *Exercice 1952* (Paris 1953); except figures for yields, cotton production, and area and production of grapes, all of which have been taken from FAO, *Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics*, 1952.)

There is enough water for land to be used more intensively than in Syria but there is not enough room to grow all that the country needs. Improved methods have increased the yield of cereals per acre, but Lebanon will always have to import wheat. The crop of grapes is nearly double the weight of the wheat harvest and Lebanon exports grapes, wine, and the best quality araq. The citrus exports are high but the growers have not yet established the same name for quality as have the Israelis. Melons, water-melons, apples, onions, and potatoes are also important crops and vegetables are exported as far as the oil towns of Kuwait and Dahran. Cotton and tobacco are also grown in small quantities.

The land is more evenly parcelled out amongst the people in Lebanon than in Syria but, despite the fact that there are many small holdings, there is a general shift from country to town, and Beirut and its immediate neighbourhood hold nearly half of the population. In the coastal regions of intensive cultivation small holdings predominate, while in the plain regions large estates worked by share-croppers are the most prevalent form of land tenure. Some estates owned by rich men are farmed under modern methods and equipment and there is less room for improvement or for expansion in agriculture than in Syria.

Industry

Relative to its size, Lebanon is one of the most industrialized countries in the Middle East area. It is probable that nearly 50,000 persons are so employed, of whom over half are factory workers. However, Lebanese industry has only partly recovered from the loss of the Syrian market and some industries had either to move to Syria or to curtail production. The biggest industries are electricity, which produced 130 million kwh. in 1951, and the Cheks cement factory south of Tripoli, which produced 303,000 tons of cement in 1951. Cotton weaving and

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have retained close contact with their homeland, a factor which has had a profound influence on the social and the economic development of the country. 186 167

Unlike the neighboring Arab states, Lebanon is a compact territory. The density of population in the four administrative provinces, exclusive of Beirut district, averaged over 300 per square mile in 1948. It was 484 per square mile in Mount Lebanon, 356 in North Lebanon, and 291 in South Lebanon, but declined to 101 in the potentially fertile districts of the Bekaa. About 60 per cent of the inhabitants live under rural conditions in some 2,300 large or small villages. Urbanization has increased progressively within recent years, however, and almost one half of the population is now concentrated within easy access of Beirut. The city, which is not only the capital and the industrial metropolis of Lebanon but the principal port for the Levant states, had a population of 300,000 to 400,000 in 1950. Tripoli, the second largest city and the terminus of the pipeline from the oil fields in northern Iraq to the Mediterranean, had a population of roughly 78,000. Numerous towns in the southern and the central portions of the Lebanon range are popular resorts, with an annual influx of summer residents. 161 635 162 369

The fact that Beirut has become one of the leading cultural and educational centers of the Near East has stimulated the spread of education in the rest of the country. The literacy rate is consistently higher among the men than among the women: it probably averages from 75 to 90 per cent in Beirut and the neighboring districts of Mount Lebanon and from 40 to 60 per cent in the other provinces. The expansion of education has been influenced by the activity of French, American and other foreign groups, but the division between the different systems has hindered the development of a unified national program. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory, although the facilities are inadequate, especially in the rural areas of the south. 871 212 562 871 448 185 872 369

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Schools are maintained by the Lebanese government under the authority of the Ministry of National Education and by private, denominational and foreign agencies. There are no public secondary schools, and institutions for advanced education are conducted almost exclusively by private or foreign organizations.

There are two universities in Beirut, both of which have made substantial contributions to educational and social leadership throughout the Near and Middle East. The Université Saint-Joseph, which was founded in 1875, is operated by Jesuit orders, and some of its departments are subsidized by the French government. It has faculties of law, theology, engineering, philosophy, oriental letters and medicine, with constituent schools of dentistry, pharmacy, nursing and midwifery. The American University of Beirut was established as the Syrian Protestant College in 1866, and renamed in 1920. It is a nonsectarian, autonomous institution, sponsored by the Near East Colleges Association. The present university incorporates schools of arts and sciences, engineering, medicine, pharmacy and nursing, as well as a new school for agriculture, organized in 1952.

Vital Statistics

No reliable vital statistics are available for Lebanon. The registration of births and deaths is compulsory by law, but reporting is irregular, and the facilities for the compilation and the analysis of statistical data are inadequate. The published statistics are incomplete and of little value in the interpretation of true birth and death rates. No census has been taken since 1932, but, on the basis of the official population estimates, the birth rate was calculated at 21.5 per 1,000 population in 1947 and at 26.1 in 1948. The death rates were given at 5.5 and 6.1 per 1,000 population, respectively, figures which are obviously low.

The infant mortality rates are unknown. The general laxness in reporting births in many rural villages and the tendency to

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165 evade punishment by concealing the death
369 of unregistered infants detract from the
validity of the meager data available. Local
165 pediatricians believe that the mortality rate
in children up to 2 years of age averages
from 25 to 30 per cent for the country as
a whole. It ranges from 10 to 15 per cent,
or more, in Beirut proper to from 30 to 45
per cent in Tripoli, Sidon and the towns of
165 the interior. In the more remote villages of
511 South Lebanon, the standards of living are
uniformly low, and the mortality in children under 2 years of age probably reaches 50 to 70 per cent. Intestinal diseases are foremost among the causes of death in infancy and early childhood.

Social Economy

241 The economy of Lebanon is based upon
484 agriculture, but the country is in a more
167 favorable position than the neighboring Arab states, in that the national income is augmented by an increasing tourist traffic and by remittances to their families from
241 emigrants living abroad. Although the
311 coastal plain and the Bekaa valley support a variety of crops, a large part of the territory is mountainous and unsuitable for cultivation. The coastal region is cultivated intensively, with a series of narrow terraces extending along the seaward slopes of the Lebanon range up to an elevation of about 3,000 feet. Little more than 20 per cent of the total land area is now under production, while less than one fifth of that is irrigated. Considerable disparity exists between recent estimates of the amount of arable land, but all agree that it can be increased materially by a greater utilization of the available water resources and by improved
653 methods of cultivation. Programs have already been initiated for the further development of irrigation facilities, notably in the southern Bekaa, and in the 'Akkar plain, a triangular sector between the coast
421 and the northern frontier with Syria. The tradition of private ownership is strong in the mountainous districts of the north, and most of the land is cultivated by independ-
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sporadic cases of kala-azar. *P. papatasii* also transmits sandfly fever, which is endemic throughout this region. 136 164

Lice. The human lice, *Pediculus humanus corporis*, *P. humanus capitis* and *Phthirus pubis*, infest the inhabitants in some of the poorer urban and rural communities. *P. humanus corporis* is the vector in occasional outbreaks of louse-borne typhus and louse-borne relapsing fever. 164 136 369

Fleas. The human flea, *Pulex irritans*, and the cat and the dog fleas, *Ctenocephalides felis* and *C. canis*, are common. The rat flea, *Xenopsylla cheopis*, infests the domestic and the wild rodents, and is implicated in the transmission of sporadic cases of murine typhus and plague. *Nosophyllus fasciatus* is indigenous in Palestine, and probably occurs throughout the coastal area, where it is a potential vector of plague. 136 232 164

Bedbugs. The bedbug, *Cimex lectularius*, is an annoying pest in all sections of the country. 136

Ticks and Mites. Numerous species of ticks infest the livestock. The dog tick, *Rhipicephalus sanguineus*, is widespread. It has been implicated in the transmission of cases of fièvre boutonneuse reported from Beirut. *Ornithodorus tholozani* is found in certain isolated localities, and is probably the vector in a few recognized cases of tick-borne relapsing fever. 136 232 164

The human itch mite, *Sarcoptes scabiei*, is widely distributed. It was exceptionally prevalent during the war years 1941-46. The grain itch mite, *Pediculoides ventricosus*, is plentiful in the grain-producing districts. It produces a troublesome rash when it attacks man. 136 752

Scorpions and Spiders. Species of *Buthus* and *Scorpio* are sometimes seen, particularly in the interior, but serious cases of scorpion sting apparently are unusual. The poisonous black spider, *Latrodectus tredecimguttatus*, is reported from Syria and Israel, and may exist in adjacent portions of Lebanon.

Reptiles. Poisonous snakes are relatively rare, but the vipers, *Vipera lebetina lebe-*

tina, *V. lebetina xanthina* and *V. palestina*, are encountered in some localities. 136 752

Rodents. The brown rat, *Rattus norvegicus*, is prevalent throughout the coastal area. *R. rattus alexandrinus* is present in small numbers in Beirut and the coast towns, but predominates in the inland villages. *R. rattus rattus* is also present. Mice are abundant under both urban and rural conditions. 136 369

Molluscs.* The fresh-water snail, *Bulinus truncatus* (— *B. contortus*), is found in a few localized areas—in the vicinity of Sidon, in the Nahr el Samer and the irrigation ditches connected with the springs of Ras el 'Ain, near Tyre, and in the Litany River, around the Qaraoun bridge in the Bekaa. It is the intermediate host of *Schistosoma haematobium*, and, although the infection apparently is not endemic in the indigenous population, it has recently been observed among Palestinian refugees in the Tyre region. 136 164 [167]

Plants. Little scientific information is available, but many of the trees, the grasses and the weeds which are known to produce allergic manifestations in susceptible individuals in other countries flourish in Lebanon. 137 752

The stocks of wheat sometimes contain seeds of *Cephalaria syriaca* or *Lolium temulentum*. Occasional cases of poisoning are traceable to the consumption of breads or *burghul* prepared from wheat flours thus contaminated.

The broad bean, *Vicia fava*, is widely used as a food, but it may cause toxic symptoms when eaten raw. Serious cases are relatively rare, but fatalities are reported almost annually among young children. In some cases, the chick-pea, *Lathyrus sativus*, a common fodder crop, is responsible for poisoning when it is used as a food. [165]

Food Sanitation

The sanitary inspection of restaurants and premises where food is prepared or sold is the responsibility of the municipal health 744

* See footnote, page 10.

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which are due to paradysentery strains, are prevalent. *Shigella paradysenteriae* (Flexner), *S. sonnei* (Sonne), *S. ambigua* (Schmitz) and *S. dysenteriae* (Shiga) are generally isolated in the bacteriologic laboratories of the American University hospital, usually in the order given. Enteritis and diarrhea are widespread, particularly among the children in the poorer quarters of the cities and in rural villages, where low standards of sanitation prevail. Bacillary dysentery and other forms of diarrheal disease are prominent throughout the summer months.

Cholera. Cholera has not been reported from Lebanon since 1902. When cholera occurred in Syria in 1947, subsequent to the epidemic in Egypt, quarantine regulations were enforced by the Lebanese health authorities, and immunization against cholera was made compulsory. Emergency immunization centers were established in all parts of the country.

Helminthiases. ANCYLOSTOMIASIS. Localized foci of hookworm infection, caused by *Ancylostoma duodenale*, exist in the agricultural districts of the littoral. The most heavily infected foci are found in the irrigated orange and banana growing areas north and south of Beirut, where the environmental conditions favor the development of the larvae. In a survey in 1931-32,[22] infection was present among 70 per cent of 198 villagers examined in the Rumeile region, near Sidon. The infection rates were consistently high in all age groups, and, although the degree of infection was relatively light, the accompanying anemia was often severe. Comparable examinations among 524 rural inhabitants in the Judeide-Antilyas district, near Beirut, showed infection in 35 per cent, with rates ranging from 11 per cent in children up to 6 years of age to 44 per cent at 6 to 16 years of age. Small numbers of cases are found in other farming communities in the coastal plain and in the interior. In the villages studied around Tyre and Tripoli, the infection rates did not exceed 5 per cent, while in 5 villages

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367 in the Bekaa they averaged less than 1 per cent.

164 167 Schistosomiasis. Schistosomiasis apparently is not endemic, but the infection has been demonstrated among Palestinian refugees living in camps near Tyre. In the examination of urine specimens from 15 boys, from 6 to 12 years of age, in a school [illegible] were found in 47 per cent. A second series of urine samples, taken a few months later from 23 refugee boys, from 7 to 14 years of age, revealed eggs in 14 per cent. All the boys came originally from the Haifa and the Acre regions in Palestine. The infection was still localized in 1951, as shown by the fact that urine specimens from 1,000 boys enrolled in different schools in the the same camp were completely negative for *S. haematobium*.[6] No evidence of infection has been found in the course of limited surveys among Lebanese children in the vicinity of Tyre, and the disease was formerly unknown in the local population.

165 167 The intermediate snail host, *Bulinus truncatus*, inhabits streams and irrigation canals near Tyre and Sidon, and has been collected from one focus in the middle reaches of the Litany River. It is feared that the disease may become established and spread in the irrigated districts of the coastal plain between Tyre and Sidon.

167 232 744 Taeniasis. Three outbreaks of trichinosis have been recorded—in 1894, 1939-40 and 1945. The second outbreak occurred in Beirut district, where most of the pig farms are concentrated. The number of recognized human cases was small, but in the examination of about 3,000 pigs on several farms in the neighborhood of the slaughterhouse, 15 to 26 per cent were found to be infected [132] with *Trichinella spiralis*. A high rate of infection was also discovered among rats trapped in the area. The mass slaughter of the pigs on the affected farms and the incineration of infected carcasses were ordered by the health authorities. In the 1945 outbreak, 34 human cases, with 2 deaths, were reported, all traceable to infected meat from

a single farm near Zahle. The rate of porcine infection probably totals less than 1 per cent under natural conditions. Pork is consumed only in Christian households, and human cases are seldom observed.

Other Helminth Infections. Infection with one or more species of intestinal worms is prevalent among both rural and urban [illegible], with the lowest infection rates in the cultivated areas of the coastal plain between Beirut and Sidon and the highest in the Bekaa. The infection, which is more frequent among children than adults, probably averages 25 to 50 per cent in the country as a whole. Enterobiasis and trichuriasis are common, but strongyloidiasis is relatively rare.

Taeniasis, caused by the beef tapeworm, *Taenia saginata*, is second to ascariasis in prevalence. The infection rates range from 5 to 15 per cent in different localities, but are highest in the vicinity of towns and cities, where the consumption of beef exceeds that in the rural villages. The use of raw meat in the preparation of the popular national dish, *kubi*, is a factor in the spread of the disease. Infection with the pork tapeworm, *T. solium*, is sometimes seen in the Christian communities. The dwarf tapeworm, *Hymenolepis nana*, is encountered occasionally, especially in children.

Echinococcosis is sporadic. The prevalence of the disease in the general population is not known, but it apparently is far from negligible. According to the records of the American University hospital in Beirut, 140 persons, mainly from Lebanon and Syria, were treated for hydatid disease in the 22 years 1926-48. The rate of canine infection is high throughout most of this region. The examination of 237 stray dogs, collected on the streets of Beirut in the summer of 1948,[20] revealed that about 33 per cent harbored adult forms of *Echinococcus granulosus*. Surveys have also demonstrated the presence of hydatid cysts in a large percentage of the meat animals slaughtered in the abattoirs in Beirut. In

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Other Infections. Pneumonia and influenza are common. A serious epidemic of influenza occurred in 1950, in which over 2,000 known cases were recorded between February and June and over 400 in the month of March. 164

[illegible] endemic and frequently epidemic. Scarlet fever is rare. A high degree of immunity is apparently acquired at an early age by the local inhabitants, since repeated surveys, using the Dick test, have shown that the rate of susceptibility to scarlet fever toxins is low in adolescents and adults. In a Dick test study carried out in 1948[24] on 838 children, from 5 to 14 years of age, in different schools in Beirut, negative reactions were obtained in 72 per cent. The number of children giving a positive reaction to the toxin decreased gradually from 25 per cent at 6 to 7 years of age to 8 per cent at 12 to 14 years of age. 761

Poliomyelitis is normally sporadic, and the first widespread outbreak was reported in 1952. In the 3 months from June to September, 55 cases and 9 deaths were recorded from various parts of the country. Over 78 per cent of the cases were among children under 3 years of age. Rheumatic fever is prominent among the diseases of childhood. 164

Diseases Spread or Contracted Chiefly Through Contact

Venereal Diseases. Venereal diseases are widely distributed, but little information is available regarding their prevalence in the general population. Syphilis and gonorrhea predominate, but all forms of venereal disease are encountered, especially in Beirut, which is a center for traffic from the east and the west.

Diseases of the Eyes. Trachoma is a major public health problem in sections of southern Lebanon, where a large percentage of the people live in small and often remote villages and the standards of living and sanitation are generally low. The extent of infection varies in different localities, but 164 511 369

in some villages at least 80 per cent of the inhabitants are affected. The disease is encountered less frequently in the north, except in certain congested quarters of Beirut and Tripoli, which house large numbers of workers from the south. In most areas, a higher rate of infection prevails among the Moslem communities than among the Christian. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Public Health, the incidence has decreased appreciably since 1943. A total of 3,843 cases was reported in 1949, in contrast with over 6,000 cases in 1943. The recorded cases, however, represent a small fraction of the actual prevalence. In a study of roughly 180,000 cases from all parts of the country, undertaken by doctors from the American University of Beirut in 1950,[41] the infection rates were estimated at 40 per cent in South Lebanon, 15 per cent in the Bekaa, 10 per cent in North Lebanon and 5 per cent in Mount Lebanon. They averaged 5 per cent in Beirut district, but reached 20 per cent in some of the poorer quarters of the city.

Acute conjunctivitis is widespread from June to December, and particularly between August and October, when the flies are abundant. About two thirds of the cases are usually attributed to infection with *Hemophilus conjunctivitidis* (Koch-Weeks bacillus). A large proportion of the remainder are of pneumococcal origin. Cases of gonococcal conjunctivitis are relatively infrequent.

A special hospital for the treatment of trachoma and other eye diseases has recently been established by the health authorities at Tebnin, an important focus of trachoma in South Lebanon. Measures for the improvement of sanitary conditions are also being carried forward in many villages.

Diseases of the Skin. Mycotic infections, especially favus and ringworm of the scalp or the skin, are common. The majority of cases of dermatophytosis are caused by *Achorion schoenleini*, *Trichophyton violaceum* or *T. gypseum*. Lupus is sometimes seen in the dermatology clinics.

752 Cases of impetigo are numerous, often
511 following lesions produced by the irritating
369 effects of the sun. Scabies and pediculosis
515 are encountered in the crowded sections of the cities and in the poorer rural villages. Both were widely distributed during the war years 1941-46, when the scarcity of soaps and clothing contributed to increased unhygienic conditions. Cases of human mylasis are observed occasionally.

164 Leprosy. Leprosy is endemic, and cases
369 are reported sporadically. Thirty-one cases were known to exist in Lebanon in 1950. Of this number, 7 were located in South Lebanon and 11 in the Hermil area of the northern Bekaa, while 13 were irregularly distributed throughout the rest of the country. With the exception of one 17-year-old boy in Beirut, all the cases were from rural communities. No young children were included, and most of the affected individuals were over 25 years of age. Clinically, about 75 to 80 per cent of the cases were lepro-
164 matous in type. There is no hospital for the
743 treatment of leprosy in Lebanon, but pa-
744 tients are sent at government expense to the leprosarium at Douma, near Damascus.

Leprosy in Lebanon. Areas of Greatest Prevalence

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to about 6,000 in 1948; the deaths from 132 to 26.

Malaria is present in over one third of the territory, while the highest transmission rates are found in the rural villages situated near swamps or watercourses. The intensity of infection varies with the geography and the social and the agricultural development of the district, as well as with the volume of spring rainfall, factors which govern the breeding of the primary vectors, *Anopheles sacharovi*, *A. superpictus* and *A. claviger*. Hyperendemic foci exist chiefly in the Bekaa valley and in portions of the littoral, but active transmission also takes place in scattered localities in the mountains up to elevations of 2,700-3,000 feet. The malaria season extends from May to December, with *Plasmodium vivax* predominating in the spring and the summer, and *P. falciparum* in the late summer and the fall. *P. malariae* is encountered in a relatively small proportion of the cases. *P. ovale* was identified in 1945,[7] but the presence of this species has not been confirmed, and many authorities doubt that it is indigenous.

Malaria control work, involving drainage projects, antilarval measures and the distribution of antimalarial drugs, has been carried on by governmental and other agencies for several years. Since 1946-47, supplementary programs, based upon residual spraying in the towns and the villages with DDT preparations or Gammexane, have been undertaken by the Ministry of Public Health in the littoral and certain highly malarious inland districts. No co-ordinated surveys have been attempted, but a considerable reduction in prevalance is apparent.[7] In accumulated studies made by different observers prior to 1947, covering 175 representative communities in all 4 provinces, the spleen rates in children were estimated at 50 per cent or more in 22 villages. They ranged from 25 to 49 per cent in 61 villages, from 11 to 24 per cent in 85, and from zero to 10 per cent in 7. However, in limited surveys of 41 rural villages subsequently undertaken by the *caza* (district)

63-Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1964
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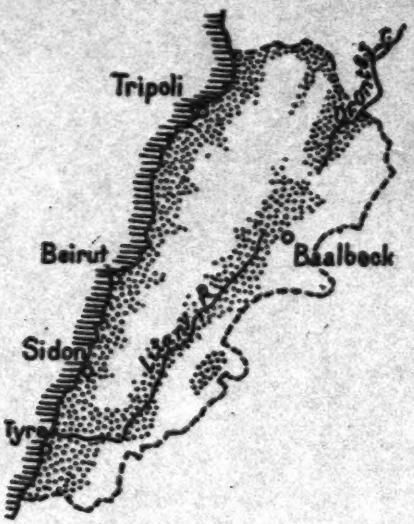

Distribution of Malaria in Lebanon

doctors of the Ministry in December, 1950, the spleen rate exceeded 50 per cent in only 3 villages, both in the Bekaa. It was less than 10 per cent in 23 villages, and ranged from 11 to 24 per cent in 13 and from 25 to 49 per cent in 3. Splenic indices of 3 to 35 per cent were observed in 8 villages studied in Mount Lebanon, where rates of 30 to 80 per cent had been recorded previously. Similarly, the rates in 6 villages in North Lebanon ranged from 6 to 44 per cent in 1950, as against 14 to 68 per cent in the surveys prior to 1947. The spleen rates for 7 villages in South Lebanon varied from 5 to 16 per cent in 1950 and from 32 to 83 per cent prior to 1947. The 1950 rates for 6 villages in the Bekaa ranged from 5 to 31 per cent; the rates recorded before 1947, from 20 to 80 per cent. Reductions of 35 to 49 per cent were noted in Deir el Acheir, Ammik and Saidi, villages with initial indices of 68 to 80 per cent.[58]

Beirut and the surrounding suburbs are now relatively free from malaria. Some transmission takes place in the communities along the river, but the spleen rates probably do not reach 10 per cent, even in the most malarious sectors. As of 1951, major

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164 369 foci of malaria persisted in the 'Akkar plain, in sections of the northern and the southern Bekaa and in scattered districts in the Lebanon mountains. A malaria survey, to implement and correlate the previous studies, and a demonstration control program were inaugurated in 1951 by the Ministry, in co-operation with the World Health Organization.

164 571 369 **Rickettsial Infections.** Louse-borne typhus apparently is not endemic, but occasional outbreaks have been recorded, usually during periods of social distress. Infestation with lice is common among the inhabitants in the poorer urban and rural districts, and minor epidemics have followed the introduction of the disease from surrounding areas in the Near East. No cases were reported during the war years 1941-45, and the widespread employment of DDT sprays in the towns and the villages has materially reduced the danger of infection. Murine typhus is indigenous, however. Sporadic cases are observed from all parts of the country, the majority of which occur during the summer months, from July through September. The disease is typically mild, with a comparatively low fatality rate. The actual prevalence is unknown, due to the general confusion in diagnosis and the lack of facilities for laboratory confirmation outside Beirut. The causative agent, *Rickettsia mooseri*, has been isolated from rats captured in Beirut. The rat flea, *Xenopsylla cheopis*, is the vector.

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Cases of fièvre boutonneuse are sometimes reported, in which the dog tick, *Rhipicephalus sanguineus*, is the probable vector. Since the diagnosis has been established primarily in hospitals in Beirut, the extent and the distribution of the infection are uncertain.

Plague. Serious outbreaks of plague have been recorded in the past, but only sporadic cases have been reported since the early 1930s. The last case, a bubonic infection, was seen in 1947 in a village on the outskirts of Beirut. Many local authorities believe that the infection exists among the wild

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scribed from Djounieh, on the coast about 30 miles north of Beirut. Microfilaria, supposedly of *Wuchereria bancrofti*, were found in the blood of 3 cases, while the fourth showed symptoms of hydrocele. Local authorities believe that the infection was introduced by African troops stationed in the area during World War II. Potential Culex vectors are abundant. 164

Nutritional Diseases

Undernutrition is seen predominantly among the children in the congested urban districts and in the poorer villages, where poverty, ignorance and, sometimes, intestinal parasitism are contributory factors. Nutritional diseases are relatively rare, but subclinical manifestations of avitaminosis are frequent. Rickets is often observed in South Lebanon: cases are attributed to the fact that many children are improperly fed and are confined indoors for long periods while their parents are at work in the fields. 146 369 611

Goiter is endemic in the vicinity of Zahle and Djezzin. Cases of cretinism are occasionally encountered. 146

Miscellaneous Conditions

Sporadic outbreaks of infectious hepatitis are reported, usually in the late summer or the fall. Children are primarily affected, but all age groups are represented in the various epidemics. Cases of encephalitis lethargica are diagnosed from time to time. 164

Q fever is enzootic among the livestock, and undoubtedly exists to some degree in the general population. In studies from the bacteriology department of the American University of Beirut,[41] a large proportion of positive reactions were obtained in complement fixation tests on blood serum samples from sheep, goats and cattle received from various countries in the Near East. In the serums collected from animals in Beirut, positive reactions were obtained in 25 per cent of 228 sheep tested, in 34 per cent of 134 goats and in 8 per cent of 97 cattle. The reaction rates with the serums from smaller numbers of animals from Tripoli

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

000 241 preeminence. Of the present conditions in Munsif the following could be an adequate description:

> In spite of its present unimportance, the mulberry has not deserted the Lebanese countryside. Many houses, and some of the more humble ones, are always surrounded by tiny terraces each one bearing one or two rows of these trees, with their low, truncated trunks and dense foliage, which, formerly, in the eyes of the peasant, were the clearest symbol of fortune. (Février, 1949b, p. 342; translation mine.)

Mulberries are grown in the *jdaur*, the deep, fertile soil near the houses. Other crops grown here are onions, potatoes, and legumes. The most important small cash crop is tobacco, grown under the restrictive quota system of the official tobacco monopoly.

Figs, olives, and grape vines are, for the most part, outside the village house-cluster. The figs are concentrated at Ḥilwi, but there are some higher up, where all the olives are.

Generally, an individual will have all figs or olives in one plot, but since one man's plot adjoins another's on the same terrace with no property marking of any kind, some terraces are confusingly mixed in appearance. There are some apricots and almonds, but they are apparently not too profitable. The fruit of the occasional date palms and prickly pears are harvested, but no particular care is taken of the plants, although on one occasion a man was observed fertilizing a female palm tree with the pollen of a male one.

Wheat is grown in limited amounts, chiefly in plots on which it is not considered worthwhile to spend the time and money required to develop a good orchard.

During the rainy season, the earth is plowed twice, primarily to keep it aerated and loose. In April and June it is plowed again, primarily to cultivate out weeds. After June, the hot, dry sunshine withers all small plants which are not tended.

In the spring, figs, olives and vines are pruned and checked for insect pests of which the only one observed was a species of weevil which bores under the bark. Inspection of, and necessary repairs to, terrace walls are carried on throughout the year.

Apricots ripen and are harvested in May. Almonds and figs come in June and July, and this is also the time for wheat harvesting and threshing. Grapes are harvested in August and September, olives in September and October. The last is the real harvest of the village, in which everyone who is able turns out into the fields to help. Men and boys climb into the trees to shake them or beat them with sticks. Women and girls do a large part of the gathering. The men press those which have been allocated for the purpose into oil. The olive mash which remains after the pressing is either used locally as fertilizer or it is sold to dealers who either resell it as fertilizer or have it made up into paper packets which are widely

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

used as fuel in the city. In the village, brushwood is collected for fuel in addition to the importation of kerosene.

Animal manure is not used extensively as plant fertilizer because it is scarce. Recently this meager supply has been supplemented by British-made chemical fertilizers. Night soil is not used at all.

Animal husbandry is very limited. Each farmer has a yoke of oxen for traction and some have a few cows for milk. There are one or two donkeys in the village. Two farmers keep bees. The hives are formed in the large water jars (*jarra*) described earlier. Several of these, each split horizontally across the middle, are set in a row. The bees enter and go out by the narrow open neck. The honey is removed by separating the two halves of the jar, and half the honey is left for the bees. Some fowl are kept in the village, primarily for their eggs. Dogs are kept by some householders, and cats by more, for guarding and mousing, respectively. They are not treated as pets, or objects of affection.

It is the lack of water which so seriously limits agricultural productivity in the village. The possibility of drilling successful wells, even with modern equipment, is, as was noted in the first chapter, very remote. Irrigation lines, which affect the coastal strip lower than forty meters above sea level, have been extended almost to Ba'ishta from the River Ibrahiim to the south, and to the village of Madfuun, just north of Burbara, from the River Jawz. The Qurni has the misfortune of being halfway between these rivers, at the end of the line in both directions. It is also unfortunate in that since its coastline is more precipitous than surrounding areas, it has a smaller area of potentially irrigable land than the surrounding areas. Nevertheless, it would be of great help to the village if irrigation water could be brought to it.

CONCLUSION

This chapter can fittingly be closed with a series of quotations which summarize, high-light, or give wider perspective to some of the points which have been made. They do not require any comment except that of drawing the reader's attention to their dates, especially those of the last three.

> 1. It is probable . . . that it was on the slopes of the originally forest-clad mountains of ancient Phoenicia that rain agriculture began. (Lowdermilk, 1944, p. 415.)
>
> 2. The effort of the Lebanese has made this country capable of nourishing a relatively dense population. There are few mountainous regions so little favored by nature from which man has drawn such a great agricultural return. (Thoumin, 1936, p. 126; translation mine.)
>
> 3. The Syrian peasant is more like a miner than a farmer. (Himadeh, 1936, p. 92.)
>
> 4. Elsewhere man has cultivated the land: in the Lebanon he has made it. Elsewhere the harvest is the produce: here it is the soil. Man collects and carries to

382 pipeline. Initial yearly capacity will be 300,000 tons, to be raised to 450,000 by 1956; by that date, total investment in the refinery will be $8 million. Most of the output will be fuel for bunkering, but the lighter products will be available for domestic consumption, meeting all the country's needs for major oil products. 1/

377 Output of electricity has also expanded, from 57 million kilowatt-hours in 1945 to 104 million in 1949, 147 million in 1952 and 164 million in 1953; of the last figure, 63 million kilowatt-hours were produced by thermal generators and 101 million by hydroelectric generators.

331 Construction has been maintained at a high level. Authorized construction in Beirut increased from 107,000 square metres of floor space in 1945 to 258,000 in 1948, 325,000 in 1952, 318,000 in 1953 and 167,000 during the first half of 1954. It is estimated that gross expenditure on construction was LL 81 million in 1948, LL 73 million in 1949 and LL 99 million in 1950. 2/ These figures represent some 7 to 10 per cent of the gross national product. Construction represents a large fraction, probably over half, of gross investment in Lebanon and absorbs a large proportion of small savings.

339 The building materials industries have expanded to meet construction needs.
323 Owing to expansion of capacity in 1947, output of cement rose from 148,000 tons in 1945 to 209,000 in 1948, 280,000 in 1952, 314,000 in 1953 and 141,000 in the first half of 1954. In recent years, exports have ranged between 20,000 and 60,000 tons. A new plant is under construction. Other industries, such as tile making and glass, have also expanded; output of glassware in 1952 reached 1,300 tons. Various cement products industries have been developed.

258 Food processing represents the most important group of industries, as regards capital employment and value of output (see table 45). Among the principal branches are sugar refining, where output rose from a negligible amount to 6,000 tons in 1952 and 14,000 in 1953 and where capacity is being expanded; vegetable oils, where output has risen from 900 in 1945 to 5,600 in 1952; biscuits, where output rose from 300 tons in 1945 to 1,200 in 1952; dough products, which increased from 300 tons to 2,400; chocolate, jam and various sweet-meats, with a combined output of 4,700 tons in 1953; beer, whose output declined from its war-time peak to 2 million litres in 1953; wine, arag and other alcoholic drinks, whose output has risen slightly in the post-war years, to 2.2 million litres in 1953; and soft drinks, whose output has increased more than twentyfold, to 9.5 million litres in 1953. 3/ All these industries, except sugar, provide a small export surplus and all are operating well below capacity.

288 The textile industries have been facing difficulties. Silk reeling has declined into a minor occupation, but silk weaving has developed, output rising from 26 tons in 1945 to 320 in 1952; this amount represents only one sixth of Lebanon's consumption. Output of woollen cloth has failed to exceed 150 tons,

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1/ Oil and Gas Journal, 7 March 1955.

2/ Albert Y. Badre and Agopig G. Altounian, "National Income of Lebanon", Monograph No. 2: "Income Arising in the Construction Sector" (Beirut, November 1951).

3/ Figures from Le Commerce du Levant, 3 July 1954, special issue on industry.

[Text continues on P. 161]

312 The Akkar irrigation scheme in northern Lebanon, which at present
311 irrigates 2,800 hectares, is scheduled to cover a total of 10,000 hectares,
652 of which 7,500 are to receive perennial irrigation and 2,500 spring irrigation. Total costs, including the completed portion, were estimated at LL 6 million; it is expected that work on the project will be finished by 1958.

Lake Yammouneh, in north central Lebanon, at present provides 2,500 hectares with spring irrigation and 800 hectares with summer irrigation; these figures are to be raised to 10,000 and 1,000 hectares, respectively. The cost involved is LL 3 million, in addition to LL 1.5 million already spent. No date has been set for completion. Irrigation from the Orontes River, in northern Lebanon, which is at present received by 1,000 hectares, could be extended to an additional 4,000; no detailed plans have as yet been worked out.

652 Both Lake Yammouneh and the Orontes River form part of a seventy-five-year
377 concession granted to a private company for the generation of electricity. Turbines with a capacity of 6,000 kilowatts will be erected on Lake Yammouneh and a further 3,000 kilowatts may be added later; generators with a capacity of 9,000 kilowatts, providing an estimated 65 million kilowatt-hours per annum, will be set up on the Orontes. The total cost, including transmission lines, is estimated at LL 12 million; a further unspecified sum may be spent on lining the bed of Lake Yammouneh, to prevent seepage. The capital of the concessionary company is LL 20 Million; of this 60 per cent has been subscribed by Lebanese residents and emigrants and it is hoped to raise the balance from Kuwait and other foreign countries.

The Nahr Ibrahim hydroelectric works have a firm capacity of 1,500 kilowatts and a maximum capacity of 4,200; built by a concessionary company, they began operating in 1950, and in 1953 supplied 20 million kilowatt-hours of electricity. In 1954, the company was authorized to increase its capital from LL 1 million to LL 11.75 million. The Government has also proposed to guarantee a LL 4 million loan to be advanced to the company by the Banque de Syrie et du Liban. A second power plant, with a maximum capacity of 12,000 kilowatts and an estimated annual output of 65 million kilowatt-hours, is to be built, at a cost of LL 10 million, including a dam and other installations; it is hoped to complete the project in 1957, after which a third plant, with a capacity of 12,000 kilowatts is contemplated. A thermal station at Zouk, with a capacity of 15,000 kilowatts, is scheduled for completion by the end of 1955; its capacity will be doubled shortly after. 1/

377 The Litani River project, which provides for both irrigation and power,
312 is the most important scheme under study in Lebanon. It aims at irrigating, at a total cost of LL 32 million, 18,600 hectares 2/ of which 10,400 are in the Bekaa plain and 3,900 in the coastal plain, the rest being along the intermediate stretch of river. At the same time, power will be provided by

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1/ Le Commerce du Levant, 10 October 1954.

2/ This figure is exclusive of the 4,500 hectares in the Kasmieh scheme, which will also be irrigated by the Litani River. In addition, the Litani scheme will provide seasonal irrigation for 2,900 hectares.

377 six hydroelectric stations, with an aggregate capacity of 171,000 kilowatts. 1/
312 The scheme calls for construction of three major dams, five others, 210 kilometres of irrigation canals, 41 kilometres of tunnels and 12 kilometres of high tension transmission lines. The cost of the dams is estimated at LL 88 million, that of the power plants at LL 189 million and that of the transmission system at LL 28 million; total costs, including irrigation, are put at LL 342 million. Construction is planned over a period of twenty-five years. Annual operation, maintenance and repayment charges are estimated at about LL 20 million. Benefits are calculated at about LL 12 million increase in the annual gross value of crops and a net average annual return of LL 19 million from the sale of power.

185 Two important measures have been taken to get this project under way. A draft law has been presented to Parliament, providing for formation of a national electricity and water corporation, with a capital of one million shares of LL 100 each. Fifty-five per cent of the capital will be held by the Government, and 20 to 30 per cent will be reserved for Lebanese citizens. No individual may own more than 100 shares. The corporation would plan and execute all future irrigation work and power development in Lebanon, present concessionaries having the option of continuing until the end of their term of concession or of exchanging their concessions for shares in the corporation. The corporation's concession is for ninety-nine years.

647
185 In July 1954, a National Litani Office was created, as an autonomous government agency charged with implementing the Litani project. In September, tenders were invited from engineering firms to act as consulting and supervising agent for the Office. There are indications that the Office is seeking to implement the first phase of the project, which calls for a dam and reservoir at Karaoun, a diversion tunnel to the Bisri River, and a dam on the Bisri; two hydroelectric stations, with an aggregate capacity of 38,000 kilowatts; and the irrigation of 5,700 hectares above Karaoun. The cost of this phase is estimated at LL 177 million. 2/ The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has sent a team of experts to evaluate the project, and it is hoped that a loan will be forthcoming.

Other projects

653 Transport projects have absorbed the greater part of government expenditure on development in the post-war period. Between 1945 and 1954, inclusive, expenditure through the ordinary budget on "roads, ports, buildings and other works" amounted to LL 113 million, out of a total of LL 173 million. In the years 1944 to 1953, inclusive, expenditure from the Development Works

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1/ The output of these stations is estimated to range from a maximum of about 886 million kilowatt-hours to a minimum of about 284 million; in an average year, output is estimated at 626 million. The hydroelectric plants are to be complemented by thermal stations with a capacity of 122,000 kilowatts; the cost and output of these stations are not included in the figures given above.

2/ Le Commerce du Levant, 24 July 1954, 1 September 1954, and 21 October 1954.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 ME1 Lebanon ME1

226 Fishing is important as a means of livelihood only at Sarafand. The village proper lies a couple of miles inland but a suburb has grown along the coast where a fishing community exists. The industry, primitive and using only row boats, employs some 200 persons on a part or full-time basis. The gross take is estimated at LL. 80,000 ($22,000) annually. These fishermen often own small plots of farm land, which accounts for many of the 300 small farms reported for Sarafand.

382 The Trans-Arabian Pipe Line (Tapline) has its Mediterranean terminus at Saida which lies 464 just north of the area under discussion. About 600 Lebanese workmen are employed by the company, some of them coming from the villages under study. No statistical data are available on this question but it does not appear that employment by Tapline affects the five villages to any great extent.

It is reported that some of the member companies of Tapline are planning to erect an oil refinery near their present operations. During construction employment opportunities for local unskilled labor will probably occur. When the plant is in operation, two or three hundred men will be required, hence continuing employment opportunities will be available. It may be that small industries will be established to use some of the products of the refinery. This would offer an opportunity for limited industrial development. Such diversification is very desirable for this otherwise agricultural community.

Domestic Water, Sanitation and Health

000 Technical details concerning pollution of wells, types of diseases prevalent in the project villages, and similar data will not be found in this report. This aspect of the problem falls within the jurisdiction of the specialized and highly trained public health technicians attached to the Technical Cooperation Service, Lebanon.

310 An ample and safe supply of drinking water is not available for any of the five villages included in the improvement project. En-Nsariyah depends upon a covered shallow wall for its domestic water supply, the other villages have access to springs. In most cases these sources are adequate as to quantity except during the summer months. In all cases the purity is questionable. Village

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
LEBANON ME1
SYRIA MD1

of clinics and in the cities a shortage of qualified staff to undertake massage, radiotherapy, and orthopædics, and there is special need to combat tuberculosis. Syrians and Lebanese are not addicted to hashish which, however, is grown in the Biqaa and smuggled to Egypt. The Lebanese Government periodically burns many of the plantations, which inflates the price of the surviving crop.

Economic Survey

More than half the population of the two countries is engaged in agriculture which is the most important economic activity. Natural resources hardly exist; there is bitumen in Jebel Bishri in Syria but its production would not be economic; about 10,000 tons a year of asphalt is produced from the neighbourhood of Latakia; and salt is extracted in commercial quantities near Aleppo.

Petroleum

For a number of years, associates of IPC searched for oil in Syria and Lebanon but without finding it in commercial quantities; in consequence, the areas held by these IPC associates have been given up. However, the two Governments are still anxious for further efforts to be made to find oil in commercial quantities. The importance of petroleum in the economy of Syria and Lebanon lies in the situation of the two republics athwart the pipelines from the fields of northern Iraq and Saudi Arabia which have outlets on the Mediterranean.[1] From Iraq a 12-inch and 16-inch line carry oil across Syria by way of Palmyra and Homs to Tripoli in the Lebanon. Together, these two lines can carry about 8 million tons of oil a year (160,000 barrels daily). A third IPC line from Kirkuk to Homs then bears north of the other two and reaches the sea at Banias, and so does not run through Lebanon at all. This new line is 26–30–32-inches in diameter and can deliver oil at about 16 million tons a year (320,000 barrels daily). From the fields of Saudi Arabia a 30–31 inch American pipeline (Tapline) travels over 1,000 miles on its way to Sidon in Lebanon, passing through Jordan and Syria. At present the line is pumping at a rate of about 15 million tons a year (300,000 barrels daily). It should be noted that these four lines all carry crude oil, some of which is refined on the Mediterranean shore for local requirements but the bulk is shipped as crude to the refineries of Europe and elsewhere.

The line from Kirkuk to Haifa is not operating and the Haifa

[1] See Appendix IV, p. 570 below.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
LEBANON ME1
SYRIA MD1

refinery is running on imported crude oil at about a quarter of its capacity. There exists an IPC refinery at Tripoli which treats over half a million tons of crude a year (10,000 barrels a day) for the needs of Syria and Lebanon which it cannot fully supply; accordingly, its extension has been under discussion. Construction has begun on a refinery for 7,000 barrels a day at Sidon for Mediterranean Refining Company (California Texas Corporation), but while the Syrian market is still too small to justify the erection of a refinery, the Syrian Government nevertheless wishes to have a refinery established in the country to meet its own needs, and negotiations to this end with IPC and with the World Bank have recently taken place.[1]

Under the Barcelona Convention of 1921 dues are not leviable on transit trade, but the two countries draw, under their agreements with the pipeline companies, a sizable revenue from petroleum apart from the indirect benefits caused by employment by the oil companies. At the time of writing the agreements between the two Governments and the two oil companies are under review but no precise details are available, though the two Governments began by demanding that they should receive jointly a half share of the saving which the companies made by using the pipelines instead of having to transport their oil to the Mediterranean by tanker. Even if this principle were accepted, the difficulty would remain of establishing a satisfactory formula for calculating the saving. The agreement with Tapline is believed to provide Lebanon with about £L4½ million a year. The oil companies bring foreign exchange into Syria and the Lebanon and the currency is surrendered to the Governments at the official rate but can thereafter be resold at the rate applying to the free market which may bring to the Governments a profit of a third. The problem is that Syria and Lebanon are, in fact, not oil-producing states and, although their needs and desires for foreign money may be as great as Iraq's, it is difficult to see how they can expect to obtain from petroleum the same revenue as do the states where it is produced.

Communications

In general, roads provide a cheaper and quicker means of transport than the railways which are mostly running at a loss. The railway lines are:

The Hejaz Railway. A narrow (3 ft 5 in.) gauge track runs from the centre of Damascus to Deraa (88 miles) and thence

[1] See *Petroleum Press Service*, February 1953, p. 58.

ent farmers. Large holdings, owned by absentee landlords and worked according to the share-tenancy system, predominate, however, in the Bekaa valley, in the 'Akkar plain and in the province of South Lebanon.

A diversity of crops is grown in different parts of the country. The subtropical climate of the coastal plain permits the cultivation of citrus fruits and bananas, while olives, grapes, apricots and other fruits flourish on the terraced mountain slopes. Cereals and legumes are the chief crops of the Bekaa, but cotton, tobacco and numerous types of vegetables are also produced. Large numbers of goats, as well as sheep, cattle and other livestock, are raised, primarily as food or draft animals. Sericulture is carried on in many mountain villages, but the competition of artificial silks has contributed to its decline within recent years. The government encourages the expansion of agriculture through the promotion of cooperative credit and marketing facilities. There are no experimental farms or research stations, but instruction in modern methods of farming is provided by the agricultural division of the government's vocational school in Beirut and by the American University.

The mineral resources of the region are negligible. Small deposits of lignite, located in the hills above Beirut and Tripoli, are worked intermittently. Salt is also extracted in evaporating beds along the coast north of Beirut. The development of modern industry received some impetus during the war years 1941-45, but is handicapped by the scarcity of raw materials and the limitations of the internal market. Numerous small plants exist for the processing of consumer goods, including the manufacture of textiles, cement, soaps, distilled liquors, leather goods, cigarettes, olive oil and various foodstuffs. The Iraq Petroleum Company has recently established a refinery at Tripoli, the terminus of its pipeline from the oil fields in the Kirkuk region. The chief exports are olives and olive oil, textiles, silk, fruits and petroleum products.

p. 112(b)

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East
Lebanon ME1

The Chamber of Deputies refused to ratify the agreement and unanimously adopted a resolution demanding that the Government undertake immediate negotiations with all oil companies for the revision of oil agreements.[39] The companies refused to respond to the demands of the Government. At the end of December 1953 the Justice Ministry informed Premier Abdallah al Yafi that it was impossible to take any legal action against Tapline and I.P.C. to oblige them to discuss the question of an increase in royalties.

Attempts were made to present a united front of Syria, Lebanon and Jordan in their demands for higher royalties, but apparently with little success. At the end of May 1954 it was reported from Beirut that the Syrian and Lebanese Governments had agreed to send a joint note to the companies asking for an increase in the royalties, but up to the beginning of 1955 no new agreements had been signed.[40]

REFINERIES

In 1940 the French High Commissioner for Syria and Lebanon built an emergency refinery at Tripoli under an agreement with the Iraq Petroleum Company that he was to own and operate during the war emergency but that was to be turned over to I.P.C. at the end of hostilities for the crude oil which the Company was to supply. The transfer was made on January 1, 1946. Three years later the refinery's quarter-of a million barrel capacity was doubled.[41]

A second refinery in Lebanon, the Mediterranean Refinery, was inaugurated in February 1955. It is located at Sidon, built at a cost of about $20 million, and has a capacity of about 6,000 barrels daily. It is owned by the Mediterranean Refining Company which is in turn owned by the partners of Aramco.

Summary and year: *Le Commerce du Levant*, May 21, 1952; *The New York Times*, May 16, 1952; Longrigg, *Oil in the Middle East*, 348; *The Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 19, 1952. Direct payments by I.P.C. and Tapline in 1952 amounted to £15,500,000; local expenditures by Tapline were £7,000,000 and by I.P.C. about £10,000,000. U. N., *Economic Developments, 1949 to 1954*, 186.

[39] The magnitude of the flow of oil through the terminals of I.P.C. and Tapline in Lebanon is illustrated by the 1953-54 figures. The total for both terminals in 1953 was 22,519,881 tons; in 1954, 22,903,700 tons. In the latter year Saudi Arabian oil amounted to 11,890,701 tons, and Iraqi oil to 7,210,547 tons. *Le Commerce du Levant-Beyrouth Express*, Mar. 14, 1955.

[40] *Mideast Mirror* (Cairo), 19, May 22, 1954.

[41] U. S. Senate, *International Petroleum Cartel*, 91.

o-4: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East MI
Lebanon ME 1

This refinery was to supply Lebanon with the major part of its gasoline and kerosene requirements.

EXPLORATION

In March 1938 I.P.C. was granted a license covering the area of Jebel Terbol; the outbreak of the war prevented any operations. In May 1947 the Lebanon Petroleum Company (a subsidiary of Petroleum Concessions Ltd.) began drilling operations, but it later abandoned its license. In January 1954 it was reported from Beirut that oil experts who had been prospecting for oil in Lebanon for a number of years had come to the conclusion that there was no possibility of finding rich oil deposits in the country.[1]

Conclusion

Although so far no oil has been discovered in the above four countries of the eastern Mediterranean, they are nevertheless part of the general Middle East oil pattern since they serve as the transport areas and terminal sites of the oil produced, or at least a considerable portion of it, in the rich oil-bearing countries of the Persian Gulf. Despite the fact that I.P.C. surrendered the exploration concessions which it held in Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria, none of these states has given up hope of discovering oil in its territories. The most vigorous and determined efforts were made in Israel, and the latest reports are encouraging.

Israel also played an important role as the site of the second largest refinery in the Middle East, the Consolidated Refinery in Haifa, which not only met all the needs of local consumption and exported refined petroleum products in huge quantities, but which was also an important factor in the prosecution of World War II. The refinery at Tripoli was an emergency war measure and of very small capacity, but was helpful in meeting local demands. Lebanon is well on her way to supply home needs from the refineries on her territory.

Because all the four countries were mandates under the two Great Powers which had major interests in I.P.C., they received no payments for the rights and privileges granted the Company

[1] *NENA* (Cairo), 20, Jan. 30, 1954.

LEBANON ME1

brought some capital with them and started new enterprises. Another important factor was the impact on Lebanon of the development of Middle Eastern petroleum resources, an impact which exceeded that exerted on any other non-producing country in the region. Three pipelines have their terminal in Lebanon: two Kirkuk-Tripoli lines, completed in 1934 and 1949, and the line connecting the Arabian oilfields with Sidon, completed in 1950. A refinery was built in Tripoli and another near Sidon. Lebanon has also benefited from the location of offices of oil companies in Beirut. In addition, it has received many tourists, as well as some capital, from the oil producing countries and has supplied exports to these countries: for example, fresh fruit and vegetables sent by air or truck or, more recently, by refrigerated ships. Finally, royalties paid to the Government by the oil companies for pipeline use have increased in recent years.

The development of transit trade has also contributed to the national income. The increase in such trade was made possible by enlargement and improvement of the port of Beirut shortly before the Second World War, development of inland communications, provision of refrigerated storage and other storage facilities and extension of the free zone in the harbour from 8,000 square metres in 1939 to 75,000 in 1950 and 116,000 in 1951. Although the development of Lebanese has diverted some of Syria's trade, Beirut still handles a substantial proportion of that trade as well as a large fraction of that of Jordan, which previously passed through Haifa. The opening of a new airport in Beirut, in 1951, has also stimulated transit of goods and passengers.

In recent years, Beirut has been the centre of a large and widespread gold trade. The relaxation and subsequent disappearance of exchange controls has also greatly increased the importance of Lebanon as an international financial centre. Tourism has increased in scope and continues to play a significant part in the country's economy.

Agriculture

Despite large-scale emigration to the cities and abroad, nearly half the Lebanese population still earns a livelihood in agriculture. Since agriculture accounts for less than one fifth of the national income (see table 43), per capita income in agriculture is well below the average in other sectors. The possibilities for raising agricultural income by extending cultivation are, however, very limited. According to the Lebanon estimates, of the total area of 1,158,000 hectares, 375,000 hectares consist of rocky, waste or built-up areas, 74,000 consist of forests; 115,000 are judged to be cultivable, though at present uncultivated; and 273,000 are under cultivation. Of the cultivated area, 48,000 hectares are irrigated and 225,000 are rainfed, but irrigation projects under way or due to be undertaken in the near future will bring [illegible] hectares of rainfed land under irrigation. 1/ The reclamation of the 115,000 hectares judged to be cultivable would involve heavy capital outlay, since most of this land is mountainous. Hence, in recent years, efforts have been mainly concentrated on intensifying agriculture.

1/ Figures from an unpublished paper prepared in the Ministry of Agriculture in 1951. Cultivated land per capita of agricultural population in that year stood 0.4 hectares, of which less than a fifth is irrigated.

433 protection, and by the opening of new markets overseas. Because of the large amount of unemployment, industrial wages were reduced, bringing down costs. Between 1946 and 1952, investment in plant and equipment in the principal Lebanese industries doubled, while employment rose by 50 per cent. 1/ Output also increased considerably and rose further in 1953.

433 316 324 317 Post-war trends have varied from industry to industry. Mining continues to play a very minor part in the economy. Building stone is abundant and is much used in construction; salt is extracted from salines, meeting half the country's consumption; and silica sand is exported. Since 1953, small amounts of iron ore have been exported, a total of 22,000 tons in that year. Output in 1954 was expected to reach 100,000 tons. The iron content of the ore is 57 per cent. 2/

382 Output of fuel and power have increased significantly. The Tripoli refinery started operating at the end of 1940; its throughput increased from 100,000 tons in 1941 to 227,000 in 1946, and, after expansion of capacity in 1950, to 546,000 tons in 1952, 545,000 in 1953 3/ and 269,000 in the first half of 1954. Lebanon's consumption of major petroleum fuels was estimated at 269,000 tons in 1950 and 515,000 in 1952. 4/ The remainder of the refinery's output is exported to Syria. Another refinery, near Sidon, began operation in February 1955; it will refine Arabian oil carried through the Trans-Arabian

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1/ The number of establishments in the main branches of the industries listed below increased from 477 in 1946 to 671 in 1948 and 880 in 1950, declining to 842 in 1952; capital invested rose from Ll. 71.6 million in 1946 to Ll. 96.2 million in 1948, Ll. 112.6 million in 1950 and Ll. 143.3 million in 1952; the number of employees in these industries rose from 8,052 in 1946 to 11,153 in 1948, 11,525 in 1950 and 12,775 in 1952. The capital invested in food processing industries increased from Ll. 6.7 million in 1946 to Ll. 27.8 million in 1952; in beverages from Ll. 5.5 million to Ll. 15.9 million; in textiles from Ll. 14.8 million to Ll. 36.2 million; in non-metallic mineral products from Ll. 32.9 million to Ll. 45.5 million; in chemicals from Ll. 3.0 million to Ll. 9.7 million; in wood products from Ll. 2.7 million to Ll. 5.7 million; and in printing from Ll. 1.1 million to Ll. 4.5 million. Capital invested in the leather industry fell from Ll. 5.1 million in 1946 to Ll. 4.0 million in 1952 (Ministry of National Economy). Total capital investment in industry, excluding construction but including public utilities and handicrafts and various enterprises operated under concession agreements, such as the petroleum refineries and the tobacco monopoly, is between Ll. 200 million and Ll. 250 million, probably closer to the latter figure. Total employment in manufacturing, including handicrafts, is probably between 85,000 and 90,000

2/ Le Commerce du Levant, 20 October 1954.

3/ Of this 882,000 tons consisted of fuel oil, 112,000 of gasoline, 88,000 of gas oil and 69,000 of kerosene (Ministry of National Economy, Bulletin statistique trimestriel, Beirut).

4/ Between 1946 and 1953, consumption of gasoline in Lebanon increased from 30,000 tons to 51,000; of kerosene from 11,000 tons to 24,000; of gas oil from 9,000 tons to 31,000; and of fuel oil from 79,000 tons to 108,000.

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382 pipeline. Initial yearly capacity will be 300,000 tons, to be raised to 450,000 by 1956; by that date, total investment in the refinery will be $8 million. Most of the output will be fuel for bunkering, but the lighter products will be available for domestic consumption, meeting all the country's needs for major oil products. 1/

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323 Owing to expansion of capacity in 1947, output of cement rose from 148,000 tons in 1945 to 209,000 in 1948, 280,000 in 1952, 314,000 in 1953 and 141,000 in the first half of 1954. In recent years, exports have ranged between 20,000 and 60,000 tons. A new plant is under construction. Other industries, such as tile making and glass, have also expanded; output of glassware in 1952 reached 1,300 tons. Various cement products industries have been developed.

258 Food processing represents the most important group of industries, as regards capital employment and value of output (see table 45). Among the principal branches are sugar refining, where output rose from a negligible amount to 6,000 tons in 1952 and 14,000 in 1953 and where capacity is being expanded; vegetable oils, where output has risen from 900 in 1945 to 5,600 in 1952; biscuits, where output rose from 300 tons in 1945 to 1,200 in 1952; dough products, which increased from 300 tons to 2,400; chocolate, jam and various sweet-meats, with a combined output of 4,700 tons in 1953; beer, whose output declined from its war-time peak to 2 million litres in 1953; wine, arrag and other alcoholic drinks, whose output has risen slightly in the post-war years, to 2.2 million litres in 1953; and soft drinks, whose output has increased more than twentyfold, to 9.5 million litres in 1953. 3/ All these industries, except sugar, provide a small export surplus and all are operating well below capacity.

288 The textile industries have been facing difficulties. Silk reeling has declined into a minor occupation, but silk weaving has developed, output rising from 26 tons in 1945 to 380 in 1952; this amount represents only one sixth of Lebanon's consumption. Output of woollen cloth has failed to exceed 150 tons,

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1/ Oil and Gas Journal, 7 March 1955.

2/ Albert Y. Badre and Agopig G. Altounian, "National Income of Lebanon", Monograph No. 2: "Income Arising in the Construction Sector" (Beirut, November 1951).

3/ Figures from Le Commerce du Levant, 3 July 1954, special issue on industry.

[Text continues on P. 161]

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preeminence. Of the present conditions in Munsif the following could be an adequate description:

> In spite of its present unimportance, the mulberry has not deserted the Lebanese countryside. Many houses, and some of the more humble ones, are always surrounded by tiny terraces each one bearing one or two rows of these trees, with their low, truncated trunks and dense foliage, which, formerly, in the eyes of the peasant, were the clearest symbol of fortune. (Février, 1949b, p. 342; translation mine.)

Mulberries are grown in the *jdaar*, the deep, fertile soil near the houses. Other crops grown here are onions, potatoes, and legumes. The most important small cash crop is tobacco, grown under the restrictive quota system of the official tobacco monopoly.

Figs, olives, and grape vines are, for the most part, outside the village house-cluster. The figs are concentrated at Ḥilwi, but there are some higher up, where all the olives are.

Generally, an individual will have all figs or olives in one plot, but since one man's plot adjoins another's on the same terrace with no property marking of any kind, some terraces are confusingly mixed in appearance. There are some apricots and almonds, but they are apparently not too profitable. The fruit of the occasional date palms and prickly pears are harvested, but no particular care is taken of the plants, although on one occasion a man was observed fertilizing a female palm tree with the pollen of a male one.

Wheat is grown in limited amounts, chiefly in plots on which it is not considered worthwhile to spend the time and money required to develop a good orchard.

During the rainy season, the earth is plowed twice, primarily to keep it aerated and loose. In April and June it is plowed again, primarily to cultivate out weeds. After June, the hot, dry sunshine withers all small plants which are not tended.

In the spring, figs, olives and vines are pruned and checked for insect pests of which the only one observed was a species of weevil which bores under the bark. Inspection of, and necessary repairs to, terrace walls are carried on throughout the year.

Apricots ripen and are harvested in May. Almonds and figs come in June and July, and this is also the time for wheat harvesting and threshing. Grapes are harvested in August and September, olives in September and October. The last is the real harvest of the village, in which everyone who is able turns out into the fields to help. Men and boys climb into the trees to shake them or beat them with sticks. Women and girls do a large part of the gathering. The men press those which have been allocated for the purpose into oil. The olive mash which remains after the pressing is either used locally as fertilizer or it is sold to dealers who either resell it as fertilizer or have it made up into paper packets which are widely

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used as fuel in the city. In the village, brushwood is collected for fuel in addition to the importation of kerosene.

Animal manure is not used extensively as plant fertiliner because it is scarce. Recently this meager supply has been supplemented by British-made chemical fertiliners. Night soil is not used at all.

Animal husbandry is very limited. Each farmer has a yoke of oxen for traction and some have a few cows for milk. There are one or two donkeys in the village. Two farmers keep bees. The hives are formed in the large water jars (*jarra*) described earlier. Several of these, each split horizontally across the middle, are set in a row. The bees enter and go out by the narrow open neck. The honey is removed by separating the two halves of the jar, and half the honey is left for the bees. Some fowl are kept in the village, primarily for their eggs. Dogs are kept by some householders, and cats by more, for guarding and mousing, respectively. They are not treated as pets, or objects of affection.

It is the lack of water which so seriously limits agricultural productivity in the village. The possibility of drilling successful wells, even with modern equipment, is, as was noted in the first chapter, very remote. Irrigation lines, which affect the coastal strip lower than forty meters above sea level, have been extended almost to Ba'ishta from the River Ibrahiim to the south, and to the village of Madfuun, just north of Burbara, from the River Jawz. The Qurni has the misfortune of being halfway between these rivers, at the end of the line in both directions. It is also unfortunate in that since its coastline is more precipitous than surrounding areas, it has a smaller area of potentially irrigable land than the surrounding areas. Nevertheless, it would be of great help to the village if irrigation water could be brought to it.

CONCLUSION

This chapter can fittingly be closed with a series of quotations which summarize, high-light, or give wider perspective to some of the points which have been made. They do not require any comment except that of drawing the reader's attention to their dates, especially those of the last three.

> 1. It is probable . . . that it was on the slopes of the originally forest-clad mountains of ancient Phoenicia that rain agriculture began. (Lowdermilk, 1944, p. 415.)
>
> 2. The effort of the Lebanese has made this country capable of nourishing a relatively dense population. There are few mountainous regions so little favored by nature from which man has drawn such a great agricultural return. (Thoumin, 1936, p. 126; translation mine.)
>
> 3. The Syrian peasant is more like a miner than a farmer. (Himadeh, 1936, p. 92.)
>
> 4. Elsewhere man has cultivated the land: in the Lebanon he has made it. Elsewhere the harvest is the produce: here it is the soil. Man collects and carries to

in 1945 to 1,100 in 1952; part of this is exported. Output of underwear and hosiery has also increased, from 18 tons in 1945 to 310 in 1952. 1/ 288

Other industries include soap making, with an annual output of 6,000 tons; tanning, with an annual output of 2,000 tons; electric bulbs, of which 500,000 are produced each year; and various iron and steel products, of which 8,000 tons were produced in 1952, compared with 900 in 1945. 388

Among the difficulties facing Lebanese industry, the most important is the very restricted market, due to the smallness of the population; this is only partly offset by the fact that per capita income is higher than in other Middle Eastern countries. The market is further restricted by the marked consumer preference for foreign goods, which, owing to the relatively liberal trade policy of the Government, has been allowed greater latitude than in other parts of the region. Another adverse factor has been the loss of the Syrian market, in which several Lebanese industries, notably cotton yarn, tanning, chemicals and beer, sold a large proportion of their output. Successful attempts have been made to open export markets, for example, for vegetable oils in Cyprus, France and Egypt, for cotton yarn in some western European countries and for cloth in India, Pakistan and West Africa. The precariousness of these markets was shown, however, when, during the depression in the world textile industry in 1952, restrictions were imposed on imports from Lebanon. Similarly, a barter agreement in 1953 with Pakistan, under which Lebanon imported raw cotton and exported yarn, was not renewed. As Lebanese plants seem to be somewhat larger than the regional average, 2/ the shrinkage of the market has forced most of them to work well below capacity, thus raising unit costs. 438

Another obstacle is the scarcity of raw materials; except for food processing industries, Lebanon is heavily dependent on imports. Moreover, in spite of a marked improvement in quality, it is still difficult to obtain sufficient quantities of uniform local produce. The dissolution of the customs union with Syria has also affected the supply of raw materials since there was formerly a greater amount of mutually advantageous specialization; for example, cotton-seed oil was imported from Syria for soap making, while Lebanese olive oil was exported to Syria. This factor has restricted the range of Lebanese industries; in 1950, three groups - food, textiles and non-metallic minerals - accounted for 60 per cent of the labour employed in all industry, 62 per cent of the capital invested and 58 per cent of the value of gross and net output. 3/ Nevertheless, 433 [439]

1/ Figures from the Ministry of National Economy.

2/ The average number of persons employed per establishment in Lebanon in 1948 was 17, compared with 14 in Egypt in 1947, and 14 in Palestine in 1942. Capital investment per establishment was LL 85,000, against LL 57,000 in Egypt and LL 48,000 in Palestine, and gross output per establishment LL 147,000, against LL 65,000 and LL 90,000, respectively (Albert Y. Badre, "National Income of Lebanon", Monograph No. 3). The industrial census of 1950 showed that, of the 1,444 firms listed, 25 had a capital of LL 1,000,000 or over, 29 had LL 500,000 to LL 1,000,000 and 45 LL 250,000 to LL 500,000 while, at the other end of the scale, 381 had a capital of LL 10,000 to LL 25,000 and 249 LL 5,000 to LL 10,000 (Ministry of National Economy, Bulletin statistique trimestriel, October 1951).

3/ Badre, op. cit.

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till the chapters on "Kinship Structure and Marriage Patterns" and "The Patterns of Culture Change.")

BUILDINGS, HOUSES, AND HOUSE-TYPES

The map (Fig. 3) indicates the location of the institutional buildings in the village proper.[1] Four of the six shops (sing. *dikkaan*, plur. *dakaakiin*) are concentrated in the *saḥa*. Actually, building 9 was not open during the period of study, but building 6 is partitioned into halves in each of which there is an independent shop. Building 10 is also partitioned, one half being devoted to a shop whose proprietor is also a butcher. The other half is open when the need arises, being the place of business of one of the two barbers. Building 11, an old house, is occupied by the fifth shop, open only at times, which specializes in cloth. The sixth shop, also not of the "general-store" type, is located in the house of its proprietor, farther down the main road. The two schools are rather widely separated, but this is probably accidental since the location of the private school is determined by the fact that it occupies the lower floor of the master's own house. Similarly the two bakeries, one in the *saḥa*, are immediately adjacent to the houses of their respective owners, one of whom is the private school master. Building 5 is the only one in the village which is entirely devoted to an olive press. There are, however, two other presses in the village proper (one in the lower part of the one remaining occupied house in the al-Waṣṭiyya section, the other in the lower part of a house near the meeting point of the Sar at-Tiini and Dayr al-Qassiis sections); there is a third under construction in the eastern end of the *saḥa*, and a fourth at Ḥilwi. Two of these presses are specialized for the reduction of carob pods to a mash from which *dibs*, a kind of jam, is made. There is also a mill, operated by a German-made gasoline engine, which is part of the store in building 8. The upper story, and part of the lower story, of building 8 is occupied by one of the Affiliate Families (see next chapter) of the village.

It has been noted that the long axis of most of the houses is parallel to the contours of the ridge, often flush with terrace walls. Not infrequently the paths between the houses are, in fact, the tops of wide terrace walls, and sometimes these are two or three feet higher than the earth which they support.

The great majority of the houses have two levels. In some cases these are directly superimposed. In many others, they are staggered, so that the roof of the lower level forms a very useful terrace which is flush with the floor of the upper level. There are invariably separate entrances to the upper and lower levels. The writer is aware of not a single instance of interior staircases leading from one level to another. Probably the reason for this is that staircases would take up a great deal of room which cannot be afforded. Frequently, the pitch of the ground is such that one can simply walk onto the roof of a house directly or by a very short flight of steps. More frequently, however, one must climb onto roofs, either on

1 - [AL-Munsif -- Analyst]

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252 256 at a time can be placed. The whole thing is inserted into the oven, and the disks are shaken off the board. After about a minute in the oven, bubbles appear on the surface of a disk, and then the whole thing puffs up until it looks like a large pin-cushion. It remains in the oven about a minute more and then is removed. As soon as a loaf begins to cool, it collapses into disk form again, only now the disk consists of two layers except around the edge.

[465] In each bakery, the baker is the only hired professional. In the bakery in the *ṣaḥa*, the owner provides the baker with bread for his own consumption and pays 256 427 him the equivalent of about a dollar and a half a day. In the other bakery, the baker and owner split the bread receipts (see below) of the bakery fifty-fifty, but there is no monetary transaction between them.

Every woman who uses the bakery sets aside about seven per cent of the loaves she makes, and these she "leaves for the *furn*." The owners' own bread supply is thus supplied them, and they are free to sell or otherwise dispose of what they do [432] not eat. The Mtawli women, mentioned earlier, work in the *furn* on the same basis as the other women, but they regularly prepare more bread than they need themselves and sell the surplus at about twenty-five piasters (about seven cents) [804] per *rṭl* (the *rṭl* is a traditional weight measure equivalent to about 1 lb. 3 oz.).

OLIVE PRESSES

258 [471] The presses are privately owned but are available to all, the owner receiving a certain proportion of the oil which each individual presses. As social institutions they are, of course, far less important than the stores and bakeries, for they are used for only a few weeks a year, during the olive harvest. However, as has already been suggested, the olive harvest is a period of intense cooperative activity in which social interaction, spurred on by hopes of a profitable crop, is very lively. The presses play an essential economic part in the proceedings and draw large groups of men together.

258 ● 402 Most of the presses in the village are modern, machine-driven apparatuses requiring a minimum of manual assistance. There is, however, one old-style one in the stable of a house in the al-Waaṭiyya section. Stone bins hold the fresh olives. [404] There is a heavy wooden beam one end of which is attached, hinge-fashion, to the ceiling, the other end weighted with three large stones (called "bells"). A batch of fresh olives is placed under the weighted end of the beam which is raised by block and tackle and then dropped on the olives. The purpose is to reduce the olives to a mash which can then easily be transferred to a circular stone basin with a drain. On it a large, thick stone wheel is set upright. The wheel is secured to a revolving beam one end of which is set into the ceiling. A subsidiary beam projects at right angles to the revolving one. To this a donkey is harnessed, and by walking round and round the basin, the donkey turns the wheel over the olive mash, pressing out the oil. This crude process involves considerable waste, hence

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the frequency of modern machines which are more efficient but, apparently, less fun to operate. 258 402

GENERAL INSTITUTIONS

THE CHURCH AND THE SHRINES

The Arab Greek Orthodox Church. The present community of al-Munṣif was founded by Greek Orthodox Christians. If there were any inhabitants in the immediate district at the time of the founding, there is no remembrance of them. The shrines of Mar Taqla, in Shaykhan, and Mar Maama are believed to antedate the founding of the village. Who the builders were no one knows, but they were certainly Christian. We cannot feasibly place the culture of the present village in direct continuity with non-Christian antecedents, nevertheless, the remote ancestors of the present villagers were pagans. Some suggestions of the pagan religion of Lebanon still remain, and this religion was essentially the same, as far as we know, as that in Hawran where the Munṣifiin claim to have originated. It need be mentioned here only that fertility was a major theme in Semitic paganism. 795 [771]

Hitti says that the present Greek Orthodox sect among the Arabs can be traced back, with certainty, only to the Melkite sect which was identifiable in the fifth century (Hitti, 1951, p. 523). The Church itself claims that its oldest patriarchate (Antioch), to which Lebanon belongs, was established in A.D. 53 (Bliss, 1912, p. 41). The Ghassanid tribe of Syria, from which the Munṣifiin assume descent, appears to have been Christianized in the fourth century (Hitti, 1947, p. 78). However, Hitti says that the Melkites, the ancestors of the present Arab Orthodox, must have been recruited from city-dwellers and the descendants of Greek Colonists (1951, p. 523). This material is sufficiently confused and fragmentary to prevent us from drawing any very specific conclusion as to when and how the ancestors of the Munṣifiin became Orthodox Christians. One very important point, however, *is* revealed: Orthodoxy in the Middle East is almost as ancient as organized Christianity itself; it is *not* a recent offshoot or backwash from the European Orthodox communities. In this connection, the widely used term "Greek Orthodox" can be misleading. The Orthodox Church as a whole is "Greek" only in the sense that its original liturgy was in Greek, being largely derived from the Greek New Testament. It is also true that Greek nationals have been dominant in the Middle Eastern patriarchates, except the Patriarchate of Antioch (Syria and Lebanon) which has been completely dominated by Arabs for the past hundred years or so. Its liturgy is in Arabic (Hourani, 1946, p. 124). Jacques de Vitry, Crusader Bishop of Acre, reported in 1217 that the local Orthodox churches used a Greek liturgy which the congregations could not understand (Bliss, 1912, p. 13). ME 795 L 795

Munṣif belongs to the Patriarchate of Antioch, whose head actually lives in Damascus. The other Middle East patriarchates are Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Istanbul. Both Bliss (1912, p. 44) and Zankov (1929, p. 19) emphasize the point

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241 worn by any man younger than about forty. The European hat with a brim (*birnayta*) is unusual; only two or three men wear them regularly, although others wear them on occasion. Thus, it can be deduced that a good many men, especially young adults and adolescents, ordinarily go hatless, and this is a rather singular practice in a culture where headgear has practical and symbolic significance. The writer believes that the prevailing hatlessness in the younger generation is an aspect, and rather an apt symbol, of the cultural situation in which they find themselves. He believes that if systematic questioning were undertaken on this topic, it would reveal that the younger generation has more or less consciously rejected the old style—which it associates with peasant life—and at the same time is often hesitant to accept the new which represents foreign influence. The European brimmed hat obviously provides better protection than the *tarbush* against the sun, which is the reason, stated by young and old alike, why one should always wear a hat.

Women. The costume of the older, middle-aged, and many of the village-dwelling younger women consists basically of a rather formless, full-skirted black dress (cotton or wool) supplemented by sweater or jacket. A scarf is very often worn over the head, but it is secured under the back hair rather than under the chin. In winter, woolen stockings are worn. There is no elaborate jewelry. The younger women, especially those who work in the city, follow modern European styles.

However, the Western practice of women or girls wearing slacks or shorts has been completely rejected. For this there are at least two reasons. One is that the men regard the practice as a usurpation of a symbol of masculine status. The second is that women who wear slacks or shorts are assumed to be of loose morals. 547] This is because the wearing of these garments by women in the area is associated with the "artistes" (who are mostly European women) who are entertainers in the numerous Western-style nightclubs in Beirut and are generally assumed to be available for other purposes after hours.

[296] For the most part, those who wear European clothes regularly are careful to appear in well-pressed and clean garments. This means more inconvenience and expense than the maintenance of the traditional costume did. Dodd (1940, p. 686) remarks that the relative tightness of Western clothes is not well adapted to summer weather, and certainly the *sbrwal* are better and more comfortably adapted to male anatomy than European trousers are.

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT

405 805 It has already been mentioned that the flashlight is a widely distributed item of personal equipment. Another is the wrist watch. Certainly a majority of the villagers who have attained any degree of responsible age have them. Traditional village life required no accurate chronometry, and there was none. The villagers

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still rise with the sun, although they go to bed after dark. On the whole, there is no specific horological time for meals. However, the village schools operate on a definite time schedule, and this affects quite a large proportion of the resident population—the teachers and their families, the children, and their mothers who prepare their lunches. Of course, those who are, or have been, working in the city, are quite thoroughly conditioned to clock-schedules. A good deal of apparently unnecessary reference to and synchronization of watches was observed in the village. On the whole, however, it can be said that future plans which involve exact hours are made and fulfilled in a casual manner. Perhaps a valid generalization would be that the average individual regards his watch as a symbol of prosperity, an instrument, on occasion, of practical value, and an interesting toy—all in about equal measure.

Combs, toilet soap, safety and straight razors, shaving lotion, etc. (all of European or American manufacture) are universally distributed. Some people have and use toothbrushes. The women do not appear to use cosmetics to any great extent.

A variety of containers have already been described, but several more must be added. The rectangular five-gallon gasoline can, with its top cut out and fitted with a wooden handle, is widely used for carrying water, cement and other bulk materials. Various sizes of coiled baskets, cylindrical with large handles over the top, are used for carrying food. Large, flat wicker trays are used for carrying such things as bread and laundry and for the display of vegetables in the stores. Formerly, silk worm cocoons were set out on them.

Carpenter's and mason's tools—hammers, saws, planes, levels, drills, screwdrivers, chisels, and trowels—appear to be the same in form as they are in the West. Probably most of the items now used are western-made, but most of the forms are very old in the Middle East.

Agricultural tools are conservative and of very ancient form. There are no horses in the village (the Arabs use them for riding rather than for traction), and the ox is the chief draft animal. The plow consists of a wooden shaft (in several segments) to which a round iron spike is set at an agle. The thresher is a heavy sledge into whose bottom sharp volcanic stones (from the Akkar) are set. (See Thoumin, 1936, pp. 134–36, for illustrations.) Grain is winnowed by toning it up into the air with a rather crude fork made entirely of wood. Small saws and hand-clippers (the only recent foreign element in the toolkit) are used for pruning. The last item is an iron spade, which is, if possible, manipulated by two or three men. One man grasps the handle and shaft in the usual manner, and, in effect, pushes the spade. One or two other men pull the spade by means of cords attached to the shaft just above the shoulders of the blade.

The traditional means of communication were donkeys, horses, and human backs and legs, traveling over rough stone paths. To this, can be added a norma-

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new constructions. This is not the case—at least, it is not to an observible degree. All the stones used in new building in the village are freshly quarried. Perhaps the reason for this is that nearly all the ruins have recognized owners, nearly all of whom are emigrants or their descendants. Even the villagers now admit that "they will never come back," but their property rights are still maintained, either because the older emigrants hesitate to relinquish their claims or because their American-born children are uninterested, both of which prevent local disposition of the property. However, most of the now ruined houses were of the old style, whose roofs would naturally go to pieces if not tended. Consequently, the roofs were removed so that the very valuable timbers in them could be used for other purposes. This hastened the partial collapse of many of the buildings' walls.

HOUSEHOLD ARRANGEMENT AND FURNISHINGS

Nearly every house has its own cistern (*bîr*), either within the building or just outside it. The water is entirely winter rain water drawn from the roof of the house and conducted to the cistern, nowadays, by sheet-iron pipes. This is much more efficient than the older method of letting the water flow down a shallow vertical trough on the outside of the wall of the building. The cisterns have circular openings raised off the ground or floor on a stone or concrete curbing. The opening is fitted, more or less tightly, with a wooden cover.

It is one of the women's jobs to draw water from the cistern by means of a sheet-iron, European-made, bucket attached to a chain or rope. The water needed for the day is stored in large, two-handled, pointed-bottom jars (*jarra*), of porous earthenware, which stand in wooden frames in the kitchen corner, or the kitchen room if there is one. From the *jarra*, water is transferred to cooking utensils, to the spouted pottery or glass drinking jars (*ibriq*), and to the two to three gallon, semi-cylindrical metal tanks in which washing water is stored. These hang against an outside wall or in the wash room if there is one. The tanks are called *hanafiyyi*, a term primarily applied to the small brass spigots with which they are fitted. The term is derived from the Hanafi school of Muslim jurisprudence which decided that the use of spigots was not a violation of the provisions of the Koran. Near the *hanafiyyi* one usually finds a dish for soap and a towel-rack. A few houses are equipped with hand-pumps, a raised tank, and a limited system of pipes and spigots. This, however, is unusual.

The interior arrangement of the one-room house is essentially the same in every case, although of course there are many minor variations. The following description is composite. On entering the front door, one will observe that the room is divided into two sections, front and back. The division is effected by tall cabinets, with doors and drawers, placed across the room. These are used for keeping clothes, dishes, and so on. This means of division may be supplemented by a curtain. In the front section, a long wooden seat, really a bench with a back and

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at a time can be placed. The whole thing is inserted into the oven, and the disks are shaken off the board. After about a minute in the oven, bubbles appear on the surface of a disk, and then the whole thing puffs up until it looks like a large pin-cushion. It remains in the oven about a minute more and then is removed. As soon as a loaf begins to cool, it collapses into disk form again, only now the disk consists of two layers except around the edge.

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Every woman who uses the bakery sets aside about seven per cent of the loaves she makes, and these she "leaves for the *fava*." The owners' own bread supply is thus supplied them, and they are free to sell or otherwise dispose of what they do not eat. The Mizwli women, mentioned earlier, work in the *fava* on the same basis as the other women, but they regularly prepare more bread than they need themselves and sell the surplus at about twenty-five piasters (about seven cents) per *rațl* (the *rațl* is a traditional weight measure equivalent to about 1 lb. 5 oz.).

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Most of the presses in the village are modern, machine-driven apparatuses requiring a minimum of manual assistance. There is, however, one old-style one in the stable of a house in the al-Wastiyya section. Stone bins hold the fresh olives. There is a heavy wooden beam one end of which is attached, hinge-fashion, to the ceiling, the other end weighted with three large stones (called "hajir"). A batch of fresh olives is placed under the weighted end of the beam which is raised by block and tackle and then dropped on the olives. The purpose is to reduce the olives to a mush which can then easily be transferred to a circular stone basin with a drain. On it a large, thick stone wheel is set upright. The wheel is secured to a revolving beam one end of which is set into the ceiling. A subsidiary beam projects at right angles to the revolving one. To this a donkey is harnessed, and by walking round and round the basin, the donkey turns the wheel over the olive mush, pressing out the oil. This crude process involves considerable waste, hence

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Carpenter's and mason's tools—hammers, saws, planes, levels, drills, screwdrivers, chisels, and trowels—appear to be the same in form as they are in the West. Probably most of the items now used are western-made, but most of the forms are very old in the Middle East.

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Farm Organization

The isolated farmhouse, typical of agriculture in the United States, is rarely seen in Lebanon. In the five project villages nearly all farmers live in the *dai'ah* or built-up area. Their wooden plows, harrows, and other farm equipment are stored each day in their houses in the *dai'ah*. Often a stable is connected to or is a part of the living quarters to take care of the family cow or other livestock. The concentration of dwellings in our area in the Middle East often results in a considerable expenditure of time in walking to fields located sometimes two to five miles from the village. In the project villages the land lies in a narrow strip. Farms or the far ends require an hour or more to reach by walking.

The share-tenant or small landowner has a cow or two which he depends on for draft and milk, a simple wooden plow, and a few other simple hand tools. These comprise his capital equipment. The oxen. The field work is shared by all the members of the family, although in the *dai'ah* women do little or none there is a fairly rigid division of labor between the sexes. Plowing is a man's work, while rarely will a man be seen carrying water from the village fountain.

In the project area no evidence is seen of tractors, harrows, mechanical threshers, or other mechanical farm equipment except an occasional large farm operated by non-resident owners. None of the project villages has electric power. Farm organization is based upon an intensive use of labor rather than capital. Low wage rates and an ample supply of laborers combine to make the use of labor more advantageous than mechanization. In 1932 the prevailing rate for farm

Most of the project villages have a plot of land called the *baidar* where the villagers, who own land, threshing in common, thresh their grain. Here the wheat or other small crop is placed after it has been brought from the fields. For month after month in the summer, one finds the men pulling behind them a *morej*, a flat board the underside of which is dotted with protruding stones or jagged pieces of metal. The farmer's wife or a small boy rides on this and with a stick directs the oxen over a layer of grain. In this way the kernels of grain are loosened and the straw is cut like fodder. In order to separate the kernels of grain from the chaff, the farmer tosses the mixed grain and chaff

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a wooden ladder or by an ascending series of stones projecting from the wall of the building.

The flat roofs are used extensively in the sunny part of the year. Apricots, almonds, and grapes are set out on them to dry. Many householders ornament them with potted plants and receive guests on them. In the heat of midsummer, the interiors of the houses tend to be stuffy at night since the gentle breezes do not penetrate inside. Consequently, all who can, sleep on the roof (or terrace) under a brush shelter called *khaymi* ("tent").

Although no two houses are exactly the same, it is legitimate to classify all of them into a number of types, which are indices of successive eras in construction and design.

The first, which still has the greatest number of examples, has two subtypes. By far the most numerous of these has one room on the upper level, few windows, but often more than one door, and a flat earth roof. The lower level (*qabū*) is designed as a stable and storeroom and frequently consists of a long, low barrel-vault. The roof of the upper level (living quarters for the family) may or may not be supported on masonry pillars and arches, in addition to the outer walls. The walls are usually very thick, often exceeding three feet, for the old style of construction was two (dry-laid) stone walls with a rubble fill between them. The roof of the old-style house is constructed as follows: round or semi-round beams are laid from the top of one wall to the opposite one at right angles to the long axis of the house. A layer of shorter, thick sticks is placed across the beams, and then a layer of finer sticks is added. Finally, a layer of earth about a foot thick is packed down as hard as possible on top. To prevent leaking, the roof must be packed down several times each winter; for this purpose every old-style house is equipped with a stone roller (*madjū*), weighing about a hundred pounds. These houses are dark inside because of the paucity of windows which are unglazed and closed by solid wooden shutters. To counteract this, the inside plastered walls are either whitewashed or painted very pale blue. There is every reason to suppose that this style of house is very ancient indeed. However, none of the existing examples of it in Mansūf is probably more than a hundred and fifty years old, and some are probably as little as sixty years old. Repair—sometimes amounting to rebuilding—and alterations have always been a matter of course. However, no houses of this type have been built since the early 1930's. Woolcome (1946, p. 267) says that this traditional Lebanese house is well adapted to its environment. It provides insulation against the chilly blasts of winter and against the heat of summer as effectively as any essentially primitive construction could.

The second subtype of old-style house has only two examples in the village. The construction is essentially the same as the foregoing, but the following features are added: two or more distinctly separate rooms in the upper level; sculptured ornamentation, including fully round columns, around the windows; and glazed ornamental windows, with rather elaborate designs formed by the lead mullions.

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usually in a row of three rounded or pointed arches. These were evidently the dwellings of people of some affluence, although no stories were related about this. The houses are evidently eighty to ninety years old.

The second house-type is the tile-roof style which was typical of the period 1890 to 1914. It was stated that all the tile-roof houses in the village were built with funds earned by emigrants in, or returned from, America. By and large, this is probably true. For Lebanon as a whole, Thoumin (1936, p. 295) makes the same statement. Weulersse (1946, p. 238) points out that this style of house, which is very common in Lebanon, is a symbol of prestige and wealth. Février (1949a, p. 163), commenting on this statement, says that actually this is no longer true, for now it is the even more European-style villa (*fille*) which the rich and influential build for themselves—not in ordinary villages, but in the luxurious suburbs and mountain resorts. At any rate, the tile-roof house, in Munqif as elsewhere, is one of the earliest and most conspicuous items in the process of material acculturation. The tiles are flat and grooved, mostly made in France—rather different from the semi-cylindrical Spanish and Italian tiles.

A map in Thoumin (1936, p. 220) indicates that Munqif is an area of relatively high frequency of tile roofs. Somewhat less than a third of the village's houses now have them.

There are two subtypes of the tile-roof house. The first is very like the old-style house in that it has only one room above, and a storage room or stable below. The major differences are the roof style, the fact that the masonry courses tend to be more even and are frequently wet-laid and the fact that there are more windows, mostly still unglazed.

The second subtype of the tile roof house is more elaborate. The triple arch, in glazed windows—which sometimes have some panes of colored glass—or in arcades, is a conspicuous feature of these houses. There is usually an ornamental cornice just below the roof, and just below the cornice there frequently are small round windows. These appear high up on the interior walls, which are often as much as twenty feet high, from floor to ceiling. The ornamental windows are invariably glazed, and others usually are. The panes of a window are set in double, wooden casements which open inward. In addition, there are solid wooden shutters outside. The doors and shutters of houses of all types usually have simple rectangular panels, and the doors have big iron locks with keys to match them in size. Some of the large tile-roof houses, however, have rather elaborate doors, somewhat baroque in style.

The interior floor plan of the large tile-roof house consists essentially of a large central salon (*maq'ad*—"seat") off which open perhaps two rooms on each side. The ornamental windows occupy a third wall of the *maq'ad*, with the front door in the opposite, fourth, wall. Assuming that this idealized pattern forms a rectangular plan, we can add that it is often modified into a shallow U-shape by building additional rooms on either side of the front door. The kitchen very often

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new constructions. This is not the case—at least, it is not to an observable degree. All the stones used in new building in the village are freshly quarried. Perhaps the reason for this is that nearly all the ruins have recognized owners, nearly all of whom are emigrants or their descendants. Even the villagers now admit that "they will never come back," but their property rights are still maintained, either because the older emigrants hesitate to relinquish their claims or because their American-born children are uninterested, both of which prevent local disposition of the property. However, most of the now ruined houses were of the old style, whose roofs would naturally go to pieces if not tended. Consequently, the roofs were removed so that the very valuable timbers in them could be used for other purposes. This hastened the partial collapse of many of the buildings' walls.

HOUSEHOLD ARRANGEMENT AND FURNISHINGS

Nearly every house has its own cistern (*kūr*), either within the building or just outside it. The water is entirely winter rain water drawn from the roof of the house and conducted to the cistern, nowadays, by sheet-iron pipes. This is much more efficient than the older method of letting the water flow down a shallow vertical trough on the outside of the wall of the building. The cisterns have circular openings raised off the ground or floor on a stone or concrete curbing. The opening is fitted, more or less tightly, with a wooden cover.

It is one of the women's jobs to draw water from the cistern by means of a sheet-iron, European-made, bucket attached to a chain or rope. The water needed for the day is stored in large, two-handled, pointed-bottom jars (*jarra*), of porous earthenware, which stand in wooden frames in the kitchen corner, or the kitchen room if there is one. From the *jarra*, water is transferred to cooking utensils, to the spouted pottery or glass drinking jars (*ibriq*), and to the two to three gallon, semi-cylindrical metal tanks in which washing water is stored. These hang against an outside wall or in the wash room if there is one. The tanks are called *hanafiyy*, a term primarily applied to the small brass spigots with which they are fitted. The term is derived from the Hanafi school of Muslim jurisprudence which decided that the use of spigots was not a violation of the provisions of the Koran. Near the *hanafiyy* one usually finds a dish for soap and a towel-rack. A few houses are equipped with hand-pumps, a raised tank, and a limited system of pipes and spigots. This, however, is unusual.

The interior arrangement of the one-room house is essentially the same in every case, although of course there are many minor variations. The following description is composite. On entering the front door, one will observe that the room is divided into two sections, front and back. The division is effected by tall cabinets, with doors and drawers, placed across the room. These are used for keeping clothes, dishes, and so on. This means of division may be supplemented by a curtain. In the front section, a long wooden seat, really a bench with a back and

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352 sums at the ends, extends around the walls. This is fitted with hard, flat cushions which are upholstered in some very light color—often plain white. Very likely a set of modern, reclining chairs, with stiff cane backs and bottoms, will be set formally around a table in the center of the room. Here and there, there will be rathe rough wooden stools with soft cane seats. At one side, there will be a large rectangular dining table with a cloth or plastic cover. In some houses, fully upholstered modern easy-chairs will be found.

353 The walls are devoid of ornamentation, with one exception which is conspicuous in the houses which have it. This is a concentrated mass of photographs, some yellowed with age, some brand new, of various members of the owner's family, including emigrants who are fondly remembered. Sometimes, among the family photographs, there will also be one or two postcard-sized pictures of saints or members of the Holy Family. However, as far as the writer is aware, there are no houses which have anything resembling a household shrine, and many have no religious symbols whatever.

Especially in the older houses, there are recesses in the walls, often closed [251] with wooden doors. These are used for storage—for example, large jars for the year's supply of olive oil.

Only a close friend of the family will ordinarily be given the opportunity to go into the *maq'ad*, or front section, to the rear. Here are the sleeping quarters of the family, and cooking equipment will be found in one corner also—unless there is an additional room for this purpose, as in the case with several essentially one-room houses.

352 513 Every house is wholly or mostly equipped with metal bedsteads, springs, mattresses, pillows, pillowcases, sheets and blankets, all of European manufacture and/or design. Sixty years ago everyone slept on the floor on sheepskins wrapped in blankets or quilted pads. Only suggestions of this practice are now to be found in a few houses.

354 The traditional type of stove was a masonry oven with apertures in the top, in which the chief fuel was brushwood. Very few such stoves are now used. Rather, nearly every house is equipped with at least one "Primus" stove, a small, portable appliance, made in Sweden, which operates on the principle of the ignition of kerosene which has been vaporized by heat and pressure. Basic instructions for its operation are etched on the side of its brass fuel tank in Arabic, Hindustani, and Chinese, and we might say that this is an item in a process which might be called "deliberate diffusion." It is inexpensive to buy and operate and is quite efficient except for the fact that there is only one burner per stove.

415 A minimal assortment of cooking utensils would include: a teakettle; a set, in graduated sizes, of long-handled metal beakers (for boiling coffee); a cylindrical brass coffee grinder; pots, bowls, and platters of various sizes and shapes, made of metal or pottery; and a stone mortar and pestle. Hardware would include a ladle, knives of various sizes, and long-handled serving forks and spoons. Food is served

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on china platters and/or round plates. If necessary, everyone is provided with knives, forks, and spoons, but napkins are not ordinarily used. Cups and demitasses are provided for tea and coffee, respectively. (The only kind of coffee which is consumed in the village is "Turkish" coffee.) Wine is drunk from small glasses. The only acceptable way to drink water, however, is directly from the spouted jug called *ibriq*. This is definitely an acquired skill which children are taught as early as possible. For this purpose, a small *ibriq*, usually made of glass, is provided. With the exception of the coffee grinder, usually the coffee beakers, the pestle and mortar, and the *ibriq*, all these items are of European manufacture and/or design.

Although kerosene heaters are readily available in Beirut, the standard means of heating houses in the village is by small, round, charcoal braziers which sit low on the floor. If a social group in one room of a multi-room house moves to another, the brazier around which the group has sat will be picked up and carried along. The idea, in other words, is to keep the people warm rather than to heat the room. The European and American kerosene heaters are undoubtedly more efficient, but they are a great deal more expensive to buy and operate. Besides, the charcoal braziers can also be used for boiling coffee and broiling meat on skewers.

Oil lamps, with glass chimneys, of European manufacture and of the same type which is still sometimes seen in rural areas of the United States, are used in many houses. Everyone keeps a supply of candles in case of emergency. But the most widely used type of illumination is provided by a kerosene pressure lantern. This gives a very strong light and is frequently suspended on an iron rod from the ceiling of the room.

Nearly every individual who is adolescent or older has a flashlight and uses it. On moonless or cloudy nights, the village is enveloped in pitch blackness, with only a few undiffused lights showing here and there from doors or windows.

Floor-covering is provided either by small "oriental" rugs or straw mats. Such ornamental or luxury items as elaborately inlaid boxes and furniture, engraved brass or copper trays, and painted pottery, are rare.

DIET

The villagers regularly eat three meals a day, of which the evening meal is ordinarily the largest, except on Sundays. Breakfast is likely to include the left-overs from the preceding evening meal. Bread is eaten at, and coffee served after, every meal. Lunch tends to be small, and the family is apt to be incomplete at lunch, for men or boys working in the fields usually take their lunches with them—a couple of loaves of bread, some olives, and perhaps an onion or cucumber or two, and a jug of water.

The villagers say that in summer they have more to eat than in winter. In effect, what they mean is that fresh fruits and vegetables supplement the year-

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place of one. Close friends of each proprietor frequently sit down with him to a game of backgammon or cards. Other customers while away several minutes with small talk whenever they make a purchase, and small groups of them often collect in the store, some sitting, some standing, to discuss the news, prices, and to exchange gossip. There is not a great deal more to it than this. The point is simply that the stores are not merely agencies for the transfer of goods.

BAKERIES

As has been noted before, there are two, rather widely spaced, bakeries in the village. Like the stores, they are privately owned economic institutions, and they are intensively used as loci of social interaction on the part of women just as the stores are on the part of men. Here the women meet regularly and for protracted lengths of time.

The women who regularly make their own bread (some do not make their own but buy it) do not do so every day. Depending upon the amount she needs to feed her family, the housewife will make bread anywhere from once every three days to once a week. Each time she will spend two or three hours in the bakery with four or five other women. Standing outside one of the bakeries, one hears intermittently the crackle of brushwood just put on the fire, and constantly the women's chatter, laughter, and sometimes singing, accompanied by the rhythmical slapping of hands and dough on stone.

The interior of the bakery in the *suḳ* is rather dark since it has no windows and only two narrow doors. The building is trapezoidal in shape, with the oven in the narrow end. The oven is a large rectangular masonry structure, with one aperture on the side at a convenient height above the floor of a small pit in which the baker stands. The floor of the interior of the oven is smooth stone or concrete. The fire burns on the left-hand side of this floor. Between the oven and the doors there is a large stone slab raised about a foot off the floor. Around this half a dozen women can sit and work comfortably. To the right of the table and the oven, between them, there are several bins into which the baker tosses the loaves as they come from the oven.

The woman prepares her dough at home, making the necessary number of fist-sized lumps each of which will be made into a loaf. These she then takes to the bakery on a large tray carried on her head. The women form their lumps of dough into disks about a foot in diameter by slapping and kneading them against the stone table. The operation does not call for the same kind of skill which is required in preparing another type of "mountain bread" which used to be made in *Mamjid* and can still be found easily enough in some other villages, a loaf as much as two and a half feet in diameter. The baking technique is different, and only one loaf at a time can be done.

The baker is equipped with an elongated wooden paddle upon which few disks

one at a time can be placed.

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Children in front of village spring, Lebanon

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[following p. 27(D)]

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The villagers regularly eat three meals a day, of which the evening meal is ordinarily the largest, except on Sundays. Breakfast is likely to include the left-overs from the preceding evening meal. Bread is eaten at, and coffee served after, every meal. [illegible] lunch, for men or boys working in the fields usually take their lunches with them—a couple of loaves of bread, some olives, and perhaps an onion or cucumber or two, and a jug of water.

The villagers say that in summer they have more to eat than in winter. In effect, what they mean is that fresh fruits and vegetables supplement the pre-

361 103 Most of the territory of the village is divided into a large number of sections each of which has its own name. The map (Fig. 4) indicates the sections—*Hayy* (حي)—in the village proper. Most of these names are evidently very old, and those in the village proper were translated as follows: "big place," "lowland" (i.e., the wadi which abuts it to the north), "infertile" (mostly bare rock), "surrounded" (connotation obscure), "lemon place" (no citrus plants are grown in the village), "little hind" (a secondary event, see Fig. 4, Sec. 11), "graves," "center of town" (*sahe*), "small green fertile place," "place of small olive grove" (no longer so), and "priest's shrine" (obscure). Translations could not be obtained for a few others. Just outside the village proper there are two sections of whose names no one could even guess the meaning. They are probably not of Arabic origin. No particular name is given to some sections of the village proper especially in the central portion. The word *sahe* has been applied to part of this central portion for at least fifty years but apparently not much earlier than that. This suggests that the present concentration of commercial establishments (see map, Fig. 3) is relatively recent, for in general *sahe* means the part of a village where the stores are located.

These portions within the settlement which do not have specific names are generally referred to as *jdoor*, which means the deep fertile soil which is usually devoted to the growing of vegetables. This is a generic term for this particular soil type. Others in use in the village are *sahl* (plain—land without trees), *salibbi* (land with trees), and *mulk* (orchards). Of these, the last is of particular interest. ●[421] *Mulk* really means "land held in fee simple." In Mlaqfi, nearly all the land is held in fee simple, and orchards are the most valuable property. *Sahl* is incorporated into some of the section names, but *salibbi* and *mulk* are not, so far as could be determined.

On either side of the road leading to Hlowi (the old path which it superseded was called *tariq al-mashiba*—"road to the brackish spring"), there are eight named sections. Similarly, along the path which leads to Hlowi via Mar Mamma (*tariq al-Hlowi*—"road to the fresh-water spring"), there are twelve. In all, then, thirty-four named sections were recorded, and there are unquestionably a good many more. The names, in general, refer to physical characteristics of the land in question or to past owners or associated events; or their meaning is obscure or unknown. As far as could be determined, the named sections have no social significance except that they make it possible to specify exactly different parts of the village. This is very helpful in a situation where the individual's landholdings are usually widely scattered.

421 The map (Fig. 4) also indicates the division of the village into two halves: *fuq* (فوق), "the upper part," and *tahtani*, "the lower part." This division does, or at least did, have social significance. It was stated that up to about eighty years ago, the upper part was completely dominated by Musawi Lineage A, the lower part by Musawi Lineage C. (Further discussion of this matter must wait

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7: Gullah X-5 (1952) 1955 MEL: Lebanon MEL

THE PATTERNS OF CULTURE CHANGE*

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THE PAST

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LEBANESE VILLAGE

T. ASHOUR has described the social life of the traditional Middle East (including Lebanese) village as revolving around three major themes each ... which organizes action and focalizes emotions and values. These themes are the land (Tannous, 1944, p. 250 ff.), kinship (*ibid.*, p. 257 ff.), and religion (*ibid.*, p. 259 ff.).

Under "land" Tannous subsumes subsistence techniques, which are mainly agricultural techniques, and in general the actions, attitudes, and values of rural economic life. The major point is that the traditional peasant, who draws his entire subsistence from the land, feels toward it a rather intense personal devotion and sense of identification. In Lebanon, where individual private ownership is common, and based in large degree on inheritance from ancestors, these feelings are particularly intense.

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In regard to kinship (we have previously discussed its importance as an organizing mechanism), the following quotation from Tannous, describing the social unit called minimal lineage in the present study, is a good summary:

> It consists of all those who claim descent from the same paternal ancestor. The number of joint families that make up a kinship group varies from village to village according to the age of the community and the occurrence of disruptive factors that may split the group at a certain stage in its development or retard its growth. Its influence is felt by the individual in a variety of situations. From the start, the child learns that he should address every member of the unit as "cousin," or "uncle," or "aunt," or "grandfather," or "grandmother." As mentioned above, it is expected of a young man to marry within rather than outside the kinship group. [Tannous is generalizing on *all* Middle East villages, and most of them, of course, unlike Mzaiyel, are Moslem.] In times of serious conflict or feuds within the village, kinship loyalty comes first and is binding upon every member. (Tannous, 1944, p. 258.)

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Of religion, Tannous says that it is a way of life in the traditional village, that it permeates life completely. In this connection, he writes about the peasant and his religion: "He may not know much about its dogmas or subscribe to their

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* The main points which are treated in this chapter have been published elsewhere (Gulick, 1954) in somewhat different form.

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be punished with imprisonment not exceeding 12 months or a fine not exceeding 50 pounds, or with both such penalties.... The cost incurred in making good any damage.... shall be borne by the person convicted" (Article 35).

"Any person who, without permission... takes or draws off any water in an irrigation area... shall be punished with imprisonment not exceeding six months or a fine not exceeding JD 45 or with both penalties." The costs for restoring the area to its original condition shall be charged to the person convicted (Article 36).

"Imprisonment not exceeding one month or a fine not exceeding JD 10 or both such penalties" will be inflicted on whomsoever "by any negligent act or omission damages, alters or enlarges any government irrigation works or interferes with the flow of water... causes damage to roads, buildings, irrigation works... belonging to the government or to private individuals or societies, corrupts or fouls the water, destroys, injures, defaces or removes any land, level mark or water gauge, obstructs any government official in the execution of his duties, disobeys provisions of published notices or contravenes any provision of this law for which no specific penalty is provided" (Article 37).

In the event that it is impossible to ascertain the author of any punishable offense, the Collective Punishments Law of 1928 shall be enforced (Article 38). The director may, moreover, "deduct from the supply of water to which such land may be entitled.....such amount as he may estimate... equivalent to the benefit wrongfully acquired" (Article 39).

"Any person who willfully gives false evidence in proceedings under this law...shall be punished with the penalties provided for the giving of false evidence in the Penal Code" (Article 40). Punishments contemplated under this law shall not exclude proceedings against any offender under the provisions of the Penal Code (Article 41).

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While the country of Lebanon is not a Moslem country, as in all countries of the Ottoman Empire the articles of the Ma-

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Ottoman code governing water was in force until Lebanon was placed under French mandate.

French water legislation in Lebanon is based on two fundamental orders called arrêtés. The first of these, Arrêté No. 144/S dated 10 June 1925, delimited and defined public domain in the state of Greater Lebanon and Latakia (territory of the Alaouites) which was extended, by Arrêté No. 299/S dated 4 November 1925, to all territories under French mandate, both Lebanon and Syria. The second, Arrêté No. 320/S of 26 May 1926, governs the conservation and utilization of waters of the public domain. Article 24 of Arrêté No. 320/S has been amended by Legislative Decree No. 288, dated 28 November 1942.

Since it does not appear that, from the date of the complete independence, new water laws have been enacted by the Lebanese government, these laws are still in force.

According to these two above-mentioned bills, waters are governed as follows:

Decree 144/S of public domain comprises 26 articles and four chapters. Articles 1 to 4 define public domain. Articles 5 to 13 delimit it, Articles 14 to 21 refer to temporary occupation thereof while Articles 22 to 26 contain general provisions.

Article 2, which is fundamental, declares that water belongs to the public domain. It reads:

"The following shall be part of the public domain, except where Article 3 of this decree applies: the sea coast; marshes and salt ponds; water courses of all types within the limits prescribed for the height of water running between banks before overflowing; ground waters and springs of all types, embankments along waterways; lakes, ponds and lagoons; waterfalls which can produce power; navigation, irrigation, drainage and land reclamation canals and their embankments; aqueducts when such works are constructed for public use; and sea dykes and dams controlling rain water."

Also included as part of the public domain are military construction works, telephone and telegraph lines, all communication facilities and ports, water power works, works for the transportation of electric power and any public works constructed for their use.

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This decree also prescribes that public domain lands and waters shall be defined for all countries under mandate by special committees and that the boundaries of the public domain shall be definitively set forth in a decree issued by the head of the government.

Finally, the decree envisages the possibility of authorizing, with regard to the public domain:

1. concessions or leases for temporary occupation for a term renewable by tacit agreement and on royalty;

2. concessions or leases for longer periods of occupation which must be renewed every five years.

Every year, a list of all permits granted shall be drawn up by the Public Works Service. Fines are prescribed for contraventions.

Conservation and Use of Waters of the Public Domain

Decree No. 320 dated 26 May 1926 relating to the conservation and use of public domain waters in the basic water law. It is composed of 64 articles divided into nine chapters.

Water Policing and Conservation

312. Articles 1 and 2 prohibit the placing of any impediment to bar the free flow of waters of the public domain or the overgrowing on borders of watercourse, marshlands, ponds, lagoons, water springs and headwaters, lakes, etc. as well as in the upper reaches of aqueducts, water conduits, irrigation canals, drainage and reclamation works, the execution of which is declared to be in the public interest.

Also prohibited is the clearing, deepening, straightening, altering or regulating of watercourse, exploratory surveying or tapping of ground or artesian waters and, generally speaking, undertaking any type of work which may affect the flow or regime of waters belonging to the public domain. However, the digging of non-artesian wells down to a depth of less than 150 meters may be undertaken by private landowners.

Article 2 prohibits the destruction or damage of hydraulic works and their appurtenances and the fouling or pollution

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312 publicity police, officials of the Public Order Service or
491 police officers.

Infractions are punishable with a fine of from two to five pounds and prison sentences of five one day to six months, or either of these two punishments may pursue the electorate the execution of authorized works may also be punished. The infractions fall under the jurisdiction of the local police courts.

Second offenders, committing a second infraction within a period of 12 months after their sentence, except in cases where their good faith can be proved, shall be subject to the maximum punishment of fines and imprisonment or one of these. If the same person commits a third offence, the penalties shall be doubled.

If any such infractions of the law causes damage to the public property, the delinquent, in addition to the fine, must pay for the reparations thereof.

Special Provisions

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456 head of the government may revoke or change concessions. Any persons desirous of using water to which he is legally entitled or damages water, drainage and reclamation canals may do so against payment of a sum decided upon by friendly agreement, or he may obtain the right to transport such water to inhabitable plots of ground by the procedure described in Article 33.

Final Provisions

The concluding articles of this decree (Articles 51 and 52) abrogate any standing provisions contrary to this decree and change the public authorities with the implementation thereof.

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313 Libya is Libya were governed until the time of the Italian occupation in 1911, by the relative articles of the Ottoman Em-
491 pire Civil Code. From 1911 to 1942, the Italian government

[illegible]

[illegible] crude punishment by concealing the death of unregistered infants distract from the reliability of the meager data available. Local authorities believe that the mortality rate in children up to 1 years of age averages from 25 to 30 per cent for the country as a whole. It ranges from 10 to 15 per cent, or more, in Beirut proper to from 30 to 45 per cent in Tripoli, Sidon and the towns of the interior. In the more remote villages of South Lebanon, the standards of living are uniformly low, and the mortality in children under 1 years of age probably reaches 50 to 70 per cent. Intestinal diseases are foremost among the causes of death in infancy and early childhood.

Social Economy

The economy of Lebanon is based upon agriculture, but the country is in a more favorable position than the neighboring Arab states, in that the national income is augmented by an increasing tourist traffic and by remittances to their families from emigrants living abroad. Although the coastal plain and the Bekaa valley support a variety of crops, a large part of the territory is mountainous and unsuitable for cultivation. The coastal region is cultivated intensively, with a series of narrow terraces extending along the seaward slopes of the Lebanon range up to an elevation of about 1,000 feet. Little more than 25 per cent of the total land area is now under production, while less than one fifth of that is irrigated. Considerable disparity exists between current estimates of the amount of arable land, but all agree that it can be increased substantially by a greater utilization of the available water resources and by improved methods of cultivation. Progress have already been initiated for the further development of irrigation facilities, notably in the southern Bekaa, and in the 'Akkar plain, a triangular sector between the coast and the northern frontier with Syria. The tradition of private ownership is strong in the mountainous districts of the north, and most of the land is cultivated by independent [illegible].

[illegible] p. 112(a)

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[illegible] REAL PROPERTY—conception of the subject matter of real property (e. g., as that which produces rent, as things that are fixed or immovable), culturally defined categories (e. g., land, trees, growing crops, buildings, water), types of land subject and not subject to property (e. g., sites with monopoly value, waste land), recognized types of title or estate (e. g., eminent domain, fee simple, life, leasehold, sufferance), rights, privileges, and powers involved in each (e. g., usufruct), nonmonetary claims, privileges of gift and sale, power of expropriation), recognized types of ownership (e. g., individual, collective, public), legal and statistical distribution of types of ownership according to categories of immovables, types of title or tenure, and classes of persons (e. g., exclusion of minors, of women, of aliens); general characteristics of the system of real property (e. g., private property, feudal tenure, collective property with periodic redistribution, communism), land records, records of ownership (e. g., boundary marks, deeds), registration of titles, etc. See also:

Tenure of land, land groups ..... 6.25 Holding 165
Land use ..... 311 Income 482
Ownership of productive capital 475

423, 241

Egypt	MR1
Turkey	MB1
Iraq	MH1
Syria	MD1
Lebanon	ME1
Historical Palestine	MF2

/For an account of the organisation of agriculture and forms of land tenure and an historical summary of changes in agricultural systems and methods in the countries of the Middle East, see 66: Bonné, M1 Middle East, category 116 as follows: Egypt - pp. 127-129, 192-196, Turkey - pp. 129-130, Iraq - pp. 130-133, 189-192, 202-203, Syria, Lebanon and Palestine - pp. 133-135, 188-189, 203-204./

9: Gullick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

"The Americans" as the villagers call their relatives in the United States, are concentrated in and around Vicksburg, Mississippi. There are families, also, in Shreveport, Louisiana, and in Marshall, Texas. There are a few in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Australia. One returnee, in particular, spoke English with a noticeable Southern accent. The remarks of another returnee indicated an identification with the Southern whites as a caste as against the Negroes.

LAND OWNERSHIP, UNEMPLOYMENT, RETIREMENT

Mansour Jurjui al-Khouri, the founder of the village, divided the village territory into three equal sections, one for each of his sons. He did this by, as it were, trisecting the triangle at its apex (the eastern extremity of the village, now occupied by the houses). The three triangular strips running down to the sea which were thus created provided the land-property bases for the maximal lineages. To some extent, the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects this division, with Maximal Lineage B concentrated in the north, C in the south, and A in between (see Fig. 1). The corresponding pattern for the village territory as a whole, however, has long since been obliterated by sales and extra-maximal lineage inheritance. The land holdings are not clustered by maximal lineage either. Most of the land in the village is held in individual private ownership (*mulk*), and nearly all the adult males own property in this manner. Along the shore there are some plots which are *waqf*'s (communal) land to the maximal lineages. "They were never divided because they are worthless; the salt kills the plants." There are four large sections of *waqf* (land which has been put in trust). These will be discussed in the next chapter.

From what has been said before in this chapter, it can be deduced that most of the men do not derive all or even most of their income from the land they own. However as far as could be determined, each landowner, even though he may be a white-collar worker in the city, maintains his plots (*qat'a*), which are usually widely scattered over the village territory, with the assistance of a resident farmer or village worker.

Many of those of whom it was said "he does nothing" (unemployed) or "he no longer works" (retired) actually derive some income by this means, but probably very few in the village could entirely support themselves and their families without money from other sources as well. The young unemployed, as has been mentioned, are from a superficial perspective difficult to distinguish from village workers if they are unmarried and living with members of their family. There are a few cases of heads of households who closely depend on the help of other members of the family in supporting it. We can say that a man has retired when he does nothing and when no hopes of employment are held. A large number of the men in their sixties and all those over seventy were in this class. Nevertheless, most of these retired men continued to putter about their tenures, pretty actively in some cases.

7: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

running around the room, a design with a cross motif has been impressed into the plaster, evidently with a rocker-stamp device. The altar, a stone table, is recessed in a niche and is surmounted by a wooden canopy supported on four posts. It is not possible to make out its details very well because the sanctuary (*hayikl*) is rather effectively hidden from the congregation by the *ikonostasis*, a wooden partition about eight feet high running across the entire width of the hall. There are three doorways, closed by curtains, in the *ikonostasis*, each with one step up. The *ikonostasis* is surmounted in the center by a large, ornate gilt cross. Immediately beneath this, and extending the length of the *ikonostasis*, is a row of pictures in gilt frames, with Jesus in the center, flanked by the Apostles. Between the these there are pictures of various saints. All the pictures are in Byzantine style. The rest of the *ikonostasis* is ornamented with pilasters and panels and is painted in rather bright colors—brown, red, yellow, and blue. Just below the pictures of Jesus and the Apostles, there are four projections, somewhat reminiscent of gargoyles, each terminating in a representation of the human head. From [illegible] is suspended a small, oil lamp.

Hanging from the ceiling in front of the *ikonostasis* are several small crystal chandeliers. Beneath these, on the floor, are two lectorns (flat-topped, square, wooden tables) and two large brass candlesticks which rest on triangular bases. Each is about four feet high, surmounted by a cylindrical representation (blue) of a candle which is about four feet high. Real candles are inserted into the tops of these. Along each side wall there is a row of high wooden stalls, reserved for the women, and in the middle of the floor some wooden benches.

The priest is a Monqāl and has held his office for twenty years. His predecessor (now in his nineties and entirely inactive) was from Shaykhān. There is a priest in Bedrawa, but he also is largely inactive by reason of age. The priest at Monqāl serves his own village and also the others in the Qurnā where he is called to them. During the period of this study, a young man was installed as priest in Jibbayl. The priest wears his long black cassock and tall, cylindrical black hat on all occasions, even when he is out in the fields supervising, and partly contributing to, farm work. A full beard and long hair tied up in a bun behind also are insignia of his office.

Each shrine (*dayr*) has the interior arrangement of a church, with altar and *ikonostasis*. Mar Mansur is not in good repair, and no longer contains any perishable equipment. Mar Jurjis and Mar Mukhāyil, however, are fully equipped inside. Figure 2 indicates the way in which the shrines are isolated from each other and from the village. Each shrine (as well as Mar Sarkīs) is surrounded by land (planted to olives and grapes) which from time to time has been donated to it by persons desiring to vow. Mar Mansur, though the building itself is believed to antedate the present village, is surrounded by a sizeable estate of land donated mostly by Matanni Lineage C, and the site is in the segment of land originally allotted to that lineage. Mar Jurjis and Mar Mukhāyil are in an exactly similar

position with respect to Mustapha Limoges A and B, respectively, except that these shops themselves were built after the founding of the village—"at least two hundred years ago." However, there are two kinds of *waqf*. The more common is land (or other property) given to a religious institution often in fulfillment of a vow, and its usufruct is reserved for religious purposes. In other words, it is an endowment. There is another kind of *waqf*, also, however, and this is represented in Mustapha by Mar Jurjis and its *waqf*. In this case the *waqf* is a sort of family trust. The usufruct of the land is reserved for the family or lineage (in Mustapha, A.III) which originally established it. Only when and if the lineage dies out is the property turned over to a religious institution. The Caliph Omar (A.D. 634-643) is credited with the invention of *waqf*, but actually the Byzantines had similar legal forms (Bonne, 1948, pp. 199-220). It happens that the present priest belongs to A.III, hence he would derive some income from Mar Jurjis even if he were not the priest. He is also the custodian of the other *waqf* lands, and the income from them is his. The disposition of *waqf* income is not made in this way everywhere, but this arrangement makes a sizable contribution to the support of the priest and his family. In addition to being paid fees for performing rituals, the priest is also supposed to receive an annual contribution from each head of a household.

Some villages have religious schools attached to the church, but in Mustapha formal religious instruction is conducted by the priest periodically in the village school. For the most part the religious instruction of the children is left to their parents.

SCHOOLS

"Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to an approximate universal literacy" (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, p. 407). Mustapha is certainly one of these, and its condition is due to a long-standing emphasis on education.

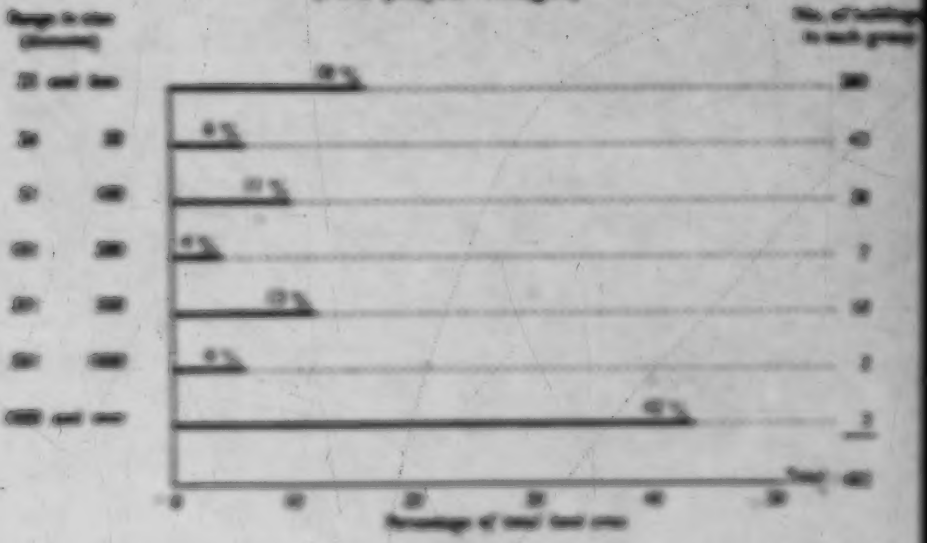
In the village itself there are two schools, the government school and the "national" school. The government school is part of the government educational system. Instruction is free, except that the students must provide their own books. There are about seventy students and two teachers, both, at the moment, members of the village (A.V and C.XII).

The Lebanese public school system is based on the French, but it is incomplete. There is a fairly good distribution of public elementary schools, like that in Mustapha, which offer a six-year program (recently shortened to five years) at the end of which the student receives a *certificat*. There are some public schools (mostly in large towns and cities) which carry the process about three years further, a *brevet* being granted at the end. The student who wishes to continue his education beyond the *brevet* must do so outside the public school system, and he has three courses to choose from (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 417-18). He may choose

42.5

LAND TENURE

Percentage of holding in each class interval
(Five project villages)



SCHOOLS

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Five project villages elementary only
Each figure represent 10 persons

Farm Organization

The industrial farmhouse, typical of agriculture in the United States, is rarely seen in Lebanon. In the five project villages nearly all farmers live in the *hārāt* or built-up area. Their wooden plows, harrows, and other farm equipment are stored each day in their houses in the *hārāt*. Often a stable is connected to or is part of the living quarters to take care of the family cow or other livestock. The interconnection of dwellings in our area in the Middle East often results in a considerable expenditure of time in walking to fields located sometimes two to five miles from the village. In the project villages the land lies in a narrow strip. Farms in the flat areas require an hour or more to reach by walking.

The share-tenant or small landowner has a cow or two which he depends on for draft and milk, a simple wooden plow, and a few other simple hand tools. These comprise his capital equipment. The field work is shared by all the members of the family, although in the sheep raising area there is a fairly rigid division of labor between the sexes. Planting is a man's work, while rarely will a man be seen carrying water from the village fountain.

In the project area no evidence is seen of tractors, harrows, mechanical threshers, or other mechanized farm equipment except on one or two large farms operated by non-resident owners. None of the project villages has electric power. Farm organization is based upon an [illegible] of labor rather than capital. Low wage rates and an ample supply of laborers combine to make the use of labor more advantageous than mechanization. In 1952 the prevailing rate for farm laborers was LL. 3 (about 85 cents) for men and half that for women per 10 to 12 hour day.

Most of the project villages have a plot of land called the *baidar* where the villagers, [illegible] working in common, thresh their grain. Here the wheat or other seed crop is placed after it is brought from the fields. For a month after sunset in the summer, one finds the men pulling behind them a sledge, a flat board the underside of which is dotted with protruding stones or jagged pieces of metal. The farmer's wife or a small boy rides on this and with a whip directs the sledge over a layer of grain. In this way the kernels of grain are loosened and the straw is cut like the fodder. In order to separate the kernels of grain from the chaff, the farmer tosses the mixed grain and chaff

[illegible] Lebanon G-5 (1952/1953) [illegible] Lebanon [illegible]

Wheat was listed among the four most important agricultural items in every one of the eight project and control villages. Barley was included among the four most important crops for the villages of Sahmdoun and Aaiboun. Reference has already been made to the prevailing types of crops grown in the villages, depending on whether the area is predominantly dry or irrigated.

Livestock

The livestock owned by villagers or landlords and kept upon the lands of the village included cows, goats, sheep, donkeys and chickens. No camels or horses were reported in the five project villages. It was not possible to estimate the number of chickens in each village. Goats formed the largest numerical group, numbering 1,000 animals. Eight hundred and eighty cows, 520 sheep and 60 donkeys were reported (Table IV). According to value, cattle often by far the most important animals.

In the village of Sahmdoun, Mr. Fuad Mhayri owns a herd of ninety head of Holsteins. The herd is valued at L.L. 100,000 (about $30,000) and it was claimed that milk from the cows herd for L.L. 40,000 (about $11,000) annually. In addition to milk, a small amount of cream, goat hair, wool and manure is sold by the villagers. Due to the lack of pasture land, the herds of village livestock are fairly small. By and large the livestock in this region are for the purpose of local power and consumption. Cows provide the farmer with a draft animal and milk, goats furnish milk, goat hair and meat, donkeys furnish transportation for water, produce, and the farmer's family, while the wool from the sheep is utilized by the Sahmdoun housewife to furnish clothing for the family, stuff mattresses, or act as a barter item at the market. Manure is important to the diet of the average family.

Land Ownership

Statistics are presented for only the five project villages regarding land ownership and operation distribution. It is, however, evident from available data that the patterns found in the project area applies to the three control villages.

It was impossible to segregate the ownership and operation of the lands of the Kisumu Irrigation Project from other lands of the villages involved. The data presented, therefore, do not necessarily reflect conditions on the lands of that project. Since less than 1,000 hectares of the total of about 3,000 hectares in the eight villages covered in this survey are in the Irrigation Project it is unsafe to make assumptions regarding the latter from facts stated regarding the former.

Land holdings vary in size from an unfenestrated parcel of land of less than one dunum to a holding of 1,000 dunums. In the five villages a total of 482 separate parcels of land were reported (Table V). In many cases a single parcel is owned in common by a number of people who have an undivided share in that piece of land. This situation is usually due to inheritance. Common ownership by relatives results in reducing the actual size of holding that each particular household actually has to depend on for its livelihood. On the other hand, it results in a larger number of owners of land than the records show. The usual practice is to register the land in the name of the senior or major owner and then to list the other holders of undivided shares. In this study the information given was on the basis of the land registration records.

Although the total land area is owned by a large number of persons, the great majority of owners control a very small area of land, while a few individuals have considerable holdings. For these five villages, there are of 482 landowners hold 45 percent of the lands. It is also important to note that very small holdings predominate. 380 or nearly 80 percent of the 482 owners hold 25 dunums or less (5 acres) and account for only 18 percent of the total area. Landownership information by villages is shown in Table VI.

The percentage of the total land area falling in each class interval has been computed for each village (Table VII). These data were computed by multiplying the mid-value of the class interval by the frequency to determine the area of land in each class. From this figure the percentage of the village land in each class interval was derived. In these five villages, Nduakirinti has the lowest concentration of holdings over 200 dunums, 19 percent, and Ex-Riverbank the highest with 60 percent of the land being held in one large parcel.

[redacted]

TABLE V

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[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]

[redacted]

[illegible]

TABLE VI

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	Rs. 500	Rs. 0	Rs. 1	Rs. 0	Rs. 2	Rs. 0	Rs. 0
[illegible]	25	14	0	0	1	0	0
[illegible]	40	9	7	6	5	13	12
[illegible]	15	4	0	0	0	0	1*
[illegible]	30	21	20	3	3	0	0*
[illegible]	600	41	28	7	11	2	2

[illegible]

[illegible]

[redacted]

TABLE VII

[redacted]

[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]

D.Tannous 6,1-4 (no date) 1942
MEI Lebanon MEI

...nds. May God never bless such a ...sister. . . ."

9. From H. to his relative, I. T. Elias; Penna., August 6th, 1914.

". . . . I have sent you a telegram to foreclose the land property of N. (a fellow emigrant). He has refused to pay me what he owes me or to give me a mortgage on his land in the village. Then he resorted to a mean and immoral trick. He instigated his wife to bring a case against me in the courts, accusing me of assaulting her. He did that with the hope of getting much money out of me. . . . Don't pay much attention to the newspapers cuttings (referring to the case) that I understand some of our jealous and mean people here have sent to the village. In this country, all things, little and big, are written up in papers, and nobody pays much attention to them. . . . Later, N. discontinued the prosecution of the case and came over with some of my friends and begged my pardon. . . . "

10. From S. M. Habaibeh (middle aged woman) to her relative, I. T. Elias, U. S. A., April 3rd, 1919.

". . . . The news of my son's death has broken my heart and my life. I don't know what to think or say. He was my only child. I brought him up until he was married, and then prevented him from sailing to America, as I did not want to expose him to any danger. I sailed away in his place, and have been laboring for years to gather some money, on which his children could grow up comfortably. . . . He is gone now, and his child is the only one left for me. There are

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attention to the child and his mother; give them all they need, until I come back. . . ."

11. From M. Y. Elias to his wife; Argentina, Feb. 2nd, 1920.

". . . . Within two months, our son Selim will leave for home, so as to get married in the village and bring back all of you with him. Come with him to this country which is our new home and which gives us honey and milk. . . . Bring with you the following: (1) three fig seedlings (2) two grapevine seedlings 3) one red and one white hawthorne seedling (4) hindiane seeds (5) some "Arak" (local drink) (6) some olive oil. . . . Forget all about our property in the village. Let our relatives take care of it. Upon your arrival here, you will see that we own as much land as the whole village of Rishmieeen. . . ." (Subsequently, the whole family left, father, mother, three sons and three daughters.)

12. From S. Nejjar to her relative; Iquico, Argentina, March 7th, 1923.

". . . . I shall send you enough money to buy back all the pieces of land that used to belong to my late husband. You know I am not making of this a business affair for profit. I am doing this only because I want to keep alive the memory of my husband and ancestors who used to own that land. I want our son to inherit the land. . . ."

The Village Organization Is Shaken And New Adjustments Are Attempted

Analysis of the above mentioned tables, cases and letter extracts seem

TR/Tennessee X, G-3 [ca. 1947-48]/1949 MEI: Lebanon MEI

6241 He soon develops a keen consciousness of belonging to the community. Through such consciousness his personality is expanded. The attainment of his life's objectives is tempered by a firmly established sense of responsibility as a member of the group.

It is in such surroundings that a spirit of true democracy is nurtured and developed. Viewed from this angle, the village community of Lebanon assumes a new national significance.

• 4228 185 From the economic viewpoint, this type of physical structure has resulted in the development of a widespread problem of fragmented holdings. The Lebanese farmer frequently owns property that consists of some 10, 15, or 20 small plots, scattered in all directions from the village where he lives. Agriculturally, this type of landholding is inefficient. The farmer wastes much time and energy in walking from plot to plot. Furthermore, he cannot develop a satisfactory over-all plan of management for his land. A national plan for the consolidation of holdings, launched on a voluntary co-operative basis, thus is in order. Consolidation alone, however, would be only a temporary solution, for the prevailing system of dividing the land among the heirs and the practice of selling a small portion of a plot upon need would in time cause the fragmented holdings to reappear. Other complicating factors, some social and some religious, require that the problem be given more detailed study and analysis before a satisfactory solution can be devised.

363 181 The Lebanese farmer manifests a deep-rooted attachment to his land. It is his main source of living, and before him is supported a long line of his ancestors. It is an integral part of his being; he speaks of it with religious fervor. The various plots he owns carry personalized names, referring to certain qualities, incidents in village history, ancestors, or patron saints. By virtue of owning them and being a good farmer he is given status in the community and plays a role in its affairs. To sell out and migrate to another locality is abhorrent to him, a threat to his whole existence. When he is forced to emigrate abroad, he does so with the fervent hope that some day he will return to his village community, to the land that ties him in an organic manner to a long line of ancestors. If he is forced to mortgage or sell some of his land upon departure, his first concern is to remit money to pay

17: Tasnous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

off the mortgage or to reacquire the land sold. At present there are many among the old emigrants who refuse to sell the land they own back home, although they have lost the hope of ever returning to live there.

This attachment to the land and to the community life that has developed on it is one of the fundamentals of national existence. It contributes essential stability and continuity to national character, especially in times of crisis and change. There are, however, factors such as a faulty land-tenure system, lack of adequate credit facilities, and absentee landownership that have been threatening this basis of security in village life. Although most of the land in Lebanon is privately owned, held in fee simple either by the individual farmer or by the joint family group, in certain sections of the country, mostly outside the central mountain region, share cropping prevails. There is no doubt that this condition, associated in many cases with absentee ownership, has retarded agricultural development and resulted in an appreciably lower standard of living, especially in many of the villages of the Akkar plain and the Bika' valley.

Religious experience is another outstanding feature in the life of the rural folk of Lebanon. They take their religious organization, Christian or Moslem, seriously. Like their land and their agricultural activity, it constitutes a major part of their existence. Religion is not confined to formal services at the church or the mosque. It is expressed in wholesome recreation that takes place in connection with various festivals honoring patron saints. The Arabic word for festival, *'id*, is the symbol of a rich cultural complex indicating joy, relaxation, sociability, and religious fervor. When the farmer refers to his land, crops, or animals, he invokes Allah's name and blessing. On certain occasions some of the season's produce is carried to the church to be blessed. The normal greeting between farmers at work is not "Good morning" or "Good evening," but rather "May Allah give you health and strength."

Furthermore, there is a striking identification of the religious organization with the local community. It is the people of the village who donate the land and erect the church or mosque building. The priest or imam is a member of the village, chosen

794 by the people, and ordained by higher religious authorities. Through unspecified donations, members of the community meet his needs. In some cases, he does not even claim to be an active farmer. A balance is established between the central religious organization of the country and the village church through respect for local autonomy.

577 596 602 Another pillar of life among the rural people of Lebanon is the family organization, which is characterized by three functional units or stages. The first of these is the primary biological unit, consisting of the married couple and their children. The second is a more comprehensive unit, known as the joint family, which consists of the grandparents at the head, their unmarried daughters, and the various families of their sons. At a certain point in its growth, this joint family breaks up into new units, resulting ultimately in the development of the largest family organization, the kinship group. Members of this group claim descent from the same ancestor and normally carry his name.

Evidences of the importance of the family organization are numerous and convincing. A village consists actually of a community of people held together to a large extent by blood ties, either through descent within the kinship group or through intermarriage between these units. Practically everybody is related directly or indirectly to everybody else. A strong sense of belonging and of solidarity develops as a result. Marriage, to [582] a large extent, is a family affair, with emphasis upon the interests and welfare of the two family groups concerned. Children are [571] usually named after ancestors or other relatives, thus emphasizing the blood tie. Land is normally held and operated jointly by [429] various members of the unit. Loyalty to the family in times of crisis is binding; family honor and prestige must be upheld.

539 543 In their use of proverbs, expressing fundamental attitudes, the village folk frequently refer to this family relationship. "Blood can never turn into water." "A boy is two-thirds the image of his uncle." "Marry the daughter of a good family, though she be an old maid." "He who has no family backing has no backbone." These are but a few examples. Further evidence of the 571 598 identification of the individual with the family group is supplied by the manner in which people are addressed or introduced.

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SYRIA AND LEBANON

MAIN CROPS

	Area (000 hectares)		Production (000 metric tons)		Yield (100 kg. per ha.)
	1937	1950	1937	1950	1950
Wheat	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Barley	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Grapes	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Tobacco	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Citrus fruit	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cotton	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

... = not available.

(Sources: Banque de Syrie et du Liban, *Exercice 1950* (Paris, 1951); except figures for yields, certain production, and area and production of grapes, all of which have been taken from FAO, *Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics*, 1950.)

312 241 439 There is enough water for land to be used more intensively than in Syria but there is not enough room to grow all that the country needs. Improved methods have increased the yield of cereals per acre, but Lebanon will always have to import wheat. The crop of grapes is nearly double the weight of the wheat harvest and Lebanon exports grapes, wine, and the best quality arrack. The citrus exports are high but the growers have not yet established the same name for quality as have the Israelis. Melons, water-melons, apples, onions, and potatoes are also important crops and vegetables are exported as far as the oil towns of Kuwait and Dahran. Cotton and tobacco are also grown in small quantities.

423 369 The land is more evenly parcelled out amongst the people in Lebanon than in Syria but, despite the fact that there are many small holdings, there is a general shift from country to town, and Beirut and its immediate neighbourhood hold nearly half of the population. In the coastal regions of intensive cultivation small holdings predominate, while in the plain regions large estates worked by share-croppers are the most prevalent form of land tenure. Some estates owned by rich men are farmed under modern methods and equipment and there is less room for improvement or for expansion in agriculture than in Syria.

Industry

433 Relative to its size, Lebanon is one of the most industrialized countries in the Middle East area. It is probable that nearly 50,000 persons are so employed, of whom over half are factory workers. However, Lebanese industry has only partly recovered from the loss of the Syrian market and some industries had either to move to Syria or to curtail production. The biggest industries are electricity, which produced 130 million kwh. in 1951, and the Chekka cement factory south of Tripoli, which produced 305,000 tons of cement in 1951. Cotton weaving and

must in their minds. Furthermore, they put the new land under cultivation through an understanding with the local tribal chief. He guarantees them "protection" of the crop in return for a portion of the produce. Nowhere does the peasant figure in this deal other than as a laborer or a sharecropper. Nowhere do we see signs of the emergence of that badly needed class of small, independent, cultivator-owners.

The situation in Lebanon presents a glaring and enlightening contrast between two systems. In the mountain area, the heart of the country, a strong tradition of private ownership by small independent farmers prevails. In most cases, the family farm averages about 10 acres. The soil is scanty and the terrain difficult; but the people have their hearts in what they own. They have blasted the rocks and built extensive terraces to prevent erosion; they have made the mountainsides produce abundantly of olives, grapes, figs, and apples. On the narrow coastal strips they have grown luxuriant orchards of citrus and bananas. More significant than all of this, we observe that the village folk in this area enjoy much higher standards of living. This is clearly manifested in their diet, health, housing, and a literacy rate of some 50 percent.

True, they have other sources of income, especially from emigrants residing abroad. Yet the independence they have gained through ownership of the land has endowed them with the initiative and the possibility to seek these other sources and better their living conditions. Unlike the sharecropper, who is doomed to his status, the small independent owner is free to move up the ladder.

Our argument in this respect gains support from the situation that prevails in the rest of Lebanon — in the Akkar plain of the north, in the Bika valley of the interior, and in the mountain area of the south. Here we witness the predominance of the same feudal-absentee-sharecropping system that exists in Syria and Iraq. Here also we witness the same conditions of deprivation, lack of development and low levels of living. Our argument gains further support from a consideration of living conditions in those village communities of northern Iraq, of some sections of Syria and Jordan, where the people are independent and own

increase the productivity per acre and also to expand the cultivated area per head.

In the Lebanon, however, with its steep hillsides under intensive cultivation, there is a definite pressure on land resources. The limit of intensification appears to have been reached, and a large part of the village population supplements its income by work in the towns, and by remittances from abroad. If the land tenure system in Syria were less oppressive, room might be found on the land for settlers from the Lebanon, but as things are, the standard of living and status of the Lebanese peasant is higher; compared with the Syrian peasant he is a free man, and there is no inducement to leave the Mountain for the underpopulated plains of central or northern Syria.

LAND TENURE

Corresponding to these different methods of farming, there are different systems of land tenure.[1] In Lebanon individual small ownership is well established, and the pattern of village life, with its broad class of small peasant owners, few large landowners, and a growing class of landless labourers, resembles that of Europe.

In Syria, the greater part of the land is owned by city notables—the ruling class—and cultivated by small share-tenants. Though individual ownership exists in some districts, for instance the Beqa Valley and the oasis of Damascus, the most usual form of landownership in the plain districts of Syria is share-tenancy. The villagers bring their corn to the village threshing floor, and when the grain is threshed the landlord or his agent stands by and takes one-half of the grain. Towards this result he has contributed nothing; all labour, equipment, seeds, livestock, have been supplied by the tenant, so that his share is rent purely for the use of the land. The landlord is almost always an absentee, a city notable who only visits the land to collect rent.

The share taken by the landlord varies from district to district, and also varies with the condition of the land. According to an inquiry made by the French authorities, the usual division of the crop for non-irrigated cereals is 40–50 per cent to the

[1] The information which follows is mainly based on A. Latron, *La Vie rurale en Syrie et au Liban* (Beirut, L'Institut Français de Damas, 1936). The brilliant and profound study by Jacques Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, is an indispensable authority which unfortunately was received only after going to press.

probably few, of the estates are the properties of old, wealthy families of Ottoman times, which still exist in Lebanon, such as the lands belonging to the families of Arslan, Jumblatt, Chehab, Khazen, but many of these have been broken up by the Moslem laws of inheritance. Other estates have originated from direct grants made by Turkish Sultans to influential politicians, as for example the two very large estates in the Beqa' and the Litani valley. Others too were formed at the time of the general registration of property undertaken by the Ottoman Government when chiefs of tribes or villages registered tribal land in their names as their private property. Uncertainty about legal title to land gives the educated classes frequent opportunity for ousting peasant owners, and whole villages have come into the possession of rival groups of city notables, as a result of litigation among the villagers who have sought their assistance in establishing their title.

While the land-tenure system is thus a result of peasant poverty, it also perpetuates poverty by standing in the way of any long-term investment. The high percentage of fallow in Syria suggests a great waste of land resources, and there could certainly be some improvement in yields, even in dry land farming, if green crops were introduced more generally into the rotation. But the share-cropper has little incentive to improve the fertility of the land, since he has no certainty of tenure, and since the landlord will take 50 per cent of any increase. Since the landlords are not as a rule directly interested in farming, they do not themselves undertake long-term improvements in the land.

Three case studies illustrate the ways in which the land-tenure system hinders advance.[1]

One study relates to the large estate of Misherfe, near Homs in central Syria. This is 24,000 acres in extent and includes five villages, with 2,500 inhabitants. It is very extensively cultivated, only one-third of the area, 8,000 acres, being cropped each year. The land is divided into three parts, one with wheat, barley or *qatawi* (mixed grain), one ploughed but not sown, and one left fallow. A small area, 200 acres only, is irrigated, though water supplies are sufficient to irrigate much larger areas.

[1] These studies, which were prepared for the M.E.S.C., are not at present available in print.

There are some possibilities of raising yields in dry farming, but they are limited, and the main hope for increasing farm incomes is a better use of water supplies.

The second conclusion is that in every district half or more than half of the population live in extreme poverty, due to the low proportion of land cultivated, low yields, and the unequal distribution of land. In Lebanon, surplus rural population is the major cause of poverty. There is no motive-power making for progress: even richer peasants do not invest, but spend unproductively: the landlords are pure rent-receivers: and the poorer peasants are entangled in a network of debt without hope of escape.

FRENCH LAND POLICY

In regard to the *mushaa* system, which was widely prevalent at the time the French took over, the French authorities have hastened the process of disintegration. By decrees passed in 1923 and 1926 the periodical re-allotment of holdings (i.e., the *mushaa* system) was forbidden. Since the work of survey and settlement did not keep pace with the legislative enactment, this law meant an always greater interference with village customs which contributed to agrarian unrest, particularly in the Hauran, where the *mushaa* custom was general. It appears to have been largely disregarded, and not to have been put into force by the Bureau de Cadastre (the French Survey Office, which is a private concession and not a government department), which undertook the work of land *settlement*.

M. Duruflourd, the Director of the Bureau de Cadastre, considered that the *mushaa* custom had a real basis in the social life of the country and should not be abolished. Moreover it had often happened in Turkish times that title to land had been granted in divided holdings, but the titles were disregarded by the occupiers of the land, who continued to exchange their shares as before. The Bureau de Cadastre, therefore, when establishing title to land in a *mushaa* village have followed the practice of registering each villager's share in the land as a fraction of the total area, without attaching the title to any specific piece of land. This method tends to preserve the *mushaa* system. When title is registered to definite pieces of land, the Bureau de Cadastre have attempted in some cases to re-group the holdings

into single units, to form individual farms; but shortage of money limited this process to about 50,000 acres.

About half the area of Syria has been surveyed and title registered by the Bureau de Cadastre. As in Palestine, political unrest made it impossible to survey and register some districts, in particular the Hauran and the Jezira. With this limitation the work of the department appears to have been successful.

Water-Rights. One of the great obstacles to carrying out large-scale irrigation schemes is the confusion which prevails about water-rights. According to an unpublished report prepared for M.E.S.C. in 1943 by Professor Addison, one important scheme, the Tamassine project, could not be initiated, because the complicated question of water-rights had not been settled. Since any big advance in agriculture really depends on irrigation, a settlement of water-rights is essential.

The French authorities have apparently been no more successful in dealing with this question than the British authorities in Palestine and Transjordan. A decree was issued by the High Commissioner in June 1925 nationalizing the water supply, and making all sources of water and water-courses public property; but a further decree in 1926 weakened this wise measure, permitting temporary occupation of water-rights for forty years, so that the result of the legislation has been to increase the confusion.

Control of Irrigation. There is no uniformity of procedure in controlling irrigation schemes, and no central authority controlling irrigation. There are three chief methods of control in Syria unrelated to each other. These are:

1. The village community in which water-rights are regulated by custom. This appears to be the prevalent method of control in all the village irrigation schemes, of which there are a very large number. Several villages may share in their schemes, and the distribution of water is established between them by custom, and administered by the village authorities. Each owner of land can claim a share in the total water supply measured as a unit of time, for example, one hour every seven days. This method is beginning to prove unsatisfactory. The big owners almost always control the best

irrigated land, and village chiefs can frequently be bribed to divert open irrigation ditches so that their land is better watered. This frequently happens, for example, in the Ghuta of Damascus, where there is no unified plan for the irrigation of the district and no authority which can enforce the customary rights.

a. The system under which water is owned collectively, or as *Waqf*, in the northern Beqa.

b. Private ownership by large landowners. This is usual in the Lebanon where there are a number of small private schemes.

These methods of control apply to the smaller schemes. Large-scale schemes have been operated either by:

a. Private concession. Only one relatively large-scale concession is actually in operation, the Nahr Ibrahim (Adonis) scheme.

b. The State. State-controlled works have been carried out by

(i) authorities directly under the control of the French authorities;

(ii) authorities directly under the control of the Lebanese Public Works Ministry;

(iii) Lebanese or Syrian authorities under the control of the Délégation Générale.

There is great need of a central authority to co-ordinate the supply of water. In the south Beqa, for instance, much irrigable land is left unirrigated and much water allowed to run to waste for lack of such an authority.

State Land. One of the main reasons for the lack of intensive cultivation in central Syria is that the State lands have never been systematically settled. Very large areas are State domain, that is, land registered as the property of the Turkish Sultan, Abdul Hamid. Under the mandate, this land became the property of the local government. Under the Turks these lands were used for the 'displaced persons' of the old Empire, who were driven out when Turkish territory was lost, but they were still sparsely settled when the French took over.

After the rising of 1925 the French authorities began to settle

the land. In 1926-31, the villages comprising 187,000 hectares were colonized in small properties by 6,000 families. The Government of Latakia compelled large proprietors in the region of Homs to give up their villages in the district of Masyaf in 1929; the land was distributed among the occupying peasants and sold to them at a price to be paid for in ten annual instalments. The village of Jib Rassis was also settled in 1929, in part by occupying peasants, in part by refugee Armenians.

But the French administration did not complete the settlement of these areas. In some regions the Turks settled these lands with nomad tribes, who were themselves averse to cultivation and either rented the land to Alawi villagers or continued to live themselves as nomads on the land without cultivating much of it. Consequently this land is now very sparsely settled. Round Homs there are said to be 4,000 to 4,500 hectares with only 10 per cent of the land cultivated: this is some of the most fertile and best situated land in the country, and could be developed by colonization schemes.

In several respects the French authorities have modified the Turkish system in ways which strengthen the landowners against the cultivators. One of these was the sale of the extensive *Miri* properties to business enterprises, irrigation companies, or landowners. Another was the abrogation of the right of ownership acquired by ten years cultivation which benefited the small cultivators in enabling them to acquire new land.

Efforts were made to start co-operative and agricultural credit banks, but these never succeeded in breaking the peasant's indebtedness. Several large-scale irrigation schemes were started, but produced more water than could be used. The educational system did not extend to the villages. Within the framework of the existing system, these reforms did little to raise the standard of the peasants. As a mandatory Power the French relied on the collaboration of the wealthy upper class, that is, on the landowners, and so could make no fundamental reform in the land system.

POSSIBILITIES OF DEVELOPMENT

So far as dry land farming is concerned the possibilities of improvement are hampered by the dry summer, which necessitates a long period of fallow. However, it would be possible by

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Table 40

LEBANON: Specified Imports as Per Cent of Total Imports
1937, 1948, 1949, and 1951
Value

Item	1937	1948	1949	1951
	Per Cent			
[illegible]	10	6	8	8
[illegible]	48	15	15	14
[illegible]	9	10	10	11
[illegible]	3	11	6	6
Other	30	58	61	60
Total	100	100	100	100
Total Value (Converted to Millions of Dollars)	63	214	98	155

Note: Imports of the System Lebanese Customs Union through March 31, 1949.
Source: International Monetary Fund.

Table 41

LEBANON: Specified Imports as Per Cent of Total Imports
1937, 1948, 1949, and 1951
Value

Item	1937	1948	1949	1951
	Per Cent			
[illegible]	15	10	10	10
Other Oil	11	5		
[illegible]	6	6	10	6
[illegible]	5	6	7	10
[illegible]	6	3	6	6
[illegible]	6	22	6	
Other	51	41	45	51
Total	100	100	100	100
Total Value (Converted to Millions of Dollars)	17	60	55	61

Note: Imports of the System Lebanese Customs Union through March 31, 1949.
Source: International Monetary Fund.

are produced under dry-land conditions. In the eastern plains and valleys, where less rain falls, all summer crops are irrigated.

Most of the farms in the mountainous areas are owner-operated and have been in the same families for generations. This has tended to reduce the size of individual holdings to uneconomic proportions.

Agriculture in Lebanon, as in most Middle East countries, exhibits strong contrasts between the old and the new. The hand of the past is still heavy upon farming practices, but modern methods and machines are making steady inroads.

The country has never been self-sufficient, importing usually two-thirds of its cereals and significant quantities of other agricultural commodities. Food imports normally come from Syria but relations with that country now are strained. The Lebanese do not like this dependence upon imports for food. They remember the hungry days during both World Wars when imports were shut off. They want to become more self-sufficient and, at the same time, to

[illegible]

[illegible] land power regulations as a result, permits for the agricultural use of water may be renewed for a period of 40 years.

Concessions. The projects envisaged above require generation concessions. They are projects of public utility. Such permits may not be issued for terms of more than 75 years.

A set of specifications prescribing conditions under which water may be drawn, the periods of use, measures for the care of water, the maximum power of the water fall, the deadline for the completion of the construction works, the term of the concession, the water reserves to be maintained, the financial conditions, the disposal of these works upon expiration of the concession and a clause allowing for the eventual repurchase of the project shall accompany the concession.

[illegible] Fees and Expenditure. Expenditure shall be paid for generation and concessions to the state (Article 14).

[illegible] Government Intervention. Rules and regulations on expropriation of land and water for public purposes shall be applicable to concessionaires, and the state may assert such rights as well as either an immediate, upfront payment of an equitable indemnity, legally-secured concessionaire water (Article 17).

Servitudes and Indemnities

[illegible] The beneficiary of a permit or concession may take advantage of all servitudes in the execution of the works needs, servitudes of occupation of private property, the strengthening of dams, the submersion of banks and of tracts of land, etc. The government may, where no friendly agreements have resulted on specific points, authorize the concessionaire to avail himself of the above servitudes provided he deposits a guarantee against possible damages.

Article 14 stipulates the indemnity to be paid by a concessionaire wishing to make use of certain servitudes as well as the arbitration procedure to be followed to settle disputes which may arise.

The concessionaire has the right to repurchase private in-

[illegible]

[illegible] 303, 305

In case of disagreement as to the amount of the indemnity, the matter shall be placed before the competent administrative authorities. In no case may the amount be more than [illegible] per kilowatt capacity of the water wheels.

[illegible]

Articles 31 to 33 regulate the procedure to be followed in the recognition of private titles to property, landmark privileges and the right to use water belonging to the public domain. Such rights may be recognized upon the request of the interested party or upon the request of the head of the government who, in either case, shall establish by decree the areas within which such actions may be taken.

A commission to establish titles shall be appointed by the head of the government. It shall be composed of a magistrate or presiding judge who shall act as chairman, an official of the Public Lands Service, an official of the Land Service and two local notables.

Within a period of time established by decree, but which shall not be less than 20 days, the interested parties may submit to the commission all statements, titles and evidence supporting their water rights. The commission shall inspect the area and draw up a list of the rights claimed. It shall report thereupon to the head of the government who shall set forth in a decree the titles and rights thus recognized.

Article 34 of this [illegible], modified by Legislative Decree No. 288 dated 28 November 1950, permits the hearing of appeals before the appeals courts for judgements taken by the commission concerning the recognition of pre-existing water rights. Travel expenses of the commission shall be defrayed by the private persons requesting such service.

new construction. This is not the case—at least, it is not to an observable degree. All the stones used in new building in the village are freshly quarried. Perhaps the reason for this is that nearly all the extra large recognized corners, nearly all of whose are emigrants or their descendants. Even the villagers now admit that "they will never come back," but their property rights are still maintained, either because the older emigrants hesitate to relinquish their claims or because their American-born children are unlicensed, both of which prevent local disposition of the property. However, most of the new raised houses were of the old style, whose walls would naturally go to pieces if not roofed. Consequently, the roofs were removed so that the very valuable timbers in them could be used for other purposes. This hastened the partial collapse of many of the buildings' walls.

HOUSEHOLD ARRANGEMENT AND FURNISHINGS

Nearly every house has its own cistern (*sihr*), either within the building or just outside it. The water is entirely water rain water drawn from the roof of the house and conducted to the cistern, nowadays, by sheet-iron pipes. This is much more efficient than the older method of letting the water flow down a shallow vertical trough on the outside of the wall of the building. The cisterns have circular openings raised off the ground or flush on a stone or concrete curbing. The opening is fitted, more or less tightly, with a wooden cover.

It is one of the women's jobs to draw water from the cistern by means of a sheet-iron, European-made, bucket attached to a chain or rope. The water needed for the day is stored in large, two-handled, pointed-bottom jars (*jarra*), of porous earthenware, which stand in wooden frames in the kitchen corner, or the kitchen room if there is one. From the *jarra*, water is transferred to cooking utensils, to the ornated pottery or glass drinking jars (*dwiq*), and to the two to three gallon, semi-cylindrical metal tanks in which washing water is stored. These long spouts on outside wall or in the wash room if there is one. The tanks are called *kanafiyat*, a term primarily applied to the small brass spigots with which they are fitted. The term is derived from the Hanafi school of Muslim jurisprudence which decided that the use of spigots was not a violation of the provisions of the Koran. Now the *kanafiyat* are usually finds a dish for soap and a towel-rail. A few houses are equipped with hand-pumps, a raised tank, and a limited system of pipes and spigots. This, however, is unusual.

The interior arrangement of the one-room house is essentially the same in every one, although of course there are many minor variations. The following description is composite. On entering the front door, one will observe that the room is divided into two sections, front and back. The division is effected by tall cabinets, with doors and drawers, placed across the room. These are used for keeping clothes, dishes, and so on. This means of division may be supplemented by a curtain. In the front section, a long wooden seat, really a bench with a back and

possibility few, of the estates are the properties of old, wealthy families of Ottoman times, which still exist in Lebanon, such as the lands belonging to the families of Arslan, Jumblatt, Chehab, Khazen, but many of these have been broken up by the Moslem laws of inheritance. Other estates have originated from direct grants made by Turkish Sultans to influential politicians, as for example the two very large estates in the Beqa and the Litani valley. Others too were formed at the time of the general registration of property undertaken by the Ottoman Government when chiefs of tribes or villages registered tribal land in their names as their private property. Uncertainty about legal title to land gives the educated classes frequent opportunity for ousting peasant owners, and whole villages have come into the possession of rival groups of city notables, as a result of litigation among the villagers who have sought their assistance in establishing their title.

While the land-tenure system is thus a result of peasant poverty, it also perpetuates poverty by standing in the way of any long-term investment. The high percentage of fallow in Syria suggests a great waste of land resources, and there could certainly be some improvement in yields, even in dry land farming, if green crops were introduced more generally into the rotation. But the share-cropper has little incentive to improve the fertility of the land, since he has no certainty of tenure, and since the landlord will take 50 per cent of any increase. Since the landlords are not as a rule directly interested in farming, they do not themselves undertake long-term improvements in the land.

Three case studies illustrate the ways in which the land-tenure system hinders advance.[1]

One study relates to the large estate of Misherfe, near Homs in central Syria. This is 24,000 acres in extent and includes five villages, with 2,500 inhabitants. It is very extensively cultivated, only one-third of the area, 8,000 acres, being cropped each year. The land is divided into three parts, one with wheat, barley or *qamsi* (mixed grain), one ploughed but not sown, and some left fallow. A small area, 200 acres only, is irrigated, though water supplies are sufficient to irrigate much larger areas.

[1] These studies, which were prepared for the M.E.S.C., are not at present available in print.

[illegible]

of mixture and spillage. The area of protected ocean within [illegible] be established in each case by government decision.

Permits and Concessions ([illegible])

Below from subparagraph mention may be [illegible] a [illegible] of less than [illegible] of year two, may be used freely within [illegible] and may permit [illegible].

Temporary One-Year Permits. There can be granted under [illegible] for the exercise of emergency [illegible]. For the use of mixture of petrol [illegible], the elimination of materials, the cleaning and care of mixtures and mixtures, research work on ground waters and ephemeral water sources as well as the care of mixtures and the exploration of mixtures [illegible].

The act of authorization sets forth all the special conditions covered by the permit [illegible]. In the case of the managing of ground waters, if the request for connection to such ground waters [illegible], it is mentioned on having been acquired [illegible].

Temporary Permits for One to Forty Years. Permits for one to 40 years may be granted in the following cases:

1. the erection of permanent works for the draining of mines or for cleaning up of mine conveyors;
2. the use of mixer power;
3. the drainage of mountainside and their reclamation;
4. the use of ground, reflection, mineral or thermal waters.

Rules and regulations setting forth general conditions, assumed to be taken, term of the permit and time allowed for the exploitation works shall be issued simultaneously with the permit [illegible].

Notification of the lapsing or change of such permits must be given to the interested parties at least two years before the expiration date; otherwise the permits shall be automatically prolonged for a period equal to half of the original term of validity. When the origi-

[illegible]

303 [illegible] 404 [illegible] for the agricultural use of water may be reserved for a period of 40 years.

Concessions. The projects envisaged above require generic cross-dams. They are projects of public utility. Such projects may not be issued for terms of more than 75 years.

A set of specifications prescribing conditions under which water may be drawn, the periods of use, measures for the care of water, the maximum power of the water fall, the deadline for the completion of the construction works, the term of the concession, the water reserve to be maintained, the financial conditions, the disposal of these works upon expiration of the concessions and a clause allowing for the eventual repurchase of the project shall accompany the concession.

[illegible] Fees and Royalties. Royalties shall be paid for generic and concessions to the state (Article 14).

303 404 Government Intervention. Rules and regulations on expropriation of land and water for public purposes shall be applicable to concessionaires, and the state may search such rights as well as other as desirable, against payment of an equitable indemnity, legally-governed reservation works (Article 17).

Servitudes and Indemnities

303 404 The beneficiary of a permit or concession may take advantage of all servitudes in the exercise of the work; namely, servitudes on occupation of private property, the strengthening of dams, the subversion of banks and of courts of land, etc. The government may, where no friendly agreements have been reached on specific points, authorize the concessionaire to avail himself of the above servitudes provided he deposits a guarantee against possible damages.

Article 18 stipulates the indemnity to be paid by a concessionaire wishing to make use of certain servitudes as well as the arbitration procedure to be followed to settle disputes which may arise.

The concessionaire has the right to repurchase private ti-

The total estimate was 335,421,000 L.L. per year for the population. This amounts to a mean household expenditure of 6527 L.L. per year. This compares with the mean household income of 6946 L.L. The average savings per household amounts to 294 L.L. making a discrepancy in our figures of 125 L.L.

9.15 Incidence, amount, type and reasons for indebtedness. Tables 136, 137, 138, and 139

Respondents were queried as to their debts. An estimate of the total population indebtedness was made from the sample and came to 58,791,000 L.L. of which twenty percent of those responding is in amounts over 3000 L.L. per family. About one half (45 %) of the sample admitted to being in debt. Of these fourteen percent were unwilling to name the amount.

Over nine tenths (92 %) were private debts. It is believed that these are primarily family loans.

The reasons for indebtedness were due to lack of sufficient income in almost three out of five cases (58 %). An additional fifth (22 %) were accounted for by investment or other business reasons, while the only other significant private reason was health (10 %).

426

Table 137

Amount of Debt

Amount in Lebanese pounds	Number	Percent
Total	858	100.00
0 — 25	8	0.93
26 — 50	30	3.50
51 — 75	12	1.40
76 — 100	45	5.24
101 — 150	38	4.43
151 — 200	42	4.90
201 — 300	55	6.41
301 — 400	45	5.24
401 — 500	58	6.76
501 — 750	48	5.60
751 — 1000	68	7.92
1001 — 2000	96	11.19
2001 — 3000	46	5.36
Over 3000	146	17.02
No answer	121	14.10

σ_y = 73.550
r = .064

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Table 138

Type of Debt

Type of debt	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	856	100.00	
Private	792	92.31	.009
Institutional	43	5.00	.007
Both	10	1.17	
Other	2	0.23	
No answer	11	1.28	

Table 139

Reasons for Indebtedness

Reasons for debt	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	871	100.00	
Underemployment	82	9.41	.010
Low income	402	46.45	.017
For investment	171	19.63	.013
To cover business losses	19	2.18	
Health	91	10.45	.010
To help relatives	2	0.23	
Others	84	9.65	.010

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

at a time can be placed. The whole thing is inserted into the oven, and the disks are shaken off the board. After about a minute in the oven, bubbles appear on the surface of a disk, and then the whole thing puffs up until it looks like a large pin-cushion. It remains in the oven about a minute more and then is removed. As soon as a loaf begins to cool, it collapses into disk form again, only now the disk consists of two layers except around the edge.

In each bakery, the baker is the only hired professional. In the bakery in the *hara*, the owner provides the baker with bread for his own consumption and pays him the equivalent of about a dollar and a half a day. In the other bakery, the baker and owner split the bread receipts (see below) of the bakery fifty-fifty, but there is no monetary transaction between them.

Every woman who uses the bakery sets aside about seven per cent of the loaves she makes, and these she "leaves for the *furn*." The owners' own bread supply is thus supplied them, and they are free to sell or otherwise dispose of what they do not eat. The Mizwli women, mentioned earlier, work in the *furn* on the same basis as the other women, but they regularly prepare more bread than they need themselves and sell the surplus at about twenty-five piasters (about seven cents) per *rațl* (the *rațl* is a traditional weight measure equivalent to about 1 lb. 3 oz.).

OLIVE PRESSES

The presses are privately owned but are available to all, the owner receiving a certain proportion of the oil which each individual presses. As social institutions they are, of course, far less important than the stores and bakeries, for they are used for only a few weeks a year, during the olive harvest. However, as has already been suggested, the olive harvest is a period of intense cooperative activity in which social interaction, spurred on by hopes of a profitable crop, is very lively. The presses play an essential economic part in the proceedings and draw large groups of men together.

Most of the presses in the village are modern, machine-driven apparatuses requiring a minimum of manual assistance. There is, however, one old-style one in the stable of a house in the al-Wasțiyya section. Stone bins hold the fresh olives. There is a heavy wooden beam one end of which is attached, hinge-fashion, to the ceiling, the other end weighted with three large stones (called "bells"). A batch of fresh olives is placed under the weighted end of the beam which is raised by block and tackle and then dropped on the olives. The purpose is to reduce the olives to a mash which can then easily be transferred to a circular stone basin with a drain. On it a large, thick stone wheel is set upright. The wheel is secured to a revolving beam one end of which is set into the ceiling. A subsidiary beam projects at right angles to the revolving one. To this a donkey is harnessed, and by walking round and round the basin, the donkey turns the wheel over the olive mash, pressing out the oil. This crude process involves considerable waste, hence

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

of the Waxmeys and the Mawli as groups. The Waxmeys are tradesmen, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thomas, 1956, pp. 134-35). According to Core Group informants, they, or other Maronites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily in their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. However, the Core Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The flocks furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mawli are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mawli as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a prearranged sum to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this sum is agreed upon with a view to the Core Group members' getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mawli, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the bakeries or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or laundresses. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of superiority-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degree of numerical superiority and local establishment which obtain in the particular area. In other words, as has been suggested above, Munsif is simply one localized example of the operation of Coon's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way colored by group avoidance or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in *all* social relationships in the village is equalitarian, combined, to be sure, with the various barriers which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of itinerants: (1) Tinkers and scissors grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the bedlam of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright; others seek, perhaps sincerely, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawar (Gypsies). One group of them was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular head-dress, their faces tattooed, matching up the mail with

9:Lebanon C-5 (09523)953 MEI Lebanon MEI

Land Operation

Many conclusions should not be drawn from the tables on land ownership, or the fact that 471 three persons own 42 percent of the land area in the project villages and reside in the cities 427 of Beirut and Saida. A condemnation of the system as representative of the absentee-owner «Feudal Lord» pattern would not be completely justified. Under the absentee-ownership system typical in the Middle East, the large landowner resides in the city or abroad and the land is rented on a share basis. The owner provides virtually no capital or supervision.

In order to render valid conclusions about the area under discussion it is essential that not only the ownership pattern but also the system of operation be examined. Although the three largest landowners, owning 11,300 dunums of land in the five project villages, reside in Beirut or Saida, they directly operate 82 percent of their lands or all but 2,000 dunums. It can be concluded that these examples are not actually cases of absenteeism. Many others of the large landowners who reside outside the villages are within an hour's drive from their lands and take a personal interest in them. Owners often directly operate a considerable portion of their holdings by employing labor from the nearby villages. Therefore their lands often are not let on a share-crop basis. The landlord invests his energy, capital, and managerial ability in the land, and the work of field laborers is closely supervised. In light of the meager credit facilities in Lebanon, the landowner serves 452 as a valuable source of investment capital.

From scattered interviews with peasants, it appears that they would consider 100 dunums of 471 dry land or 20 to 30 dunums of irrigated land as a suitable farm unit. This might be considered as the «family-sized farm». Unfortunately, it was found impractical to obtain data on the ownership and operation of dry and irrigated land separately. It is therefore difficult to generalize about the ability of the existing holdings to support their predominantly agricultural population. It is, however, possible to conclude that few people own or operate holdings sufficient to secure them livelihood. In Sarafand where 150 dunums are irrigated, 350 persons operate farms of less than 25 dunums (6 acres). This is predominantly an area of dry farming and farmers work for less land than is needed for actual subsistence. Completion of the Kasmie Irrigation project will materially increase the irrigated area in this khoroj.

heads of households and wives of household heads.

5.24 **Other members of household.**
Tables 61, 62, 63, 64, 65

The birthplaces of other members of the household show no significant difference from the figures for the heads of households except where the sample is inadequate for accurate analysis. The tables are included for father-in-law, mother-in-law, siblings, other family members, and servants.

5.3 **Number of children away from home.**
Table 66

The number of children away from home is rather small with less than one quarter of the sample so reporting. Since no qualification as to age was made, these are presumably children who have moved away for occupational reasons or have married and left the family.

5.41 **Length of time at present address.**
Table 67

For an urban area, the length of time at which our sample households have resided at their present addresses is rather surprising. About forty-three percent of the sample have not moved for more than ten years. It is believed that the reason for this lack of mobility is the Rent Control Law. This law has been in operation for thirteen years (Dec. 28, 1949) and may have kept people relatively immobile. The Rent Control Law does not allow the raising of rents for a tenant already in residence, but does allow an increase for new tenants. Subsequent rent control laws have also had considerable influence. An indication that this is the proper hypothesis lies in the fact that our next biggest group lies in the interval of those who have been at the same address between one and three years. If it were disinclination to move rather than the Rent Control Law it would appear that the least frequency would have been in the category of less than one year with increasing frequencies as the time lengthened. Once having lost the benefits of rent control, the population of Beirut seems to be fairly mobile.

dings, constitute the physical housing problem of Beirut.

7.8 Incidence of gardenplots attached to residences, Table 101

A substantial part of the sample (41 %) live in buildings with adjoining garden plots. No attempt was made to analyze the size or usage of these plots.

7.9 Number of dwelling rooms in building, Table 102

The number of dwelling rooms per building has its highest incidence in the interval of four - six dwelling rooms pr building (18 %) and decreases steadily until the catch-all category of over twenty-four.

7.10 Number of people living in building, Table 103

The concentration of pople in buildings is shown in the table. The rude mode is eight per building but includes only twenty-two percent. It is hoped later to cross-tabulate the number of dwelling rooms in the buildings with the number of people.

7.11 Number of families on floor of interviewed household, Table 104

The great majority of the sample (87 %) are the sole occupants of the floors on which they reside. When those flors which accommodate only two families are added, we find that eighty-eight percent of the households are included.

7.12 Number of rooms pr household unit, Table 105

The modal number of rooms per family apartment is four. This should be compared to the mean family size of 3.

7.13 Terms of rental payment for dwelling, Table 106

Rental payments are usually made either

427 monthly (39 %) or yearly (20 %). When the owner and those not paying rent are subtracted, we find relatively few (6 %) who have other contract terms.

7.14 Location of kitchen facilities by privacy. Table 107

342 In investigating the adequacies of households in Beirut it was found that nine-tenths of the enumerated households had private kitchen facilities in the house. Cooking outside the house was principally for one-room shacks.

7.15 Location of toilet facilities in household. Table 108

[Del] Toilet facilities in the buildings were found in over ninety percent of the sample. Of these, almost nine-tenths are private toilets. Arab types are found overwhelmingly.

7.16 Source of water in household. Table 109

312 346 Water, too, is piped into the overwhelming majority of houses (93 %) making relatively few who were forced to obtain water from outdoor cisterns or from more fortunate neighbors. In some cases, such as the agglomeration of tin shacks, a city faucet is the only source of water.

7.17 Type of lighting in household. Table 110

354 365 Lighting is by electricity in over nine-tenths of the households in the sample. Characteristically, electrical fixtures are ceiling lights suspended by cords. Lamps are used much less than in western cities, even where wall plugs are available. Less electricity is delivered to households due to a shortage of generating capacity. Almost all of the remaining households use oil lamps.

7.18 Type of heating in household. Table 111

354 Charcoal burners are the sole means of heat in over half of the houses (57 %). One-fifth of the houses have no means of heat; this is not surprising considering the relatively mild cli-

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556 bracket spending, is two hundred and fifty-six pounds. Over eighty percent of the sample claimed not to have bought any furniture. The total estimated yearly expenditure for the population is 12,800,000 L.L.

9.3 Yearly rental cost (actual or imputed). Table 124

556 #27 Rental cost was another category which the project directors felt was likely to be known per year. A total of 1,680,000 L.L. was paid in rent by the people surveyed which led to our estimate of 46,524,000 L.L. as the total rental payment for the year by the population of Beirut, or a per family expenditure of 926 L.L. The modal expenditure, however, is quite low at about 200 L.L. per year. It should be remembered that rent control has been in operation for over thirteen years.

9.4 Cost of water b/l in year previous to interview. Table 125

55 Water expenditures for those whose water cost was not included in the rent amounted to an estimated yearly total of 754,000 L.L.. The amount spent for water by the landlords of the thirteen percent whose water costs were included in the rent are probably substantially higher than the average for those tenants who pay the company directly. A plurality of residents (38%) buy water by the quarter-cubic-meter per day per apartment. The maximum of a full cubic meter was relatively infrequent (3 %), but the unmetered apartments are apt to be newer and upper class and to have a greater usage of water. This amount is therefore unknown.

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Table 67

Length of Time at Present Address

No. of years	Number	Percent
Total	1848	100.00
Less than 1 year	180	9.74
1 - 3 years	433	23.37
4 - 6 years	274	14.83
7 - 10 years	170	9.20
More than 10 years	792	42.86

η^2 = .145
ν = .018

Table 68

Previous Location of Household

Location	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1789	100.00	
Rural	148	8.30	.006
Bahrain	1451	81.13	.009
Other Gulf States	30	1.68	
Other Arab Country	104	5.84	.005
Other Country	49	2.75	.004

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Table 106

Terms of Rental Payment for Dwelling

Rental payment terms	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1700	100.00	
Monthly	656	38.59	.018
Quarterly	75	4.41	.010
Semi-annual	30	1.76	
Yearly	513	30.18	.011
Owns	341	20.06	.009
Free lease	73	4.29	.005
No answer	12	0.71	

Table 107

Location of Kitchen Facilities by Privacy

Location of kitchen facilities	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1742	100.00	
Private in house	1558	89.44	.007
Shared in house	108	6.20	.006
Private outside	56	3.21	.004
Shared outside	20	1.15	

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#27

Table 124

Yearly Rental Cost (Actual or Imputed)

Rental	Number	Percent
Total	1851	100.00
Less than 100 LL.	74	4.00
101 – 200	202	10.91
201 – 300	253	13.59
301 – 400	133	7.19
401 – 500	169	9.13
501 – 750	243	13.13
751 – 1000	224	12.10
1001 – 1500	262	14.16
1501 – 2000	104	5.62
2001 – 2500	55	2.97
2501 – 3000	48	2.59
3001 – 3500	21	1.14
3501 – 4000	20	1.08
4001 – 4500	4	0.22
4501 – 5000	11	0.59
5001 – 5500	1	0.05
5501 – 6000	6	0.32
6001 – 6500	9	0.49
6501 – 7000	1	0.05
7001 – 7500	–	–
7501 – 8000	–	–
8001 – 8500	–	–
8501 – 9000	–	–
9001 – 9500	–	–
9501 – 10000	1	.05
10001 – 10500	2	.11
10501 – 11000	–	–
11001 – 11500	–	–
11501 – 12000	–	–
12001 – 12500	–	–
12501 – 13000	–	–
13001 – 13500	–	–
13501 – 14000	–	–
14001 – 14500	–	–
14501 – 15000	–	–
15001 – 15500	1	.05
No answer	27	1.46

σ_y = 25.3
ν = .027

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15: Tannous N.G-1 (no date) 1983 MI Middle East MI
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most in their minds. Furthermore, they put the new land under cultivation through an understanding with the local tribal chief. He guarantees them "protection" of the crop in return for a portion of the produce. Nowhere does the peasant figure in this deal other than as a laborer or a sharecropper. Nowhere do we see signs of the emergence of that badly needed class of small, independent, cultivator-owners.

L
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471

The situation in Lebanon presents a glaring and enlightening contrast between two systems. In the mountain area, the heart of the country, a strong tradition of private ownership by small independent farmers prevails. In most cases, the family farm averages about 10 acres. The soil is scanty and the terrain difficult; but the people have their hearts in what they own. They have blasted the rocks and built extensive terraces to prevent erosion; they have made the mountainsides produce abundantly of olives, grapes, figs, and apples. On the narrow coastal strips they have grown luxuriant orchards of citrus and bananas. More significant than all of this, we observe that the village folk in this area enjoy much higher standards of living. This is clearly manifested in their diet, health, housing, and a literacy rate of some 90 percent.

True, they have other sources of income, especially from emigrants residing abroad. Yet the independence they have gained through ownership of the land has endowed them with the initiative and the possibility to seek these other sources and better their living conditions. Unlike the sharecropper, who is doomed to his status, the small independent owner is free to move up the ladder.

L
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Our argument in this respect gains support from the situation that prevails in the rest of Lebanon — in the Akkar plain of the north, in the Bika valley of the interior, and in the mountain area of the south. Here we witness the predominance of the same feudal-absentee-sharecropping system that exists in Syria and Iraq. Here also we witness the same conditions of deprivation, lack of development and low levels of living. Our argument gains further support from a consideration of living conditions in those village communities of northern Iraq, of some sections of Syria and Jordan, where the people are independent and own

probably few, of the estates are the properties of old, wealthy families of Ottoman times, which still exist in Lebanon, such as the lands belonging to the families of Arslan, Jumblatt, Chehab, Khazen, but many of these have been broken up by the Moslem laws of inheritance. Other estates have originated from direct grants made by Turkish Sultans to influential politicians, as for example the two very large estates in the Beqa and the Litani valley. Others too were formed at the time of the general registration of property undertaken by the Ottoman Government when chiefs of tribes or villages registered tribal land in their names as their private property. Uncertainty about legal title to land gives the educated classes frequent opportunity for ousting peasant owners, and whole villages have come into the possession of rival groups of city notables, as a result of litigation among the villagers who have sought their assistance in establishing their title.

While the land-tenure system is thus a result of peasant poverty, it also perpetuates poverty by standing in the way of any long-term investment. The high percentage of fallow in Syria suggests a great waste of land resources, and there could certainly be some improvement in yields, even in dry land farming, if green crops were introduced more generally into the rotation. But the share-cropper has little incentive to improve the fertility of the land, since he has no certainty of tenure, and since the landlord will take 50 per cent of any increase. Since the landlords are not as a rule directly interested in farming, they do not themselves undertake long-term improvements in the land.

Three case studies illustrate the ways in which the land-tenure system hinders advance.[1]

One study relates to the large estate of Misherfe, near Homs in central Syria. This is 24,000 acres in extent and includes five villages, with 2,500 inhabitants. It is very extensively cultivated, only one-third of the area, 8,000 acres, being cropped each year. The land is divided into three parts, one with wheat, barley or qatawi (mixed grain), one ploughed but not sown, and some left fallow. A small area, 200 acres only, is irrigated, though water supplies are sufficient to irrigate much larger areas.

[1] These studies, which were prepared for the M.E.S.C., are not at present available in print.

ent farmers. Large holdings, owned by absentee landlords and worked according to the share-tenancy system, predominate, however, in the Bekaa valley, in the 'Akkar plain and in the province of South Lebanon.

A diversity of crops is grown in different parts of the country. The subtropical climate of the coastal plain permits the cultivation of citrus fruits and bananas, while olives, grapes, apricots and other fruits flourish on the terraced mountain slopes. Cereals and legumes are the chief crops of the Bekaa, but cotton, tobacco and numerous types of vegetables are also produced. Large numbers of goats, as well as sheep, cattle and other livestock, are raised, primarily as food or draft animals. Sericulture is carried on in many mountain villages, but the competition of artificial silks has contributed to its decline within recent years. The government encourages the expansion of agriculture through the promotion of cooperative credit and marketing facilities. There are no experimental farms or research stations, but instruction in modern methods of farming is provided by the agricultural division of the government's vocational school in Beirut and by the American University.

The mineral resources of the region are negligible. Small deposits of lignite, located in the hills above Beirut and Tripoli, are worked intermittently. Salt is also extracted in evaporating beds along the coast north of Beirut. The development of modern industry received some impetus during the war years 1941-45, but is handicapped by the scarcity of raw materials and the limitations of the internal market. Numerous small plants exist for the processing of consumer goods, including the manufacture of textiles, cement, soaps, distilled liquors, leather goods, cigarettes, olive oil and various foodstuffs. The Iraq Petroleum Company has recently established a refinery at Tripoli, the terminus of its pipeline from the oil fields in the Kirkuk region. The chief exports are olives and olive oil, textiles, silk, fruits and petroleum products.

p. 112(5)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

spectric, and are usually due to some such fact as the death of the father in his son's infancy. After she is married, a woman continues to be known by her own and her father's names, but if she is asked to give a family name, she will give her husband's rather than her father's, family name (cf. Granqvist, 1950, p. 39).

The minimal lineages, then, are name groups. Each lineage name identifies its various bearers as members of a common descent group who are, *ipso facto*, relatives. When pressed, everyone who was asked admitted that he was also related to all the members of his maximal lineage, "and of course *all* of us in Mansūf return (*nirjiʿ*) to Manṣūr Jurjis al-Khūrī." Of these two wider connections, the latter, wider one seemed to be the stronger. In fact, many young adults were quite vague as to the maximal lineage affiliation of many of the minimal lineages. To put the matter in another way, it appears that in many cases a stronger identification is felt with the village as a kin group than with the maximal lineages. Even here, the writer would suggest that the sense of village identification is based possibly more on the interests of common residence than on the kinship bond of common descent from a very remote ancestor. At this point, the possibility must be raised that common descent from Manṣūr Jurjis al-Khūrī and the various descent patterns indicated in Table 8 and Figure 5 are partially or wholly fictional. As it is, it can be seen that the ultimate descent of Minimal Lineages XX and XXI are unknown or in dispute. But if it is fiction, it is nonetheless a significant symbol of the conceptual unity of the village, a conception which is put in terms of kinship. A basically similar concept is held by the people of Ramallah in regard to their genealogical origins (Zenner, 1953, p. 432).

Returning to the minimal lineages, we have seen that they identify by name people who are considered to be relatives. Several people said that the only relatives "who count" are the members of one's minimal lineage. In addition to this, however, matrilateral first cousins appear to count about equally as relatives. Discussion of this exception to patrilineal emphasis must be postponed till later in this chapter.

If, for our immediate purposes, lineage-mates are the only relatives who count, what do they count for? In a negative function, lineage-mates are people who should not marry each other. There is no strict rule about this, and marriages within minimal lineages do occur. They are, in fact, significantly numerous in lineage VIII, which is by far the largest lineage in the village (see Table 10). Having said this much, it must nevertheless be emphasized that marriages within a minimal lineage appear to be avoided in general. They could be much more frequent than they are without violation of the definite rule against the marriage of first cousins. In a positive function, lineage-mates may inherit from each other, whereas matrilateral relatives, no matter how close they may be, can never do so.

It cannot be said definitely that the minimal lineages have any more functions than those which have just been outlined. There are, apparently, no lineage heads, and if lineages ever act as units on any issue, no such behavior was observed or re-

7: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

592 if they must live together. So you see, if they *all* lived together in one house, it would be a terrible thing." Later, it appeared that the two technically extended families in the village were looked upon as temporary arrangements. As a residence unit, then, the extended family is absent from Munqif in the theory of the villagers themselves, and it is very exceptional in practice.

596 This does not mean, however, that we can dismiss the possibility of the power of extended families *as social units* regardless of residence. In fact, considering the violent stresses and strains which the common residence of in-laws is believed to cause, it is reasonable to suppose that an extended family living in separate conjugal groups might be a *stronger* social unit than an extended family living under one roof. As a matter of fact, by way of comparison, among the sedentary Bedawin living around Aleppo, several generations of one family never live together under one roof (Dagbestani, 1932, p. 188), yet it is safe to assume that among these people strong extended families as social units are the rule.

BROTHERS

593 There are, indeed, some indications in Munqif of in-group mechanisms extending beyond the conjugal family, but not, in this particular context, inclusive of the minimal lineage. These are all cases of the close relationship between adult brothers, most of whose fathers are dead or so old that they have made over their property to their sons. Note has already been made of the two pairs of brothers who live together as pairs in the summer, but live separately in the winter. In addition, there are three pairs of brothers each of which lives under one roof. These are listed as six independent households in Table 1 because they are so regarded by the villagers. In all cases the shared houses have been partitioned down the middle inside, and thus the families live independently of each other. We thus have five pairs of a total of ten conjugal families, each pair of which shares, in one way or another, a single house. In every case, these situations have arisen because the brothers have not yet "divided their inheritance," as the villagers say. Inheritance patterns will be discussed later; here it is enough to point out that inheritance is equal among brothers. Ideally, one brother—often the youngest—gets the family house, with consequent adjustments in the settlement of the rest of the property. The final settlement is often delayed several years—but never permanently—with results that have just been discussed (see Tannous, 1942, pp. 232–34 for a discussion of the solidarity of close kin).

593 615 621 There are several more cases of brothers who own and occupy adjoining houses, or houses very close to each other. This is considered a "nice" arrangement, but it is often impossible, and there are many exceptions. Projected over many generations, however, this ideal has resulted in the tendency for the houses of maximal lineage mates to have remained clustered together (see map, Fig. 6) after the original division of the village territory among the three sons of the founder.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

582 588 The term "incest" is most meaningful when it is restricted to the denotation of the mating and/or marriage of relatives so close that knowledge of the act excites horror and revulsion among the other members of the community to such a degree that the guilty pair may be disgraced, ostracized or even killed. On this definition, the marriage of first cousins in Munşif is *not* incest. This is indicated by the status of the two pairs of first cousin spouses now living in the village. As far as could be observed, they suffer in no way because of their special relationship, not even from mild ridicule. The fact *was* singled out for remark as being unusual, against the formal rules, and therefore requiring an episcopal dispensation, but this was all.

582 606 Nevertheless, the marriage of first cousins is restricted, and though not absolutely impossible, difficulties are put in the way of its achievement, and it is rare. In terms of this restriction all first cousins are of equal and undifferentiated status. It is the guess of this writer that (1) the concept of all first cousins being equally close relatives in terms of affective relationships, and (2) the extension of the kinship term *ǧadr* to the male spouses of all first cousins are developments from the pseudo-sibling status of all first cousins which the Church marriage rules established. These three elements of behavior are not in accord with what we would expect to find in a strictly patrilineal system. However, in regard to inheritance and other rights and privileges associated with lineage membership, patrilateral parallel cousins alone have special status, and none of the other types of first cousin count at all. It is important to note that the importance of matrilateral kin is limited to first cousins and their parents, especially the mother's brothers.

Such is the "compromise" between Church regulations and kinship rules as reflected in the various types of behavior associated with first cousins. The theory is admittedly speculative, but in the absence of a better alternative, it is the only interpretation which this writer can give the variously inconsistent phenomena which have been discussed.

RULES OF INHERITANCE

● 428 The rules of inheritance are relevant to the subject of kinship and marriage. Preferably, inheritance among the Arabs goes from father to children. According to Koranic and Ottoman law, all sons receive equal shares, and all daughters receive equal shares, but a daughter's share is equal to half a son's. As the villagers say: "One son is worth two daughters."

In Munşif, however, daughters customarily do not take their shares, but, instead, make them over to their brothers. Zarour (1953, p. 437) reports exactly the same practice in contemporary Ramallah. Several informants of both sexes said that this was not an unfair arrangement because most brothers give their sisters substantial presents when they are married. Since daughters do not, in actual practice, ordinarily inherit property, their marriage to members of other kin groups does not contribute to any dispersal of family property.

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Women in general, however, can and do inherit property in their own right. For example, a widow, even if she has children, gets one-eighth of her husband's property, and if there are no children at all, she gets one-fourth. If there are daughters but no sons, the daughters inherit, in equal shares, a total of fourteen twenty-fourths of their father's property, while seven twenty-fourths go to his brother or brothers. There appears, nevertheless, to be a tendency for such heiresses to make over their inheritance to men of one status or another, or at least to relinquish all responsibility for it. For example, one house in the village was reported to be owned jointly by two men who were not close relatives at all. By marriage, however, they were *'adiil*, married to sisters, and these women, who had no brothers, had inherited the house from their father.

For purposes of inheritance, a man's property is theoretically divided into twenty-four equal parts, on which basis the shares of various heirs can automatically be computed. One can imagine, however, the difficulties and disagreements which arise in trying to divide what is mostly real property, rather than money, into twenty-four equal parts. These difficulties are one reason for the frequent postponement of the actual division of inheritance among brothers.

GODPARENTS

It has been mentioned that godparenthood establishes a ritual siblingship in the second generation. Ordinarily the *sbbiin* at the wedding becomes the godfather (*'arraab*) of the children, while the *sbbiini* becomes their godmother (*'arraaba*). Between the godchildren (masc., *falyuun;* fem., *falyuuni*) and the children of their godparents marriage is forbidden, as between siblings, and sometimes they use sibling terms. However, in actual practice, this prohiibtion does not greatly widen the range of persons with whom marriage is forbidden because many of the brides and grooms select their own brothers or sisters to be *sbbiin* and *sbbiini*. Consequently, in these cases the children are first cousins. In this culture, the godparent complex is largely a means of reinforcing the solidarity of an already solid group of kinsmen. Most informants did not seem to take these ritual statuses, as such, very seriously.

VILLAGE ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

We now turn to the important topic of village endogamy and exogamy. No one is remembered to have married outside the village or the Qurni (marriages within the Qurni are to be considered as locally endogamous) before about one hundred years ago. It has been mentioned before that most of the early cases were men who took wives from villages in which they were doing wage labor. These cases were apparently sporadic and had little or no effect on the social structure of the village since the wives were absorbed into it.

Table 11 indicates that village exogamy did not become a real trend until

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

position with respect to Maximal Lineages A and B, respectively, except that these shrines themselves were built after the founding of the village—"at least two hundred years ago." However, there are two kinds of *waqf*. The more common is land (or other property) given to a religious institution often in fulfillment of a vow, and its usufruct is reserved for religious purposes. In other words, it is an endowment. There is another kind of *waqf*, also, however, and this is represented in Munṣif by Mar Jurjis and its *waqf*. In this case the *waqf* is a sort of family trust. The usufruct of the land is reserved for the family or lineage (in Munṣif, A,III) which originally established it. Only when and if the lineage dies out is the property turned over to a religious institution. The Caliph Omar (A.D. 634–643) is credited with the invention of *waqf*, but actually the Byzantines had similar legal forms (Bonne, 1948, pp. 199–220). It happens that the present priest belongs to A,III, hence he would derive some income from Mar Jurjis even if he were not the priest. He is also the custodian of the other *waqf* lands, and the income from them is his. The disposition of *waqf* income is not made in this way everywhere, but this arrangement makes a sizeable contribution to the support of the priest and his family. In addition to being paid fees for performing rituals, the priest is also supposed to receive an annual contribution from each head of a household.

Some villages have religious schools attached to the church, but in Munṣif formal religious instruction is conducted by the priest periodically in the village school. For the most part the religious instruction of the children is left to their parents.

SCHOOLS

"Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to or approximates universal literacy" (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, p. 407). Munṣif is certainly one of these, and its condition is due to a long-standing emphasis on education.

In the village itself there are two schools, the government school and the "national" school. The government school is part of the government educational system. Instruction is free, except that the students must provide their own books. There are about seventy students and two teachers, both, at the moment, members of the village (A,V and C,XX).

The Lebanese public school system is based on the French, but it is incomplete. There is a fairly good distribution of public elementary schools, like that in Munṣif, which offer a six-year program (recently shortened to five years) at the end of which the student receives a *certificat*. There are some public schools (mostly in large towns and cities) which carry the process about three years further, a *brévet* being granted at the end. The student who wishes to continue his education beyond the *brévet* must do so outside the public school system, and he has three courses to choose from (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 417–18). He may choose

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● 43
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Lebanon ME1

For information on the topography, climate, agriculture, mineral wealth, railways, settlement pattern, productive capacity of the economy, and trade of the Levant coastland, see M1 Middle East, cat. 116, 21: Fisher, pp. 371-414.]

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

252 at a time can be placed. The whole thing is inserted into the oven, and the disks
256 are shaken off the board. After about a minute in the oven, bubbles appear on the surface of a disk, and then the whole thing puffs up until it looks like a large pin-cushion. It remains in the oven about a minute more and then is removed. As soon as a loaf begins to cool, it collapses into disk form again, only now the disk consists of two layers except around the edge.

[465] In each bakery, the baker is the only hired professional. In the bakery in the *saḥa*, the owner provides the baker with bread for his own consumption and pays
256 him the equivalent of about a dollar and a half a day. In the other bakery, the baker
427 and owner split the bread receipts (see below) of the bakery fifty-fifty, but there is no monetary transaction between them.

Every woman who uses the bakery sets aside about seven per cent of the loaves she makes, and these she "leaves for the *furn*." The owners' own bread supply is thus supplied them, and they are free to sell or otherwise dispose of what they do
[432] not eat. The Mtawli women, mentioned earlier, work in the *furn* on the same basis as the other women, but they regularly prepare more bread than they need themselves and sell the surplus at about twenty-five piasters (about seven cents)
[804] per *ruṭl* (the *ruṭl* is a traditional weight measure equivalent to about 1 lb. 3 oz.).

OLIVE PRESSES

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[471] The presses are privately owned but are available to all, the owner receiving a certain proportion of the oil which each individual presses. As social institutions they are, of course, far less important than the stores and bakeries, for they are used for only a few weeks a year, during the olive harvest. However, as has already been suggested, the olive harvest is a period of intense cooperative activity in which social interaction, spurred on by hopes of a profitable crop, is very lively. The presses play an essential economic part in the proceedings and draw large groups of men together.

258 Most of the presses in the village are modern, machine-driven apparatuses
402 requiring a minimum of manual assistance. There is, however, one old-style one in the stable of a house in the al-Waṭiyya section. Stone bins hold the fresh olives.
[404] There is a heavy wooden beam one end of which is attached, hinge-fashion, to the ceiling, the other end weighted with three large stones (called "bells"). A batch of fresh olives is placed under the weighted end of the beam which is raised by block and tackle and then dropped on the olives. The purpose is to reduce the olives to a mash which can then easily be transferred to a circular stone basin with a drain. On it a large, thick stone wheel is set upright. The wheel is secured to a revolving beam one end of which is set into the ceiling. A subsidiary beam projects at right angles to the revolving one. To this a donkey is harnessed, and by walking round and round the basin, the donkey turns the wheel over the olive mash, pressing out the oil. This crude process involves considerable waste, hence

433, 162, 464, 439

Egypt	MR1
Turkey	MB1
Iraq	MH1
Syria	MD1
Lebanon	ME1
Historical Palestine	MF2
Israel	MF1

/For an account of the economic effects of industrialization after World War II and information on industrial output in countries of the Middle East, see 66: Bonne, M1 Middle East, category 116 as follows: Egypt - pp. 293-298, p. 309, Turkey - pp. 298-300, 307-308, Syria and Lebanon - pp. 300-302, 309-310, Palestine - pp. 302-304, Israel - pp. 310-311./

185, 433, 654

Egypt	MR1
Turkey	MB1
Iraq	MH1
Syria	MD1
Lebanon	ME1
Historical Palestine	MF2

/For an account of the program of industrialization in countries of the Middle East after World War I up to 1945, see 66: Bonné, M1 Middle East, category 116 as follows: Turkey - pp. 274-284, Egypt - pp. 285-286, Iraq - pp. 287-289, Palestine - 289-290, Syria and Lebanon - pp. 290-291./

to maintain their Lebanese citizenship abroad are Christians, the overwhelming majority of whom are Maronites.

(e) The natural increase among the non-Christian population of the Lebanon, and particularly of the Shi'ah and the Druzes, is more than twice as great as that of the Christian population. These facts can serve as a key to explain various developments, the influence of which may be decisive in shaping the social character and political fate of the Lebanon.

Any person reviewing the demographic problems of the Lebanon cannot but observe a number of factors common to the Christian population of the Lebanon and the Yishuv (the Jewish community) in Palestine. The natural increase of the Christians in the Lebanon is roughly equal to that of the Yishuv in Palestine.*

Against this, however, the Yishuv in Palestine has incomparably more potential reserve in the way of immigration from abroad than that which is available to the Lebanese Christians through the return of emigrants. And just as the chief concern of Zionism in Palestine is the creation of possibilities for the absorption of fresh immigrants from abroad, so the Christians of the Lebanon are faced first and foremost with the problem of preventing emigration from the country, and, in consequence, the creation of opportunities for absorbing emigrants who do return and who can return to their homeland, given suitable absorptive conditions. In addition, attention is devoted to the creation of opportunities for absorbing Christians who require a refuge.

The absence of dynamic economic resources in the Lebanon which could increase and expand the sources of livelihood for a progressive population has led to a steady emigration from the country since the middle of the last century. This process has chiefly affected the Christians whose requirements are more developed and whose living standards are higher than those of their Druze and Moslem neighbours; it has created a serious social and political problem which, taken together with their lower rate of natural increase, places the future of the Lebanese Christians in permanent danger.

Robert Widmer described the economic reasons for a migration from the Lebanon in the following passage:†

> "Lebanon is over-populated. As has been stated, the density of population is about 93 people to a square kilometre. In view of the topography of the country, its rocky mountains and its thin soil, its scarcity of mineral wealth, and its undeveloped industries, the land cannot support all its people. Consequently it is to be expected that some of them have to emigrate, leaving many dependent on their remittances."

As long as emigration was temporary, it was in many ways advantageous. To the general broadening of outlook resulting from contact with more advanced countries were added the material benefits of an increase in the country's capital (brought in by returning emigrants), an out-

* Fourteen pro-mille among the Christians of the Lebanon as against fifteen pro-mille among the Jews of Palestine.

† S. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 14.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Bread (*khubz*) is not the only wheat product which is made in the bakery and eaten. There is also holy bread (*qurbaan*) (which will be discussed later). And a special treat is *manqaaishi* ("fingered"). This starts as a disk of unleavened dough which looks very much like an unbaked loaf of bread. But a rim is pinched up around the edge and the maker may punch herringbone or crosshatch designs in the center with her fingers. The center is then covered liberally with olive oil and on this sugar and sesame seeds are sprinkled. It is preferably eaten as soon as possible after it has been baked. It is sweet and filling. None of the very sweet, flaky pastries, which can be bought in Middle Eastern restaurants, was encountered in the village.

Meat. Sheep are killed ordinarily only on Sundays, and the meat is bought and most of it eaten immediately. There appears to be a sort of folk hygiene connected with this practice. One of the few complaints about city life voiced by a young person was that it was not a good idea to buy meat in the city because one didn't know how long it had been hanging in the butcher shop, completely exposed to flies and the dust of the street. Beef, a prime source of tapeworm, is not eaten at all, nor is pork.

The main dish of the standard Sunday dinner, taken at noon, is raw *kibbi*, perhaps the most famous Lebanese dish. It consists of raw meat and cracked wheat ground up together in the stone mortar and served as a smooth mound on a platter. It is washed down with another famous item, *ʾaraq*, a distilled grape liquor, flavored with anis, which is clear and colorless when it comes from the bottle but turns milky white when water is added to it, as it usually is. The villagers buy *ʾaraq* which is made in the city, although they would undoubtedly make their own if they had to. The intake of alcohol is very moderate. It is never drunk alone but always as part of a meal. Four small glasses of *ʾaraq* mixed with water are considered enough, if not too much. The writer is reasonably certain that there is no cultural pattern for getting really drunk for its own sake. A little wine is made locally, but not very much.

Raw meat is also eaten in small chunks, taken in bread and dipped in the rough salt which is obtained locally from the sea. Most of the specialized organs, such as liver, kidneys, testicles, and lungs, are eaten in this manner.

What is left over from the raw *kibbi* is cooked, either in the form of a flat disk or in individual patties. This cooked *kibbi* will appear on Monday's, and perhaps Tuesday's, menu. *Laḥm mishwi* ("broiled meat"—on skewers) another regional specialty, is an alternative.

Roast chicken is sometimes served but usually only on special occasions, such as the saint's-day feasts at which certain families entertain the priest.

Olives. All the olives which are consumed in the village are local produce. Some are cured in brine and stored for eating throughout the year. A dish of them appears at every meal. But most of a year's harvest is reduced, locally, to oil which is used in nearly every phase of cooking.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

a particularly unfavored district in the physical sense—more favored districts had already been occupied by others.

We have seen that the village territory was subsequently divided into three equal parts, each of which came in time to be dominated by a particular lineage, each descended from a son of the founder. The main house cluster was said to have been first located somewhat below the church, in a recess. This location made the community completely invisible from the coastal highway, and this was described by one informant as a necessary defensive measure. He added that he had heard that in the old days, when men went down to Ḥilwi to work their fields, they went in armed groups to protect themselves against marauding bands of Muslims. This was presumably during the century and more of virtual anarchy which followed the reign of Fakhr ad-Dīn II. As the village grew in population, the house cluster was extended up and along the crest of the ridge, lineage A occupying the upper part, lineage C the lower part. Lineage B members lived mainly at *'arqūb*, surrounding the shrine of Mar Mikhaīl, and only very recently moved entirely into the eastern and upper portions of the main house cluster.

We have seen that at present the ownership pattern of the lands still reflects the clustering of the houses by maximal lineage. Some of the exceptions to this patterning, especially in the highest part of the village, are due to very recent purchases of land and new construction. Those in the center, however, were explained by one informant as follows: "Maybe a hundred years ago many people were very poor. They sold their land to people in 'Ainabūr. Then later some others bought it again. We don't know who they all were. People went to America to make money and then they came back."

There is at hand what might well be external evidence of this episode. Churchill (1853, vol. 1, pp. 72–73), writes of the spectacular rise of one Michael Toobes, a Maronite from 'Ainabūr, "Making his native village of Ainabeit the centre of his operations, he conceived a system which soon brought him into intimate relations with the entire neighboring population—that of making advances of money on the silk crops. . . . Toobes has become an extensive landed proprietor, and as a landlord his character is unimpeachable."

Until about seventy-five years ago, Munṣif was a very nearly self-sufficient and self-contained community. We can assume that a good proportion of its wheat always had to be imported. As a matter of fact, Ḥilwi used to serve as a point of entry for imported goods which were brought to it by boat, this mode of transportation being cheaper, safer, and easier than overland transport. It was also, apparently, a regular practice for a number of men to do seasonal wage labor in other districts. One specialty of this type, which was hazardous but profitable, was sponge-diving.

But these activities do not seem to have essentially lessened the village's cultural isolation. It was common in those days, according to one informant, to re-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 MK1 Lebanon MK1

3. The change is not in conflict, functionally or symbolically, with other, firmly established or unchanging norms.

The second condition provides the adequate motivation essential to learning, and, as Hallowell (1945, pp. 182–83) has pointed out, "learning is the psychological crux of acculturation." Using Barnett's terms (Barnett, 1940, p. 31), we can say that if the *function* of the new item is apprehended and appreciated by the villagers, they will accept it, provided that it does not involve too much expense, does not necessitate elaborate readjustments in otherwise stable systems, and that its *meaning* is neither odious (for example, a part of foreign imperialism) nor in conflict with the meanings of other, stable traits.

Perhaps this analysis will be clearer when we consider two areas of "material culture" which have remained almost wholly unchanged. One of these is diet which has remained unchanged because any fundamental alteration in it would meet with situations which would be contrary to any or all of the three conditions which are necessary to successful change. It would be enough to say that change in diet would involve extra expense and a major alteration in eating habits and cooking methods (violation of conditions 1 and 3). But besides this, the villagers see no purpose in changing their basic diet. It satisfies them physically and gustatorially (violation of conditions 2 and 3). It is probable also that they derive no little spiritual satisfaction in being able to maintain old patterns in this area of behavior where no change is forced upon them.

The other area of material conservatism is in farming techniques. Although farming itself has deteriorated markedly in terms of the number of men who practice it (a negative sort of change), farming techniques remain the same. This is largely because conditions 1 and 2 do not obtain. To introduce, for example, tractors and modern plows and harrows, into a terrace village like Muqif, would not only involve great expense, it would also be rather absurd from a practical point of view. There would be the problem of moving the equipment from one terrace to another, and most of the terraces are so small and irregular in shape that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to use when it was in place. Chemical fertilizers have been adopted to some extent, probably limited by expense. Certainly the villagers are most eager to obtain an irrigation system, but here their desires are thwarted by external conditions.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

In the economic or subsistence sphere, the village has obviously undergone a profound change. A number of rural specialties, such as weaving and shoemaking, have completely gone out of existence. Farming, formerly *the* primary occupation, now occupies a very small number of men. A large proportion, if not most, of the village income is now derived from urban occupations.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types, economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the importation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

3. The drift of villagers *en masse* to the city for employment—in part in consequence of factors 1 and 2.

4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

The intellectual factors in the economic change in Munjid were brought about by the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In this connection, three consequences must be noted:

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village and urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied *both* with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well-recognized by e.g. any. Malinowski (1945, pp. 67–68) has remarked on its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Wendenne (1946, p. 268) refers to education as unfitting people for village life. Keen (1946, p. 43) speaks of a prevailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Richardson and Bazal say:

> Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The technical backwardness, the contrast of enormous wealth and extreme poverty, the group hatreds, suspicion, the apathy of peasant millions and overlords alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West form small furious "middle-class" groups talking progress, but either powerless, unwilling, or thwarted in their attempts to change a millennia-entrenched system. (1948, pp. 489–90.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts in values among the Munjidin, as among other Middle Easterners. The various changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of traditional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Munjidin are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a source of sub-

361 [illegible] the other three project villages there is one mosque. There are no Christian churches here as this region is populated by Moslems of the Shee'ah sect. There are often referred to as Metwalis and [illegible] are followers of the descendants of Ali.

362 The 912 dwelling units in the five project villages house an average of 6.1 persons per unit. A positive building trend has taken place in the area during the past five years. For this period, only 'Adloun reported more buildings torn down or otherwise made uninhabitable than were constructed. In the other four villages the opposite trend was reported. No attempt was made to determine the types of units constructed and heavy reliance should not be placed on Table IX, «Construction Trend in Last Five Years», for the data in this table are subject to a high degree of error.

Business and Industry

364/365 In the project villages the business district generally is composed of a few small shops selling meat, grain, groceries, small items of hardware, and a limited amount of other items. In these five villages there is a total of thirty-four small shops. There are 17 general stores, 11 meat stores, 2 barber shops and 4 cafés. As the shopping centers of Beirut and Saida are easily accessible by low-cost bus transportation, general stores carry only those items in heavy demand. Several of the cafés service the main Beirut-Saida-Tyre road. Of all the businesses, only three cafés employ the services of personnel other than the proprietor. Only the village of Loubya lacks any form of business center.

It is interesting to note that in these small villages the meat shops often cooperate by assigning specific days of operation for each shopkeeper. On days allotted to one shopkeeper, the carcasses will hang from his hooks and nearby meat shops will be closed. All the stores are extremely small and require but a meager capital investment.

433 There are no power-operated factories in the project area and very few home industries or handicraft enterprises. Two hand-operated olive presses were reported at Sakaniyah and one at Loubya. With no wood or mineral resources at hand and with no electrical power available, this total lack of village industrialization is not surprising.

3Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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of clinics and in the cities a shortage of qualified staff to undertake massage, radiotherapy, and orthopaedics, and there is special need to combat tuberculosis. Syrians and Lebanese are not addicted to hashish which, however, is grown in the Biqaa and smuggled to Egypt. The Lebanese Government periodically burns many of the plantations, which inflates the price of the surviving crop.

Economic Survey

More than half the population of the two countries is engaged in agriculture which is the most important economic activity. Natural resources hardly exist; there is bitumen in Jebel Bishri in Syria but its production would not be economic; about 10,000 tons a year of asphalt is produced from the neighbourhood of Latakia; and salt is extracted in commercial quantities near Aleppo.

Petroleum

For a number of years, associates of IPC searched for oil in Syria and Lebanon but without finding it in commercial quantities; in consequence, the areas held by these IPC associates have been given up. However, the two Governments are still anxious for further efforts to be made to find oil in commercial quantities. The importance of petroleum in the economy of Syria and Lebanon lies in the situation of the two republics athwart the pipelines from the fields of northern Iraq and Saudi Arabia which have outlets on the Mediterranean.[1] From Iraq a 12-inch and 16-inch line carry oil across Syria by way of Palmyra and Homs to Tripoli in the Lebanon. Together, these two lines can carry about 8 million tons of oil a year (160,000 barrels daily). A third IPC line from Kirkuk to Homs then bears north of the other two and reaches the sea at Banias, and so does not run through Lebanon at all. This new line is 26–30–32-inches in diameter and can deliver oil at about 16 million tons a year (320,000 barrels daily). From the fields of Saudi Arabia a 30–31 inch American pipeline (Tapline) travels over 1,000 miles on its way to Sidon in Lebanon, passing through Jordan and Syria. At present the line is pumping at a rate of about 15 million tons a year (300,000 barrels daily). It should be noted that these four lines all carry crude oil, some of which is refined on the Mediterranean shore for local requirements but the bulk is shipped as crude to the refineries of Europe and elsewhere.

The line from Kirkuk to Haifa is not operating and the Haifa

[1] See Appendix IV, p. 570 below.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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MAIN CROPS

	Area (000 hectares)		Production (000 metric tons)		Yields (100 kg. per ha.)
	1951	1952	1951	1952	1950
Wheat	61	70	43	50	7·3
Barley	15	20	14	27	11·2
Cotton	5	2	1	..	..
Tobacco	..	..	3	2	..
Citrus fruit	..	..	75	90	..
Grapes	21	..	80	..	..

.. = not available.

(Sources: Banque de Syrie et du Liban, *Exercice 1952* (Paris 1953); except figures for yields, cotton production, and area and production of grapes, all of which have been taken from FAO, *Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics*, 1952.)

There is enough water for land to be used more intensively than in Syria but there is not enough room to grow all that the country needs. Improved methods have increased the yield of cereals per acre, but Lebanon will always have to import wheat. The crop of grapes is nearly double the weight of the wheat harvest and Lebanon exports grapes, wine, and the best quality araq. The citrus exports are high but the growers have not yet established the same name for quality as have the Israelis. Melons, water-melons, apples, onions, and potatoes are also important crops and vegetables are exported as far as the oil towns of Kuwait and Dahran. Cotton and tobacco are also grown in small quantities.

The land is more evenly parcelled out amongst the people in Lebanon than in Syria but, despite the fact that there are many small holdings, there is a general shift from country to town, and Beirut and its immediate neighbourhood hold nearly half of the population. In the coastal regions of intensive cultivation small holdings predominate, while in the plain regions large estates worked by share-croppers are the most prevalent form of land tenure. Some estates owned by rich men are farmed under modern methods and equipment and there is less room for improvement or for expansion in agriculture than in Syria.

Industry

Relative to its size, Lebanon is one of the most industrialized countries in the Middle East area. It is probable that nearly 50,000 persons are so employed, of whom over half are factory workers. However, Lebanese industry has only partly recovered from the loss of the Syrian market and some industries had either to move to Syria or to curtail production. The biggest industries are electricity, which produced 130 million kwh. in 1951, and the Cheks cement factory south of Tripoli, which produced 303,000 tons of cement in 1951. Cotton weaving and

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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spinning was established in Tripoli in 1929 but the textile factories are not as big as those of Syria. In Beirut there are modern industries producing biscuits, vegetable oil, preserves, and soft drinks. There are in Lebanon a host of garages and workshops and some well-equipped repair shops and in Beirut there is an engineering firm that has successfully carried out contracts or major jobs for IPC. New factories are a sugar refinery, a stocking factory, and a cotton-seed oil plant. The following table shows the output of some industries for recent years.

SELECTED INDUSTRIES IN LEBANON

Industry	*Unit*	*Output*	*Year*	*Remarks*
Cotton, yarn	000 tons	2·1	1951	54,000 spindles
,, fabric	mill. sq. metres	4·9	1950	1,000 power looms, 300 hand looms
Woollen fabric	,,	0·2	1950	117 power looms
Silk and rayon	,,	7	1949	500–600 tons of cocoons each year; 300 looms, meets half local consumption
Leather, soles	000 tons	2·0	1951	Back to pre-war level
,, uppers	mill. sq. ft.	2·3		
Electricity	mill. kw.	130	1951	
Cement	000 tons	303·0	1951	
Sugar	,,	3·1	1949	Well below capacity; meets only one-fifth of requirements
Sweets and chocolates	,,	6·4	1950	
Cigarettes	million	928	1951	Private monopolies under government supervision
Tobacco	000 tons	0·3	1950	
Beer	000 hectolitres	15	1951	
Wine	,,	6	1949	
Araq	,,	12	1949	
Industrial alcohol	000 tons	0·5	1951	
Matches	million boxes	60	1949	
Soap	000 tons	6·5	1949	

(SOURCE: UN, Dept. of Economic Affairs, *Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East, 1951–2.*)

Commerce

The chief characteristic of the Lebanese economy is its dependence on buying and selling rather than on producing. The merchants of Beirut have a world-wide reputation for shrewdness and efficiency in general commerce and they have grown rich on the transit trade. This has grown considerably in post-war years. According to estimates of the Banque de Syrie et du Liban the value of Lebanese re-exports amounted to £L19,491,000 in 1952 (compared with only £L8,201,000 in 1951), that of transit goods to £L1,238,601,000 in 1952 (compared with £L1,136,795,000 in 1951). On some of these Lebanon makes little profit but other items show good returns,

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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441 particularly cars and other finished goods for which Lebanese merchants have agencies for the whole Levant. Another type of transit trade is the exchange and gold markets: in 1950 there was trading in precious metals to a value of £L96,332,000, which dropped in 1951 to £L22,974,000 and £L39,461,000 in 1952. On these transactions not only has the volume dropped but also the profit, but vast sums were made in 1947 and 1948 when the margins on exchange and gold transactions were wide.

439 Middle East nationalism may have two effects on Lebanese
433 commerce: on the one hand, if Lebanon maintains a policy of welcoming and facilitating foreign capital and merchants, there may be an exodus to Beirut of foreign concerns such as has already occurred as a result of the political disorders of 1951–2. (A tendency in the other direction can be seen in the taking over in March 1953 of the French Beirut electricity company.) But, on the other hand, growing nationalism, parochialism, and isolationism in her neighbours could throw Lebanon on her own resources; Jordan and Syria are both trying to encourage their own ports and merchants to the detriment of Beirut, and Lebanon must now make her services as middle-man and entrepôt more attractive and cheap so that her neighbours will continue to use them. At the same time, if these neighbours squeeze Beirut too hard, they might threaten Lebanon with ruin and it is conceivable that she might be compelled to attempt to seek a replacement of the lost source of income in association with Israel.

Finance

457 The Lebanese pound of 100 piastres is covered by the French
[648] franc under an agreement of 31 January 1948, and Lebanon is a member of the International Monetary Fund and of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, with a quota of $4½ million. At the end of 1951 45 per cent of the money circulating was covered by gold and a further 7 per cent by foreign currency—the gold cover has been steadily strengthened, to 54·9 per cent at the end of 1952, to 57·2 per cent by February 1953—when the gold backing amounted to £L114·25 million—and to 60·6 per cent by April 1953. This recent increase in the gold cover results from the part-repayment of an obligation incurred by Syria in 1948; a further instalment was to be repaid in October 1953. In 1939 there were £L29 million in notes circulating, in 1943 £L114 million, and in 1951 £L212 million, but by the middle of 1952 the circulation had dropped to £L199 million and it remained at around this figure until February 1953.

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East
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CHAPTER V

COTTON IN LEBANON

000 Lebanon is the smallest, the most cosmopolitan, and one of the most progressive countries in the Middle East. Beirut, the capital, is a modern, pleasant summer resort, whose shops are known over the world. Probably this contact with the world through Beirut explains the strong Western influence in the country.

But Beirut is not Lebanon, and tourism and commerce still are minor aspects of the economy, which still is primarily agricultural. The country as a whole has not modernized as much as the cities. The farmers are much more provincial.

BACKGROUND

133 311 The country has limited resources. The total area is less than 4,000 square miles, a third the size of Maryland, and most of it is mountainous. The crop land is limited to the narrow coastal plain which averages only four miles in width, and to the numerous fairly small valleys in the mountains.

161 Lebanon always has had a great many more people than its agriculture can sustain. In the past this pressure was relieved by emigration, but restrictions of the past 25 years, at home and abroad, have checked the exodus and intensified the problem. The population is now about 1.2 million.

642 Progress has been encouraged by the government which is admittedly one of the most stable in the Middle East, despite its lack of experience. Lebanon became an independent Republic only in 1943, after the French mandate was ended. It has been remarkably independent and practical and has not allowed itself to become embroiled in nationalistic issues as many of the other Arab states have.

INDUSTRY

● 433 With few exceptions, industries are small and devoted chiefly to the production of light consumer goods such as matches, rubber goods, soap, furniture, cigarettes, beer, macaroni, biscuits, and olive oil. The two chief basic industries are the Iraq Petroleum Company's Tripoli topping plant and the Chekka cement factory. Other basic manufacturing plants include cotton textiles, glass, and sole leather.

AGRICULTURE

241 Roughly a third of the tilled land is devoted to cereals and the balance to a wide variety of crops—fruit trees, vineyards, vegetables, and a number of industrial crops including cotton. Approximately 15 per cent of this area is left fallow each year.

The western plains receive 20 to 35 inches of rainfall a year, and that only during the winter months. Because of the dry summers, a few of the crops

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East
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COTTON IN LEBANON

Table 40

LEBANON: Specified Imports as Per Cent of Total Imports 1937, 1949, 1950, and 1951
Value

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Item	1937	1949	1950	1951
	Per Cent			
Cotton Fabric	13	4	3	2
Other Textiles	16	11	12	15
Machinery and Vehicles	8	25	12	11
Iron, Steel, and Manufactures	7	11	6	6
Other	56	49	67	66
Total	100	100	100	100
Total Value Converted to Millions of Dollars	35	215	82	185

NOTE: Imports of the Syrian-Lebanese Customs Union through March 13, 1950.
SOURCE: International Monetary Fund.

Table 41

LEBANON: Specified Exports as Per Cent of Total Exports 1937, 1949, 1950, and 1951
Value

Item	1937	1949	1950	1951
	Per Cent			
Textiles	25	18	18	38
Olive Oil	11	3		
Vegetables	8	6	19	4
Fruits and Nuts	8	3	7	16
Hides, Skins, and Furs	6	1	4	5
Grains	5	28	5	
Others	37	41	56	37
Total	100	100	100	100
Total Value Converted to Millions of Dollars	17	50	23	41

NOTE: Exports of the Syrian-Lebanese Customs Union through March 13, 1950.
SOURCE: International Monetary Fund.

are produced under dry-land conditions. In the eastern plains and valleys, 241
where less rain falls, all summer crops are irrigated.

Most of the farms in the mountainous areas are owner-operated and [423]
have been in the same families for generations. This has tended to reduce the size of individual holdings to uneconomic proportions.

Agriculture in Lebanon, as in most Middle East countries, exhibits strong contrasts between the old and the new. The hand of the past is still heavy upon farming practices, but modern methods and machines are making steady inroads.

The country has never been self-sufficient, importing usually two-thirds 241
of its cereals and significant quantities of other agricultural commodities. 433
Food imports normally come from Syria but relations with that country now are strained. The Lebanese do not like this dependence upon imports for food. They remember the hungry days during both World Wars when imports were shut off. They want to become more self-sufficient and, at the same time, to

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East
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241 433 improve the general food supply and particularly their diets, which even now are noticeably better than in the surrounding countries. They also want to raise the income of the farming group and are anxious to increase exports to achieve a more natural trade balance. Commodity imports are three to four times the value of exports.

AGRICULTURAL OPPORTUNITIES

241 The various missions that have been studying the agricultural resources of the country report that opportunities for development are excellent. A United States Mission expressed the belief that the cultivated area might be doubled by reducing the fallow and grassland, and that 500,000 acres could be irrigated with water from the numerous mountain streams if dams, reservoirs, and canals were built. This Mission was encouraging also about the possibilities of increasing productivity.

The Mission submitted a long and detailed list of recommendations, the major ones of which called for: (a) developing an adequate scientific and technical staff, (b) establishing a more effective extension system, (c) organizing a central experiment station, (d) expanding the agricultural education program, and (e) efficiently utilizing water resources.[65]

The Mission specifically encouraged the expansion of fruit production, more interest in dairying, and the establishment of more agricultural processing plants.[66] The group did not encourage grain production, feeling that the limited acreage could be utilized more efficiently in the production of specialized agricultural commodities, and that it would prove more economical to buy wheat where it can be produced more cheaply.

Other agricultural agencies concur in the main with these conclusions and recommendations. A Point Four group, just getting established, is working along these broad lines.

COTTON

248 Lebanon has grown some cotton for many years. The crop declined to an insignificant level years ago and production did not pick up again until the period of high prices in 1950 and 1951. Lebanon as a whole has not joined the trend, prevalent in the Middle East, of reducing cotton acreage now that prices have dropped.

Production increased from about 9,200 bales a few years ago to 20,700 bales in 1951-52, the highest in recent times, and with expanded acreage the crop is expected to be raised this season, 1952-53, to between 23,000 and 28,000 bales.

Cotton production is concentrated in the northern Akhra plain near the Syrian border and in the valleys. For the most part irrigation is used.

Farms are fairly small and cotton usually is grown as one of several crops in a general farming system.

Yields averaged about 150 pounds, less than in the better cotton-growing areas of Syria. American Uplands, mainly Acala, Lone Star, and Lockett varieties, are grown almost entirely.

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[65] *Report of the United States-Lebanon Agricultural Mission*, United States Department of Agriculture, September, 1948, p. 6.

[66] *Ibid.*, p. 9.

59; Allen et al S-3 (1952-53) 1953 MI Middle East
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II. LEBANON

(Visited 1 - 15 December 1952)

1. The total area of Le .non is about 4,300 square miles, the population being estimated in 1940 at one and-a quarter million, of whom a high proportion live in the principal towns. For many years there has been considerable migration to foreign countries, and it is said that as many Lebanese live abroad as are to be found in their native land.

2. Lebanon is mainly a fruit-growing agricultural country, but pipelines from Middle East oil fields are being laid across the country to connect with newly constructed installations and harbours on the coast. In due course this development may influence the economy of the country.

3. Great hopes of agricultural expansion - to be accompanied, it is claimed, by schemes of rural community developments - are based upon the Litani Dam and irrigation project. At the time of our visit this project was under discussion between the Government and the United States Technical Cooperation Administration (Point IV), but matters had not advanced sufficiently to justify our attempting to follow in detail the intentions with regard to community welfare centres.

4. The agency of the Lebanese Government responsible for social affairs has only recently (1951) been raised to the status of Ministry. Still mor recently, there had been a change of government and the new Minister of Social A airs also held two other portfolios. The Director-General of the Department whom met had not been continuously in office over the past years. No reply had been returned by the relevant Department to the Secretary-General's request (at the end of 1951) for information on community welfare centres. Background information was difficult to obtain. A decree which would have permitted the provision of multi-purpose community centres and enabled government support to be given in cash or by way of services, had been promulgated in 1951 (Appendix I). The decree had not, however, been put into operation. The initiative in instituting or developing such multi-purpose activities as we had the opportunity of seeing at Chtaura, Anjar and Jibrail had come mainly from voluntary agencies.

5. We visited the Chtaura Demonstration Centre and Anjar project on the 4th and 12th of December. The purpose of the original centre was to provide for Armenian refugees from World War I and in the earlier stages both the Near East Foundation and the Howard Karagheusian Commemorative Corporation shared responsibilities for financing and management of settlements in this area. More recently, the Near East Foundation decided to concentrate on activities in Syria and Greece and brought its work at Chtaura to a close. Mr. Feldmahn of the Near East Foundation, who had had a long experience between the wars in community organization in Bulgaria before coming to Chtaura, then transferred to the Karagheusian Corporation. With his wife, he now supervises the various activities in a group of villages located in the Bekaa Valley between Beirut and Damascus. These activities include control of malaria, recreational programmes, organization of marketing, provision of seedlings and plants, poultry breeding, milk co-operatives and educational projects.

6. At the time of our visit an illustrated lecture by an American veterinary expert (Point IV) was in progress. The co-operative milk marketing scheme appeared to be successful and to make a useful contribution to the milk supply of Beirut. The housing provided for the settlers and the general appearance of the village at Anjar were satisfactory. That of the Arab village of Medjel-Anjar some distance away was less so. In a former disused school house there was a primitive maternity and child

Chapter 6

LEBANON

Developments to the End of the Second World War

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Lebanon's high economic level, compared with other Middle Eastern countries, is largely attributable to certain factors which helped to improve economic and social conditions, 1/ from early modern times. A relatively greater degree of security in Lebanon attracted European merchants, who provided an expanding market for Lebanese raw silk; it also brought in missionaries and educators, who established modern schools. In the second half of the nineteenth century, large-scale emigration began. It is estimated that, between 1860 and 1900, some 120,000 persons emigrated from Lebanon and Syria - an average of 3,000 a year, of whom over half were from Lebanon. In 1900-14, the yearly average rose to 15,000. 2/ A large number of these emigrants returned, bringing back with them capital and skills. There was also a small capital inflow from Europe, which was invested in railways, ports and other public utilities, as well as in banks. By 1900, Beirut had become the main distributing centre for Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, northern Iraq and southern Anatolia. Another important economic item was the export of raw silk.

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During the First World War, Lebanon, which had become a food importer, experienced a large-scale famine. In addition, its silk industry was disorganized, the mulberry trees being cut down for fuel, and its transit trade was disrupted. In the inter-war period, silk suffered further, from the competition of more efficient producers and of rayon, and gradually ceased to play an important part in the economy. A still harder blow was the decline in emigration, following restrictions imposed in most countries of immigration. After reaching a peak of 16,000 in 1923, emigration from Lebanon and Syria fell off rapidly to an annual average of 2,000 in the nineteen-thirties, of whom slightly over half came from Lebanon.

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434 1/ Net national income in 1950 was estimated at 1,000 million Lebanese pounds (see table 43), giving a per capita figure of LL 800 per annum. (Some confirmation of this figure is provided by a survey in North Lebanon which showed that in 1953 per capita income in a group of villages was LL 627. This figure does not include rent, since practically all families own their own houses (Salah M. Sawaya, Household Income and Expenditure in Al Kura, unpublished thesis, American University, Beirut, 1953)). Converted at the average free market rate (in 1950 one United States dollar equalled 3.47 Lebanese pounds), which considerably undervalues the purchasing power of the Lebanese pound, this gives a per capita income of $230, a figure well above that prevailing in the region. Some two thirds of the Lebanese population is literate, and over 40 per cent is urban, proportions which are well above the regional level.

2/ S.B. Himadeh (editor), The Economic Organization of Syria (Beirut, 1936), page 16.

Other sources of income were developed, however. Although the breakup of the Ottoman Empire and the erection of tariff barriers in the successor states handicapped Lebanon's transit trade, Beirut continued to be an important distributing centre. In this it was helped by the enlargement of its harbour and by the construction of a good network of roads. These improvements, together with the development of public utilities and hotels, attracted to Lebanon an increasing number of Middle Eastern tourists.

In agriculture, the most important development was the expansion in the acreage planted to olive and fruit trees, and the improvement in quality. The tariff protection gradually accorded after 1924 also stimulated industry. At the outbreak of the Second World War, some 20,000 persons were employed in factories and small workshops, including craftsmen engaged in such traditional seasonal occupations as silk reeling. 1/

During the Second World War, the large-scale expenditure of Allied troops raised incomes and prices, 2/ and the reduction of imports further stimulated industrial production. This increase was achieved with existing equipment, since no machinery could be imported.

Another result of the war was the improvement of communications. The forced savings due to inflation and the shift to profits took the form of franc and sterling balances held by Lebanese individuals and institutions.

Post-War Period, 1945 to 1954

Since 1945, the national income of Lebanon has increased considerably, and available data indicate a rise in consumption. The dissolution in 1950 of the customs union 3/ with Syria, which had constituted Lebanon's most important market, caused a setback, compensated in recent years, it appears, by the over-all growth.

Emigration, which had almost ceased during the war years, recovered in the post-war period. In recent years it has averaged over 3,000 per annum, 4/ compared with an annual natural increase of about 15,000. Emigration was, however, offset by an influx of over 100,000 Palestinian Arab refugees in 1948 and 1949. The maintenance of these refugees by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees has largely shielded the Lebanese economy from their impact, though many have found employment in the country while a few brought some capital with them and started new enterprises.

1/ The number of industrial establishments rose from 400 in 1930 to 900 in 1939, according to Mustafa el Musuly, "Min al hirfa ila al sinaa", in Muhadarat al nudwa (Beirut, 1953).

2/ From 1940 to 1944 inclusive, Allied expenditure in Lebanon and Syria totalled £76 million (sterling). From 1939 to 1945 inclusive, Lebanon and Syria had a surplus of 607 million Lebanese-Syrian pounds on current account. The wholesale price index in Beirut rose from 100 in June 1939 to a peak of 1,203 in January 1945.

3/ See chapter 7.

4/ Emigration in 1951 totalled 4,077, in 1952 it was 2,725 and in 1953 it was 3,315 (Le Commerce du Levant, 9 October 1954, Beirut). A significant proportion of emigrants went to the Persian Gulf area.

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This has been achieved by increasing production of fruit and vegetables, for both of which Lebanon has great natural advantages. The topography of the country and the unequal distribution of rainfall provide a diversity of climate which makes it possible to grow tropical fruits, sub-tropical fruits and fruits of the temperate zone. Soils are also sufficiently varied to suit a wide range of crops. Water is usually available in sufficient quantity, either as rainfall or from small-scale irrigation schemes. Plant diseases and pests are less prevalent than in most parts of the Middle East. The density of the rural population has made it profitable to concentrate on labour-intensive crops, while the relatively high level of education in country areas has encouraged innovation. The broken nature of the land has prevented large-scale mechanization, except in the plains, and has favoured crops which require little land, as has the prevalence of small-scale ownership. 1/ Finally, Lebanon's location has given it access to several important markets, such as Egypt for deciduous fruits, Syria and the Persian Gulf area for most fruits and vegetables, Palestine (until 1948) for vegetables, and Europe for early ripening varieties of citrus fruit and apples.

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The expansion of fruit and vegetable crops was made possible by heavy capital investment. New terraces were built on mountain slopes, and old ones were repaired and strengthened. Various small-scale works carried out since 1942 have substantially increased the irrigated area. The use of selected seeds has considerably increased, as has that of chemical fertilizers. Before the Second World War, some 3,000 tons of chemical fertilizers were imported into Lebanon and Syria yearly. In 1947, Lebanon alone used 8,500 tons 2/ and 1951-53 imports into Lebanon averaged 23,000 tons. Lastly, there has been a rapid expansion of refrigerated storage space facilities. 3/ The greater part of the necessary capital came from outside agriculture, especially from commercial profits and incomes earned in services; the irrigation works were financed through the budge

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The rise in output of fruit and vegetables may be illustrated by citrus fruit, which increased from 70,000 tons in 1944 to 100,000 tons in 1954 and

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1/ No general figures on land distribution are available but on the basis of information gathered in the course of a village survey jointly undertaken in 1953 by the Lebanese Office of Statistics and the United States Foreign Operation Administration, the following estimate may be made: some 10 per cent of the land is in holdings of 100 hectares and above and 15 to 20 per cent in holdings of 10 to 100 hectares; the total number of large and medium holders is 6,000. The remaining 70 to 75 per cent belongs to 133,000 smallholders, most of whom own less than two hectares. There are few landless labourers, and most of these rent land from the larger owners ("Proceedings of the Agricultural Credit Conference", Beirut, 12-14 October 1953).

2/ Sir Alexander Gibb and partners, The Economic Development of Lebanon (London, 1948), page 45. A breakdown shows that 42 per cent consisted of nitrogenous fertilizers, 33 per cent of superphosphates and 19 per cent of potash. Some 37 per cent of the total was applied to potatoes, 29 per cent to other vegetables and 35 per cent to fruit.

3/ The present capacity of refrigerators is estimated at over one million crates, or about 20,000 tons, Le Commerce du Levant, 1 October 1954. Capital invested in refrigerators totalled £L 6 million in 1952, and has considerably increased since then.

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by apples, which increased from 11,000 to 22,000 tons. 1/ Since 1945, over 100,000 apple trees have been planted each year and it is estimated that, at present, there are about 2.5 million trees, of which over two thirds have not reached the fruit bearing stage. 2/ 241 433

In 1948 and 1949, fruit and vegetables accounted for 40 to 50 per cent and 10 per cent, respectively, of the net value of total agricultural production. Together with a few industrial crops, fruit and vegetables constitute the only agricultural products which provide an export surplus 3/ (see table 44).

Progress has been much slower in other fields. The output of wheat rose from 35,000 tons in 1934-38 to 51,000 in 1951-54, but this was partly offset by a decline in barley from 29,000 to 20,000 tons. The area planted to wheat remained unchanged, at about 70,000 hectares, and that planted to barley declined from 33,000 to 20,000 while the yield of both crops increased appreciably, owing to improved seeds, increased mechanization 4/ and irrigation and greater use of fertilizers. Wheat and barley yields, at about 8 and 12 quintals per hectare, respectively, are still, however, below the regional average 5/ and costs of production are high; in 1954, the lowest price at which Lebanese wheat could be profitably grown was estimated at LL 280 per ton, whereas imported wheat cost LL 220. 6/ In 1948 and 1949, cereals accounted for 20 and 12 per cent, respectively, of the gross value of agricultural production. The area planted to vines has increased from 11,000 hectares in 1934-38 to 20,000, and output of grapes has risen from 27,000 tons to 80,000. The area planted to olives has remained unchanged at 16,000 hectares, but average output has risen from about 28,000 tons to 35,000 tons, yielding some 10,000 tons of oil. About 1,500 tons of tobacco are produced each year, a quantity which leaves a small export surplus. An attempt was made to grow cotton, and in 1950 some 6,000 hectares produced 1,500 tons, but cultivation proved unprofitable and most farmers gave it up. On the other hand, acreage under beets has expanded, owing to the stimulus provided by sugar refineries in Lebanon and Syria; and the 1953 crop was estimated at 10,000 tons.

1/ Lebanese Delegation to Fourth Regional Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Beirut, 13 to 16 September 1954, "Le développement de l'alimentation et de l'agriculture au Liban".

2/ Le Commerce du Levant (Beirut) 9 October 1954 and 12 January 1955. In 1954, however, Lebanese exports suffered from the competition of lower cost producers, such as Italy.

3/ The most important surplus products, in addition to citrus and apples, are potatoes, onions, bananas, figs, pears, plums, olive oil, tobacco and silk.

4/ In 1953, there were 134 tractors in Lebanon, compared with 99 in 1949; most of these are employed on wheat lands. Tractors imported in 1952 had an aggregate weight of 588 metric tons and in 1953 438 tons.

5/ In certain irrigated areas in the Bekaa plain, wheat yields have risen to 24 quintals per hectare (Fouad Saadé, Le développement de l'agriculture au Liban Editions du Cénacle Libanais, Beirut, 1953).

6/ Al Hayat, 25 June 1954 (Beirut).

67: United Nations S-5 (1945-1954) 1955 MI Middle East :
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Table 44. Lebanon: Agricultural Production and Consumption, 1953
(Thousands of metric tons)

Product	Area a/ (hectares)	Production	Consumption	Deficit	Surplus
Vegetable products:					
Cereals	108.0	101.8 b/	277.0	175.2	
Legumes	17.3	31.7	43.3	11.7	
Vegetables	16.0	207.8	169.7	5.2	43.3
Fruit	19.8	240.5	154.5	0.6	86.6
Industrial crops	51.5	77.2	90.1	22.9	9.9
Livestock products:					
Meat	...	5.3	21.7	16.4	
Milk products	...	34.6	74.6	40.0	
Eggs	...	1.5	2.1	0.6	
Fish	...	3.0	3.5	0.5	
Forest products:					
Charcoal	...	27.0	27.0	-	-
Firewood	...	81.0	81.0	-	-
Timber	...	175.0	200.0	25.0	

Source: Lebanese Delegation to Fourth Regional Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Beirut, 13 to 16 September 1954, "Le développement de l'alimentation et de l'agriculture au Liban" (mimeographed).

a/ Total cultivated area, 271,000 hectares, including 8,000 hectares under other crops and 50,000 hectares of fallow land. Total forest area, 74,000 hectares.

b/ Wheat accounted for about one-half and barley for one-quarter.

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Livestock production is still far from meeting local needs, and the lack of good natural pasture or fodder crops, together with the poor quality of breeds, limits the supply of animal products; these products account for only 8 per cent of net agricultural production. Recently, however, an improvement has taken place, owing to the importing of selected breeding-stock by the Government and farmers, reduction of the incidence of disease and of cotton-seed cake dehydrated beet-root, pulp and other concentrated feedstuffs. 1/

1/ Lebanese Delegation to Fourth Regional Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Beirut, 13-16 September 1954, "Le problème de la production animale".

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Most of the expansion described above has been carried out by private initiative but, in addition to providing irrigation, the State has assisted agriculture in many ways. Of these the most important has been the provision of credit. The Société du Crédit agricole et industriel, founded in 1938 by the Banque de Syrie et du Liban at the request of the Government, has, in recent years, advanced loans totalling LL 6 to 7 million per annum, the greater part of which is guaranteed by the Government. In 1954, the Government established an Agricultural and Industrial Bank, with a capital of LL 30 million; it is hoped that this bank will be able to meet a larger proportion of Lebanon's agricultural credit requirements. 1/ Another service has been the distribution of imported seed wheat to farmers; in 1953, 100 tons were distributed and the 1954/55 programme provided for 1,550 tons, at a cost of LL 450,000, as well as chemical fertilizers, at a cost of LL 800,000. 2/ Other projects undertaken by the Government include grain storage and citrus packing facilities, which are being established with United States aid, and experimental stations set up with the aid of the United States and French Governments. In 1953, the investment needs of agriculture over the following five years were put at LL 125 million, of which LL 50 million were for irrigation, LL 35 million for credit, LL 5 million for the mechanization of cereals cultivation, LL 10 million for the building of silos for grain and LL 25 million for transport and for processing industries. 3/ Some of this investment - for example, mechanization and investment in transport and industry - is being carried out by private enterprise and a considerable part of the balance by the Government (see below).

Industry

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In the immediate post-war years, Lebanese industry was favoured by the scarcity of imported consumer goods, but this advantage was offset by the great shortage of raw materials and the difficulty of renewing equipment or obtaining spare parts; moreover, military orders, which had absorbed a large fraction of industrial output, dwindled to insignificant proportions. In the course of 1946 and 1947, foreign competition increased sharply; this was met by a considerable rise in investment, especially in the food processing and textile industries, and a renewal of equipment. The increase in productive capacity resulted in greater output in 1948 and 1949. In 1950, many Lebanese industries were severely hit by the ending of the customs union with Syria. Industry in general, however, was aided by the war in Korea, which reduced foreign competition, and subsequently by greater sales in the domestic market, facilitated by increased tariff

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1/ Agricultural indebtedness is believed to total between LL 30 and LL 60 million the bulk of which was obtained from money-lenders and small private banks at a rate of interest around 20 per cent. "Proceedings of the Agricultural Credit Conference", Beirut, 12-14 October 1953.

2/ Lebanese Delegation to Fourth Regional Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Beirut, 13-16 September 1954. "Adjustement des politiques alimentaires et agricoles".

3/ Fouad Saadé, op. cit.

433 protection, and by the opening of new markets overseas. Because of the large amount of unemployment, industrial wages were reduced, bringing down costs. Between 1946 and 1952, investment in plant and equipment in the principal Lebanese industries doubled, while employment rose by 50 per cent. 1/ Output also increased considerably and rose further in 1953.

433 316 324 317 Post-war trends have varied from industry to industry. Mining continues to play a very minor part in the economy. Building stone is abundant and is much used in construction; salt is extracted from salines, meeting half the country's consumption; and silica sand is exported. Since 1953, small amounts of iron ore have been exported, a total of 22,000 tons in that year. Output in 1954 was expected to reach 100,000 tons. The iron content of the ore is 57 per cent. 2/

382 Output of fuel and power have increased significantly. The Tripoli refinery started operating at the end of 1940; its throughput increased from 100,000 tons in 1941 to 227,000 in 1946, and, after expansion of capacity in 1950, to 546,000 tons in 1952, 545,000 in 1953 3/ and 265,000 in the first half of 1954. Lebanon's consumption of major petroleum fuels was estimated at 265,000 tons in 1950 and 315,000 in 1952. 4/ The remainder of the refinery's output is exported to Syria. Another refinery, near Sidon, began operation in February 1955; it will refine Arabian oil carried through the Trans-Arabian

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1/ The number of establishments in the main branches of the industries listed below increased from 477 in 1946 to 671 in 1948 and 880 in 1950, declining to 842 in 1952; capital invested rose from LL 71.6 million in 1946 to LL 96.2 million in 1948, LL 112.6 million in 1950 and LL 143.3 million in 1952; the number of employees in these industries rose from 8,052 in 1946 to 11,153 in 1948, 11,525 in 1950 and 12,773 in 1952. The capital invested in food processing industries increased from LL 6.7 million in 1946 to LL 27.8 million in 1952; in beverages from LL 5.3 million to LL 13.9 million; in textiles from LL 14.8 million to LL 38.2 million; in non-metallic mineral products from LL 32.9 million to LL 45.5 million; in chemicals from LL 3.0 million to LL 3.7 million; in wood products from LL 2.7 million to LL 5.7 million; and in printing from £L 1.1 million to LL 4.5 million. Capital invested in the leather industry fell from LL 5.1 million in 1946 to LL 4.0 million in 1952 (Ministry of National Economy). Total capital investment in industry, excluding construction but including public utilities and handicrafts and various enterprises operated under concession agreements, such as the petroleum refineries and the tobacco monopoly, is between LL 200 million and LL 250 million, probably closer to the latter figure. Total employment in manufacturing, including handicrafts, is probably between 25,000 and 30,000

2/ Le Commerce du Levant, 20 October 1954.

3/ Of this 222,000 tons consisted of fuel oil, 112,000 of gasoline, 88,000 of gas oil and 63,000 of kerosene (Ministry of National Economy, Bulletin statistique trimestriel, Beirut).

4/ Between 1948 and 1953, consumption of gasoline in Lebanon increased from 30,000 tons to 51,000; of kerosene from 11,000 tons to 24,000; of gas oil from 9,000 tons to 31,000; and of fuel oil from 72,000 tons to 108,000.

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Table 45. Lebanon: Industrial Establishments, Employees, Capital, Cost of Materials and Output, 1950 a/

Product or industry	Number of establishments	Number of employees	Capital	Gross output (Millions of Lebanese pounds)	Net output
Food processing.....	455	5,404	24.9	61.7	30.1
Beverages.....	123	1,292	10.7	12.2	5.6
Textiles.....	60	5,040	32.6	39.5	17.7
Wearing apparel.....	15	1,036	3.3	2.3	1.2
Wood and cork.....	48	241	1.4	3.8	1.6
Furniture.....	95	1,211	4.6	10.3	6.2
Paper.....	9	91	0.5	0.9	0.5
Printing.....	100	855	8.6	5.8	2.7
Leather.....	64	737	4.6	14.2	6.2
Rubber.....	6	447	1.0	2.1	1.4
Chemicals.....	64	1,104	5.9	16.4	7.9
Non-metallic minerals..	156	2,768	35.5	21.5	13.5
Metal products.....	30	639	2.6	11.1	6.5
Machinery.....	27	590	3.2	3.6	1.9
Electrical appliances..	4	217	1.6	1.9	0.8
Concessions and public utilities.....	...	...	...	38.8	13.9
Other.....	29	367	6.5	2.7	1.8
Total	1,285 b/	22,039 b/	147.4 b/	248.8	119.7

Source: Albert Y. Badre and Asad Y. Nasr, "National Income of Lebanon", Monograph No. 3, "Income Arising in the Industrial Sector" (Beirut, May 1953, mimeographed).

a/ Excluding handicrafts; net output of handicrafts in 1950 was LL 17.6 million.

b/ Excluding concessions and public utilities.

a figure well below both consumption and productive capacity. The cotton yarn industry, which reached a peak output of 8,000 tons in 1946, has been hampered by loss of the Syrian market. In recent years, new markets have been found overseas, but output in 1952 was only 3,000 tons. On the other hand, production of cotton cloth, which was formerly imported from Syria, increased from 200 tons

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in 1945 to 1,100 in 1952; part of this is exported. Output of underwear and hosiery has also increased, from 18 tons in 1945 to 310 in 1952. 1/ 288

Other industries include soap making, with an annual output of 6,000 tons; tanning, with an annual output of 2,000 tons; electric bulbs, of which 500,000 are produced each year; and various iron and steel products, of which 8,000 tons were produced in 1952, compared with 900 in 1945. 388

Among the difficulties facing Lebanese industry, the most important is the very restricted market, due to the smallness of the population; this is only partly offset by the fact that per capita income is higher than in other Middle Eastern countries. The market is further restricted by the marked consumer preference for foreign goods, which, owing to the relatively liberal trade policy of the Government, has been allowed greater latitude than in other parts of the region. Another adverse factor has been the loss of the Syrian market, in which several Lebanese industries, notably cotton yarn, tanning, chemicals and beer, sold a large proportion of their output. Successful attempts have been made to open export markets, for example, for vegetable oils in Cyprus, France and Egypt, for cotton yarn in some western European countries and for cloth in India, Pakistan and West Africa. The precariousness of these markets was shown, however, when, during the depression in the world textile industry in 1952, restrictions were imposed on imports from Lebanon. Similarly, a barter agreement in 1953 with Pakistan, under which Lebanon imported raw cotton and exported yarn, was not renewed. As Lebanese plants seem to be somewhat larger than the regional average, 2/ the shrinkage of the market has forced most of them to work well below capacity, thus raising unit costs. 438

Another obstacle is the scarcity of raw materials; except for food processing industries, Lebanon is heavily dependent on imports. Moreover, in spite of a marked improvement in quality, it is still difficult to obtain sufficient quantities of uniform local produce. The dissolution of the customs union with Syria has also affected the supply of raw materials since there was formerly a greater amount of mutually advantageous specialization; for example, cotton-seed oil was imported from Syria for soap making, while Lebanese olive oil was exported to Syria. This factor has restricted the range of Lebanese industries; in 1950, three groups - food, textiles and non-metallic minerals - accounted for 60 per cent of the labour employed in all industry, 62 per cent of the capital invested and 58 per cent of the value of gross and net output. 3/ Nevertheless, 433 [432]

1/ Figures from the Ministry of National Economy.

2/ The average number of persons employed per establishment in Lebanon in 1948 was 17, compared with 14 in Egypt in 1947, and 14 in Palestine in 1942. Capital investment per establishment was LL 85,000, against LL 57,000 in Egypt and LL 48,000 in Palestine, and gross output per establishment LL 147,000, against LL 65,000 and LL 90,000, respectively (Albert Y. Badre, "National Income of Lebanon", Monograph No. 3). The industrial census of 1950 showed that, of the 1,444 firms listed, 25 had a capital of LL 1,000,000 or over, 29 had LL 500,000 to LL 1,000,000 and 45 LL 250,000 to LL 500,000 while, at the other end of the scale, 381 had a capital of LL 10,000 to LL 25,000 and 249 LL 5,000 to LL 10,000 (Ministry of National Economy, Bulletin statistique trimestriel, October 1951).

3/ Badre, op. cit.

433 the ratio of the cost of raw materials and fuel to value of output, 47.6 per cent in 1950, does not compare unfavourably with the ratio in other under-developed countries. 1/

High fuel and power costs have also impeded industry. Owing to high delivery prices at the refinery, excise taxes and higher distributing costs, petroleum products are more expensive there in some other Middle Eastern countries. However, prices have dropped since the war, the wholesale price of gas oil falling from LL 115 per ton in 1945 to 109 in 1948 and 91 in 1953, and recent agreements with the oil companies, including the building of the new refinery near Sidon, should further reduce prices. Electricity prices have also been high owing to high fuel costs 2/ and small-scale production; in 1947, "the charge for industrial power quoted as an average of 7 piastres in Tripoli compares with 1.8 for a similar size in England; the difference in the case of Beirut is even greater." 3/ Moreover, service has been irregular. This has led many factories to instal their own generating plant.

In spite of recent reductions, wages are higher than in most other Middle Eastern countries, but this factor is partly offset by higher productivity due to greater capital investment per worker and to higher skills. 4/ Management is still inefficient and although the hiring of foreign technicians has helped to improve productive methods little has been done to rationalize and co-ordinate industries. An example of co-ordination was afforded by the vegetable oil industry in 1953, which formed a cartel, closing down inefficient factories and working the others at full capacity.

656 433 In the past few years, the Government has given much assistance to industry. The tariff has been modified to protect and encourage industrial enterprises. In 1951, a drawback was granted on sugar duties, while duties on certain raw materials, such as rubber and plastic threads, were reduced, and those on certain manufactured goods, such as sole leather, furniture and brushes, were raised. In 1952, duties on industrial machinery, spare parts, iron ware, pipes and electric apparatus used in industry were sharply reduced. In 1953, certain goods, representing nearly one tenth of total imports, were subjected to licencing. In 1954, duties were raised on cotton cloth, absorbent cotton, readymade cotton clothing and asbestos-cement articles, while those on packing

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1/ Comparable figures are given in Processes and Problems of Industrialization (United Nations publication: 1955.II.B.1), page 46.

2/ An estimate prepared by the Beirut Electric Company shows that the price of fuel per million calories was LL 9.30 in Beirut, LL 4.60 in Cairo, LL 4.10 in Paris, LL 8.50 in Brussels and LL 2.95 in Detroit, "La question de l'électricité à Beyrouth" (no date).

3/ Sir Alexander Gibb and partners, op. cit., page 152. A Lebanese pound is equal to 100 piastres. Recently, it was estimated that the price of a kilowatt-hour was 6 piastres in Lebanon, 2.5 in England and 2.0 in New York (The Industrial and Commercial Review of Lebanon (Beirut), March 1954).

4/ In 1948, net output per person engaged in industry was LL 4,800 against LL 2,200 in Egypt in 1947, LL 2,600 in Palestine in 1942 and LL 20,300 in the United States in 1947 (Albert Y. Badre, op. cit.). The average wage for men in 1950 was LL 120 and for women LL 50 (Mustafa el Rawaly, op.cit.).

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and bottling machinery were reduced. 1/ At present, most imports competing with local manufactures are subject to an effective duty of 25 to 30 per cent, and grains, industrial machinery and most raw materials enter duty free. 2/ The Government has also attempted to open new markets for Lebanese goods through bilateral commercial treaties or through inter-Arab States agreements.

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The Government has, moreover, sought to promote industrial investment by exempting from income tax new establishments with a capital of over LL 1 million (see below). The newly founded Agricultural and Industrial Bank will help to provide industrial credit, the scarcity and high cost of which constitute a major obstacle to development. Another step taken by the Government, with United States aid, has been the establishment in 1953 of an Industrial Institute. The object of this institute is to undertake production and marketing studies for projected enterprises, to carry out laboratory tests and to assist existing enterprises in matters of modernization and optimum utilization of equipment and use of raw materials and by-products. A pilot plant is being set up. The Institute will be administered by representatives of Government, industry and the Foreign Operations Administration of the United States.

The Government has also taken steps to increase the production of electricity and to reduce its cost. Following a consumers' strike and the refusal of the principal concessionary company to expand its plant, the Government, in 1952, reduced charges by 20 per cent, temporarily took over administration of the company and accelerated the construction of generators. In 1954, it bought out the company for LL 23.5 million, a price agreed upon by both parties. The completion in 1954 of a hydroelectric plant at Nahr al Bared, with a capacity of 9,000 to 18,000 kilowatts, has temporarily met the country's needs; long-term plans are discussed below.

Foreign trade and balance of payments

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The development of agriculture and industry, described in the previous sections, has not basically altered Lebanon's character as a provider of services, a fact which accounts for both its high level of trade and its large import surplus. Table 46 shows that, since the ending of the customs union with Syria in March 1950, both imports and the import surplus have tended to increase. Lebanon's imports are among the most diversified in the region. Imports are also diversified, including fruits, vegetables, vegetable oil and textiles, cement and other manufactured goods; in contrast to other Middle Eastern countries, which are highly dependent on two or three products, no single item accounted for more than 5 per cent of Lebanese exports in 1952 or 1953. The chief market for Lebanese exports in 1953 was Syria, followed by Saudi Arabia, France, Egypt and the United States; the chief supplier was also Syria, followed by the United States, United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands.

In recent years Lebanon has sought to promote its exports by means of bilateral commercial agreements. Since March 1950, trade with Syria has been

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1/ United States Department of Commerce, Foreign Commerce Weekly, 22 November 1954 and 31 January 1955 (Washington, D.C.).

2/ Naja Hinedeh, The Fiscal System of Lebanon (unpublished thesis presented to the American University, Beirut, 1953).

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

241 311 the hollow of the rock the vegetable mould; then hedges round with stones his walls of running fertility to control and increase them. From below you gaze up words at limestone: from above you look down on an archetype of weakness: the rosy hues of the fresh raised features, the soft green of sprouting crops, nestling within the parkwings, grey and barren, of layers of limestone cast up an end, the faces of which are worn like glaciers. This is their stable land in the central range.

3. One gets the vivid impression that the farmer of Mahaidseneen has lost heart and has lost faith in farming. He is looking somewhere else for a possible solution of his problem, which is now the problem of his growing children—employment outside the village, engaging in business, or emigration. (Thoumin, 1941, p. 465.)

461 554 434 4. Nowadays young men, especially Maronites and other Christians, many of whom are educated, are unwilling to work on the land. They prefer jobs in the towns, and failing that many of them would rather live with their families, unemployed and aimless. So, too, the women of the more sophisticated villages no longer work long hours in the fields. A great part of the income of the Lebanese villages is currently derived from sources other than farming—from earnings in the towns, for example, or emigrants' remittances, or the renting of houses to visitors in the mountain summer resorts. (Lewis, 1955, p. 7.)

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

434 It is evident that in all the villages the great majority of the breadwinners must depend on sources of income other than their own fields. Therefore, younger members of the family seek income outside of the village, while the farmer himself goes each week for one of the [illegible] very low level.

Physical Description of Project Villages

392 It is not possible to describe with statistical accuracy the «average village home» in the project 365 area. A very general description must suffice until more detailed information is available. Homes are usually one-story stone structures of one or two rooms. They do not have electricity or running water. Usually the animals are accommodated in a stable connected to the house, or in a room in the house itself.

364 The villagers do not seem to be concerned with keeping their surroundings sanitary. In none 511 of the villages is there any attempt to collect and properly dispose of garbage. The uniform practice 744 is to «throw it in the fields». There are few toilets. Some walls and fields close to town serve 515 certain commonly used for sewage disposal. To serve the 3,643 people in the project area there are 80 pit privies. There are no tubs or showers. Homes have no screens and flies are free to contaminate food and mosquitoes to torment and transmit disease.

515 Homes are nearly always neat and clean and the people attempt to clothe themselves decently 603 with well-scrubbed garments. Though extremely poor, the village family is very hospitable and 514 insists on sharing with a guest its meager supply of cigarettes or treasured coffee and sugar.

361 In the five project villages there are 1,100 buildings. This number includes 912 dwelling units, 34 business establishments, 143 separate barns and 11 public buildings. A detailed break-down of the types of buildings by village is shown in Table VIII. Included in the category of public buildings are seven mosques. Sarafand and En-Nauriyah have two mosques each, while in each

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The family income of Beirutis was of major interest to the survey. Tables are presented showing these sources of income by category. The amount of savings and investments are included in the chapter. Finally, there is material on the attitude of Beirutis toward their economic status. As was expected, respondent resistance was greatest on the question of income. The greatest resistance was on the part of the middle and upper classes. The best interviewers at the disposal of the survey were sent to follow-up respondents who refused information. Eighty-one out of one hundred and twenty-eight original refusals were reclaimed. An additional ten refused economic information only. Five unsuccessful interviews were due to the absence of the potential respondent at every interviewing attempt. Twelve refused to answer because of lack of identification with Beirut.

It is quite evident that after the eighty-one initial refusals were redeemed there was little or no economic bias in the interviews refused. At any rate, the refusals amounted to only two percent plus one half of one percent who answered all but the economic questions.

8.1 Rate of pay per month for those on salary, Table 114

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The amount of pay received by employees per month is estimated at 5,307,000 L.L. earned by an estimated 20,484 heads of households in all Beirut or a mean of 259 L.L. The crude mode, however, is 125 L.L. In the sample the amount of unemployment is ten percent or 2120 heads of families.

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8.2 Incidence of money from any source other than employment in year previous to interview. Tables 115, 116

434 Four hundred and twenty-one (22.25 %) of the sample had received money from miscellaneous sources. The largest group of these was people receiving money from rent of property (33 %). The second biggest specific source was relatives (19 %). Of particular interest are [457] the remittances from overseas. About two and one half percent of our total sample, or an estimated 1250 families in Beirut, received income from abroad.

8.3 Total income. Table 117

Total income of the household from all sources for the previous year was tabulated in intervals of 1000 L.L. Over eight percent of the households had incomes of below 1000 L.L. The modal interval was 1001 - 2000 L.L. making the crude mode 1500 L.L. per year (20 %). Assuming that the average family needs 5000 L.L. as a minimum of health and decency per year, we find that about sixty-five percent do not meet this minimum.

434 565 Arbitrarily assuming the middle class to have incomes ranging from 5001 L.L. to 25,000 L.L. it is noteworthy that this class constitutes about one third of the population (31 %) leaving four percent of the families making more than 25,000 L.L. per year.

Percentage-wise those sixty-five percent of the households which make 5000 L.L. or less receive twenty-one percent of the income, those thirty-one percent which make between

434 5001 - 25,000 L.L. receive forty-three percent of
565 the income and those four percent which make over 25,000 L.L. receive thirty-six percent of the income.

434 The total income of Beirut from all sources is estimated at 349,082,286 L.L. The mean income per family, which is not a good measure in this instance, is 6792 L.L. or 1179 L.L. per capita.

Distribution of income in the various census districts is much more even than is generally assumed. All income groups seem to be found in equal numbers in all census districts except Ain el Mreisseh which has a higher average.

8.4 **Amount of savings in year previous to interview, Table 118**

454 Only one household in twenty claimed to have saved money in the previous year or 2841 families estimated in the general population. However, only three percent of the households saved over four fifths (84 %) of the total. The estimated total for the population is 14,752,000 L.L.

p. 24(A)

12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

8.5 Investment of savings. Table 119

454

An attempt was made to investigate in what form savings were invested. Unfortunately about half of the investments fell into our miscellaneous category. The largest three specific categories were in order: tangible miscellaneous assets (13 %), bank notes (12 %), and real estate (11 %). The figures are highly unreliable statistically and are presented for whatever interest they may have for future research.

8.6 Attitudes toward improvement in economic status. Tables 120, 121 and 122

434

Relatively few of those interviewed (13 %) felt that there had been an improvement in their economic status compared to the previous year. On the other hand, it is not known how many felt that their status had deteriorated inasmuch as this question was not asked.

A substantially larger number (18 %) felt that their economic status had improved since five years before, and an even larger percentage (21 %) felt an improvement over conditions ten years before.

13; Churchill S-5 (1959) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

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Table 114

Rate of Pay Per Month for Those on Salary

Lebanese pounds	Number	Percent
Total	763	100.00
0 — 25	6	0.79
26 — 50	17	2.23
51 — 75	33	4.33
76 — 100	68	8.91
101 — 150	133	17.43
151 — 200	96	12.58
201 — 300	148	19.40
301 — 400	63	8.26
401 — 500	40	5.24
501 — 750	36	4.72
751 — 1000	22	2.88
1001 — 2000	20	2.62
2001 — 3000	2	0.26
Over 3000	—	—
None	79	10.35

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = 10.880$
$v = .042$

Table 115

Incidence of Money from Any Source Other than Employment in Year Previous to Interview

Response	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1892	100.00	
Yes	421	22.25	.009
No	1471	77.75	.009

p. 57 (a)

434
457

Table 116

Source of Income Other than Work

Source	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	421	100.00	
Overseas	47	11.16	.015
Rental of rooms in own home	16	3.80	
Rent of property owned	138	32.78	.023
Relative	78	18.53	.019
Pension	6	1.42	
Debt return	1	0.24	
Others	130	30.88	.022
No answer	5	1.19	

p. 57 (c)

4134
525

Table 117

Total Income Per Year by French Census Districts of 1942

	Total	Percent	Port	Minet el Hosn	Zokak el Blat	Bachoura	Saifi	Medawar	Remeil	Achrafieh	Mazra'a	Mouseitbeh	Ras Beirut	Ain el Mreisseh	Tinshack Village	Complete Economic Rejects	Section Unknown
Total	1792	100.00	1	50	70	83	54	66	174	294	350	250	173	60	58	59	50
1 — 1,000	151	8.43	—	4	5	8	3	4	14	25	25	25	10	1	23	1	3
1,001 — 2,000	352	19.64	—	6	17	21	7	14	22	64	70	53	31	9	21	5	12
2,001 — 3,000	334	18.64	—	10	10	14	3	16	36	71	72	46	20	10	11	5	10
3,001 — 4,000	210	11.72	—	3	6	7	8	18	27	37	41	38	15	5	2	5	3
4,001 — 5,000	123	6.86	1	1	8	5	2	5	15	14	30	12	16	2	1	9	2
5,001 — 6,000	134	7.48	—	5	5	7	7	5	15	14	27	18	14	4	—	7	6
6,001 — 7,000	56	3.12	—	1	5	1	5	2	3	9	18	4	6	1	—	—	1
7,001 — 8,000	69	3.85	—	4	1	2	3	1	7	11	14	14	9	1	—	—	2
8,001 — 9,000	35	1.95	—	4	1	2	1	—	6	3	6	5	3	1	—	3	—
9,001 — 10,000	51	2.84	—	—	3	5	—	1	8	7	12	1	3	6	—	3	2
10,001 — 11,000	19	1.06	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	2	2	7	3	2	—	—	—
11,001 — 12,000	37	2.06	—	1	1	3	—	1	4	6	5	6	7	2	—	—	1

p. 58(a)

18; Churchill S-5 (1959) 1994 MEI Lebanon MEI

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19; Churchill 8-5 (1969) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 120

Attitude Toward Improvement in Economic Status since Previous Year

Status compared to last year	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1886	100.00	
Improved	238	12.76	.008
Not improved	1613	86.44	.008
Don't know	15	0.80	

Table 121

Attitude Toward Improvement in Economic Status Compared to Five Years Previously

Status compared to 5 years previously	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1796	100.00	
Improved	352	19.60	.009
Not improved	1417	78.90	.009
Don't know	27	1.50	

Table 122

Attitude Toward Improvement in Economic Status Compared to Ten Years Previously

Status compared to 10 years previously	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1781	100.00	
Improvement	374	21.00	.009
No improvement	1366	76.70	.010
Don't know	41	2.30	

25: Warriner S-S (no date) 1948 MI Middle East
Lebanon M51
Syria MD1

crease the productivity per acre and also to expand the cultivated area per head.

In the Lebanon, however, with its steep hillsides under intensive cultivation, there is a definite pressure on land resources. The limits of intensification appear to have been reached, and a large part of the village population supplements its income by work in the towns, and by remittances from abroad. If the land tenure system in Syria were less oppressive, room might be found on the land for settlers from the Lebanon, but as things are, the standard of living and status of the Lebanese peasant is higher; compared with the Syrian peasant he is a free man, and there is no inducement to leave the Mountain for the underpopulated plains of central or northern Syria.

LAND TENURE

Corresponding to these different methods of farming, there are different systems of land tenure.[1] In Lebanon individual small ownership is well established, and the pattern of village life, with its broad class of small peasant owners, few large farmers, and a growing class of 'landless' labourers, resembles that of Europe.

In Syria, the greater part of the land is owned by city notables—the ruling class—and cultivated by small share-tenants. Though individual ownership exists in some districts, for instance the Beqa Valley and the oasis of Damascus, the most usual form of landownership in the plain districts of Syria is share-tenancy. The villagers bring their corn to the village threshing floor, and when the grain is threshed the landlord or his agent stands by and takes one-half of the grain. Towards this result he has contributed nothing; all labour, equipment, seeds, livestock, have been supplied by the tenant, so that his share is rent purely for the use of the land. The landlord is almost always an absentee, a city notable who only visits the land to collect rent.

The share taken by the landlord varies from district to district, and also varies with the condition of the land. According to an inquiry made by the French authorities, the usual division of the crop for non-irrigated cereals is 40–50 per cent to the

[1] The information which follows is mainly based on A. Latron, *La Vie rurale en Syrie et au Liban* (Beirut, L'Institut Français de Damas, 1936). The brilliant and profound study by Jacques Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, is an indispensable authority which unfortunately was received only after going to press.

irrigated. The whole of the land is cultivated every year, the rotation being wheat followed by potatoes, the potato crop being irrigated. The wheat yield is below the average for Syria, amounting to 6 hundredweight per acre, and the potato yield is 5 hundredweight per acre.

However, in spite of the greater intensity of cultivation, the shortage of land means that the majority of the peasants are not able to attain an adequate standard of living, measured in terms of a few essential commodities: 20 kilogrammes of wheat and 4 kilogrammes of meat per head per month, 100 kilogrammes of olive oil per annum, and 5 tins of kerosene. To attain this standard a family must own 5 hectares of land, and as only the rich peasants and a few of the medium peasants own so much, the majority of the medium peasants and the poor landless peasants do not achieve it. The majority of these supplement their income by remittances from their emigrant relations abroad. Those who have no income from abroad leave the village to work as unskilled workers or servants in the towns.

In this village, therefore, the cause of poverty is the shortage of land, since the land is much more equally distributed than in Syria and the system fairly intensive. Living conditions are far better than in Syria: the majority inhabit stone houses with two or more rooms. The richer peasants are also more sophisticated than those of Syria, preferring to gamble their money away in the neighbouring summer resorts rather than spend it on jewellery.

From these three studies three conclusions emerge. The first is that a higher income per acre depends on irrigation, since the net income from irrigated land is two or three times as high as from non-irrigated land.

INCOME PER HECTARE ON IRRIGATED AND NON-IRRIGATED LAND (in Syrian Pounds)

	Ashrafiyeh		Mishrefeh		Kfar Sa'ab (Mish. Irrig.)
	Non-Irrigated	Irrigated	Non-Irrigated	Irrigated	
Gross Income ..	352	887	218	633	873
Costs	118	247	75	98	248
Rent	—	—	39	304	—
Net Income ..	234	640	84	231	625

[1] [Kfar Sa'ab in the north Lebanon -- Analyst]

LEBANON NEI

Chapter 4

LEBANON

Developments in the Rest of the Second World War

433 439 371 [167] [177] 439 [178] 733 167

Lebanon's high economic level, compared with other Middle Eastern countries, is largely attributable to certain factors which helped to improve economic and social conditions. 1/ From early modern times, A relatively greater degree of security in Lebanon attracted European settlement, who provided an expanding market for Lebanese raw silk. It also brought to missionaries and educators, who established modern schools. In the second half of the nineteenth century, large-scale emigration began. It is estimated that, between 1860 and 1914, some 330,000 persons emigrated from Lebanon and Syria - an average of 3,333 a year, of which over half were from Lebanon. In 1913-14, the yearly average rose to 13,000. 2/ A large number of these emigrants returned, bringing back with them capital and skills. There was also a small capital influx from Europe, which was invested in railways, ports and other public utilities, as well as in trade. By 1920, Beirut had become the main distributing centre for Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, northern Iraq and southern Anatolia. Another important economic item was the export of raw silk.

439 [178] 733 167

During the First World War, Lebanon, which had become a food importer, experienced a large-scale famine. In addition, the silk industry was disorganized, the mulberry trees being cut down for fuel, and the transit trade was disrupted. In the inter-war period, with cultural further, from the competition of more efficient producers and of rayon, and gradually ceased to play an important part in the economy. A still harder blow was the decline in emigration, following restrictions imposed in most countries of immigration. After reaching a peak of 18,333 in 1925, emigration from Lebanon and Syria fell off rapidly to an annual average of 2,000 in the nineteen-thirties, of whom slightly over half were from Lebanon.

● 439 1/ Net emigrant losses to 1920 was estimated at 1,000 million Lebanese pounds (see table 43), giving a per capita figure of 11 500 per annum. Some confirmation of this figure is provided by a survey in North Lebanon which showed that in 1955 per capita losses in a group of villages was 12 627. This figure does not include rent, since practically all families own their own houses (Ralph E. Dumper, Economic Losses and Expenditures in a Rural Agricultural Village, American University, Beirut, 1955). Converted at the average free market rate (in 1955 one United States dollar equalled 3.47 Lebanese pounds), which consistently underrates the purchasing power of the Lebanese pound, this gives a per capita income of $350, a figure well above that prevailing in the region. Even the wants of the Lebanese population in Liberia, and over 40 per cent in other, proportions which are well above the regional level.

2/ E.A. Hyamson (editor), The Economic Resources of Syria (Beirut, 1955), page 18.

Other sources of income were developed, however. Although the breaking of the Ottoman Empire and the erection of tariff barriers in the successor states handicapped Lebanon's transit trade, Beirut continued to be an important distributing centre. In this it was helped by the enlargement of its harbour and by the construction of a good network of roads. These improvements, together with the development of public utilities and hotels, attracted to Lebanon an increasing number of Middle Eastern tourists.

In agriculture, the most important development was the expansion in the acreage planted to olive and fruit trees, and the improvement in quality. The tariff protection gradually accorded after 1924 also stimulated industry. At the outbreak of the Second World War, some 30,000 persons were employed in factories and small workshops, including craftsmen engaged in such traditional seasonal occupations as silk reeling. 1/

During the Second World War, the large-scale expenditure of Allied troops raised incomes and prices, 2/ and the reduction of imports further stimulated industrial production. This increase was achieved with existing equipment, since no machinery could be imported.

Another result of the war was the improvement of commodity terms. The forced savings due to inflation and the shift to profits took the form of frozen and sterling balances held by Lebanese individuals and institutions.

Post-War Period, 1945 to 1954

Since 1945, the national income of Lebanon has increased considerably, and available data indicate a rise in consumption. The dissolution in 1950 of the customs union 3/ with Syria, which had constituted Lebanon's most important market, caused a setback, compensated in recent years, it appears, by the over-all growth.

Emigration, which had almost ceased during the war years, increased in the post-war period. In recent years it has averaged over 5,000 per annum, 4/ compared with an annual natural increase of about 15,000. Emigration was, however, offset by an influx of over 100,000 Palestinian Arab refugees in 1948 and 1949. The maintenance of these refugees by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees has largely shielded the Lebanese economy from their impact, though many have found employment in the country while a few [illegible] with Lebanese and [illegible].

1/ The number of industrial establishments rose from 400 in 1930 to 900 in 1939, according to Mustafa al Hamly, "Min al khifa ila al alam", in Mahadarat al nadwa (Beirut, 1951).

2/ From 1940 to 1944 inclusive, Allied expenditure in Lebanon and Syria totalled £76 million (sterling). From 1939 to 1945 inclusive, Lebanon and Syria had a surplus of £17 million Lebanese-Syrian pounds on current account. The wholesale price index in Beirut rose from 100 in June 1939 to a peak of 1,205 in January 1945.

3/ See chapter 7.

4/ Emigration in 1951 totalled 4,277, in 1952 it was 5,725 and in 1953 it was 5,343 (Le Commerce du Levant, 9 October 1954, Beirut). A significant proportion of emigrants went to the Persian Gulf area.

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brought some capital with them and started new enterprises. Another important factor was the impact on Lebanon of the development of Middle Eastern petroleum resources, an impact which exceeded that exerted on any other non-producing country in the region. Three pipelines have their termini in Lebanon: two Kirkuk-Tripoli lines, completed in 1934 and 1949, and the line connecting the Arabian oilfields with Sidon, completed in 1950. A refinery was built in Tripoli and another near Sidon. Lebanon has also benefited from the location of offices of oil companies in Beirut. In addition, it has received many tourists, as well as some capital, from the oil producing countries and has supplied exports to these countries: for example, fresh fruit and vegetables sent by air or truck or, more recently, by refrigerated ships. Finally, royalties paid to the Government by the oil companies for pipeline use have increased in recent years.

The development of transit trade has also contributed to the national income. The increase in such trade was made possible by enlargement and improvement of the port of Beirut shortly before the Second World War, development of inland communications, provision of refrigerated storage and other storage facilities and extension of the free zone in the harbour from 8,000 square metres in 1929 to 75,000 in 1952 and 106,000 in 1953. Although the development of Latakia has diverted some of Syria's trade, Beirut still handles a substantial proportion of that trade, as well as a large fraction of that of Jordan, which previously passed through Haifa. The opening of a new airport in Beirut, in 1950, has also stimulated transit of goods and passengers.

In recent years, Beirut has been the centre of a large and widespread gold trade. The relaxation and subsequent disappearance of exchange controls has also greatly increased the importance of Lebanon as an international financial centre. Tourism has increased in scope and continues to play a significant part in the country's economy.

Agriculture

Despite large-scale emigration to the cities and abroad, nearly half the Lebanese population still earn a livelihood in agriculture. Since agriculture accounts for less than one fifth of the national income (see table 49), per capita income in agriculture is well below the average in other sectors. The possibilities for raising agricultural income by extending cultivation are, however, very limited. According to the latest estimates, of the total area of 1,036,000 hectares, 373,000 hectares consist of rocky, waste or built-up areas; 74,000 consist of forests; 115,000 are judged to be cultivable, though at present uncultivated; and 273,000 are under cultivation. Of the cultivated area, 48,000 hectares are irrigated and 225,000 are rainfed, but irrigation projects under way or due to be undertaken in the near future will bring 34,000 hectares of rainfed land under irrigation. 1/ The reclamation of the 115,000 hectares judged to be cultivable would involve heavy capital outlay, since most of this land is mountainous. Hence, in recent years, efforts have been mainly concentrated on intensifying agriculture.

1/ Figures from an unpublished paper prepared in the Ministry of Agriculture in 1950. Cultivated land per capita of agricultural population is thus only about 0.4 hectare, of which less than a fifth is irrigated.

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Table 43. Lebanon: Net National Income, by Industry,[a/]
1948 to 1950
(Millions of Lebanese pounds)

Sector	1948	1949	1950
Agriculture	168.5	158.8	176.0
Construction	34.8	31.9	41.7
Industry[b/]	133.7	135.5	137.3
Services[c/]	91.4	93.1	100.5
Transport and communications	33.5	35.3	37.7
Real estate[d/]	90.9	93.4	96.0
Government[e/]	63.1	64.6	71.8
Other[f/]	...	...	339.0
Total	...	...	1,000.0[g/]
Index of wholesale prices (1948 = 100)	100	82	76
Cost of living index (1948 = 100)	100	94	87

Source: Albert Y. Badre, "National Income of Lebanon", Monographs 1 to 7 (Beirut, 1951 to 1954, mimeographed).

a/ All estimates at factor cost, except agricultural income, which is at market prices.

b/ Including public utilities, mining and quarrying.

c/ Including certain service and professional workers and agencies, for example, schools and hospitals, lawyers, physicians and midwives; trade, advertising and welfare agencies; laundries, hotels, restaurants places of entertainment. Excluding government services and domestic services.

d/ Net rent of residential buildings only.

e/ Including municipalities.

f/ Trade, finance and income received from foreign countries. No study of these sectors has been published, and the figure quoted here is provisional.

g/ Provisional estimate.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The living pattern of the summer residents generally amounts to the wife and non-working children living in the village for about three months in the summer. Heads of households and working children commute, usually by day and, of course, spend their vacations of two to four weeks in the village. This pattern is familiar to Americans who can afford it. In Lebanon, however, it is a money-saving device as well as an escape from the summer discomforts of the city. City living is definitely more expensive than village living. This has evidently always been true, but the situation has been greatly aggravated since 1940. In Beirut, food prices increased about five hundred per cent between 1940 and 1950, other commodities about four hundred per cent, causing severe hardship especially among the lower and middle classes (Cooke, 1952, pp. 131–32). This fact accounts for the occurrence of eight households in which the children and usually the wives live in the village all year around, while the husbands commute, usually returning to the village only on weekends.

When we look at Table 1 from the point of view of sources of income, we can deduce that the trend to urbanism is definitely increased as contrasted with urbanism in terms of residence only. Twenty-six (virtually 30 per cent) of the heads of household have city jobs and presumably support their families primarily thereby. In addition, a large number of unmarried young adults have city jobs. As we shall see shortly, the village is preponderantly dependent upon urban, rather than rural, sources of income. In this connection, we may cite Jurkat who classifies Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and western Turkey as an area in which less than 70 per cent of the population are dependent upon agriculture (Jurkat, 1944, p. 302).

Twenty-five individuals are listed as "absent." Of these seventeen are women who have married outsiders and are living away from the village, returning only for occasional visits. Most of them are living in Lebanon. The remainder, eight persons, are living outside of Lebanon, mostly in Baghdad. They maintain contact with the village and are still legal residents of it.

The urban trend is more marked in Ḥilwi than it is in the village proper, partly because Ḥilwi is better located from the point of view of rapid communications with the outside. Ḥilwi's population is as follows: resident, 38; summer, 41; absent, 3; emigrated, 2; total 84. None of its eleven households is wholly resident, and three of them are wholly summer.

OCCUPATIONS

A detailed study and discussion of Table 5 will bring out most of the important facts concerning the occupations of the villagers. Let us first consider the series of totals. The number of males far exceeds that of females who have gainful or purposeful employment outside the home, 171 to 44. The discrepancy in sex ratio which these figures suggest is corrected by the fact that 120 females are housewives or "at home." The total of 76 heads of household does not tally with

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

remembered that genealogically and conceptually (the villagers' concept), Munṣif is a single kinship unit.[2]

This structure of in-groups is traditional, and it appears to have maintained its vitality in the face of great culture change, to which a limited amount of local exogamy seems to be the only major concession. When, however, we turn to the other areas of behavior which are reviewed in this chapter, we find that none of them can be discussed at all without reference to the problems of acculturation.

MONEY

The villagers' need for, and great concern about, money is very clear indeed. This is entirely understandable since the expense of education and manufactured products, alone, require much of it.

Money as it is known in the Western world is very ancient in the Middle East, in fact it apparently originated there. However, before about seventy-five years ago its use in most villages was limited, since for most needs barter and mutual help in a regime of local self-sufficiency were ordinarily enough to motivate exchange of goods and services.

Money began to come in large quantities into villages like Munṣif from emigrants in America. At the same time, Lebanon began to receive foreign manufactured articles which could only be obtained through payment of cash. Today, money is the only means of exchange in the village, and prices are an incessant topic of conversation among the villagers. This is, of course, due in part to the fact that the country has suffered severe inflationary trends during the past ten years, in part, according to Murray, to "a natural speculative proclivity on the part of most of the people" (1947, p. 15).

However, there are some indications that this recent emphasis on money as a thing in itself has set up disturbing conflicts in many people. For example, it is often heard that the Western powers are obviously bent upon buying the friendship of the Arabs, but that true friends cannot be bought. Such an attitude might either be a projection of attitudes and behavior prevalent among the speakers themselves, or it might be an expression of sincere and objective distaste for one of the unpleasant consequences of overemphasis on money. In any case, a conflict in values relating to money is consciously recognized.

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

"In Munṣif you will find many people who live in poor houses but have much education. This is because we would rather, if we must choose, use our money for a fine education than for a fine house." This was one of the first remarks that was made to the writer about the culture of the village, and, as time went on,

[2] For additional perspectives on the structure of the village see Gulick (1955, pp. 370–71).

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
SYRIA MD1
LEBANON ME1

figure until February 1953. The cost of living has likewise risen considerably; during the war it rose about sixfold, reaching a peak in 1945. It then decreased steadily until the autumn of 1950, when the Korean boom in raw material prices brought fresh inflationary pressures into Lebanon through her growing commercial and entrepôt trade, and persisted until early 1952. This fresh rise in prices was also caused by the rise in food prices (imported and home grown) following the bad harvest of 1951. Although early in 1953 prices had not resumed their pre-Korean level, they had declined steadily.

The following figures showing the indices of wholesale prices and the cost of living illustrate the salient movement in prices (1948 = 100).

	1939	*1945*	*1950 July*	*1951 March*	*1951 Dec.*	*1952 May*	*1952 Dec.*	*1953 May*
Wholesale prices	13	134	76	104	96	86	82	79
Cost of living	20	123	84	95	96	94	91	89

(SOURCE: IMF, *International Financial Statistics*, September 1953.)

Budgetary expenditure and receipts have also increased considerably, partly resulting from the rise in prices but also from greater commitments. The main increase in expenditure has been for defence, for the Palestine conflict and its aftermath, and for education. The sources of revenue have undergone a marked change: whereas customs provided 60 per cent of the revenue in 1939, they now contribute only 25 per cent, and new indirect taxes on general consumption now provide the major share, about 50 per cent. A measure to increase direct taxation was introduced in September 1951 in the form of a tax on agricultural income based on a 'presumptive' assessment value at progressive rates of tax. As yet its full effect is not known. The budget estimates for 1952 were: expenditure £L94·25 million, and receipts £L94·16 million; further details are given in table 2 on p. 502 below. The 1953 budget was expected to be of the order of £L110 million.

The division between the Syrian and the Lebanese currencies became effective at the end of January 1948 and this introduced an agio between the two currencies. At first this favoured Lebanon, but in 1951 the Syrian pound was the higher and then, in 1952, the Lebanese pound returned to a premium of from 2·6 per cent to 0·7 per cent. The exchange rates of foreign currencies are given in table 3 on p. 503 below.

International Trade

In defiance of the gloomy prophecies of economists, Lebanon contrives to flourish with an adverse trade balance, which in

435 The post-war trend of prices was downward. Between 1945 and 1950 prices
457 fell rapidly from the high level they had reached at the end of the war. The
outbreak of hostilities in Korea temporarily reversed this trend, but, owing
652 to tighter credit and removal of restrictions and duties on imports of wheat,
by the summer of 1951 the downward movement was resumed until 1954, when the
index of wholesale prices levelled off. The main factor bringing down prices
seems to have been the large deficit in the balance of trade which, during
the first half of the period under review, was probably not covered by
invisibles. 1/ Another factor was the budget surpluses, which from 1945 to 1952
inclusive, totalled LL 127.5 million. After 1950, however, the improvement
in the balance of payments, together with government purchases of gold
in the local market, which were intended both to increase the cover of the
note issue and to counter the deflationary trend, checked the downward movement.
Speculation and hoarding of goods, which had accentuated the rise in prices
in 1950 and 1951, probably acted in the opposite direction in 1952 and 1953.
In 1953, there was a trade recession and an increase in bankruptcies; this
was quickly overcome by an easier credit policy combined with an increase in
international transactions.

457 Currency and foreign exchange

During the Second World War, Lebanon's currency and foreign exchange
transactions were regulated by various measures taken by the Mandatory
Authorities, as a result of which over 95 per cent of cover of the notes issued
by the Banque de Syrie et du Liban and of the deposits held by it came to
consist of franc bills and bonds. These franc holdings in 1944 were
guaranteed against any depreciation of the franc in terms of sterling. In
the post-war period, the inability of France to supply more than a small
fraction of the non-franc foreign exchange requirements of Lebanon and Syria,
together with its repudiation of its guarantee of the sterling value of their
franc balances, 2/ led to negotiations which resulted in the Franco-Lebanese
agreement of 1948. This provided for the maintenance, for ten years, of the
guarantee by the French Government of the sterling value of the franc holdings
of the Banque de Syrie et du Liban and for the blocking of these holdings
until 1953. The balance of Lebanon's franc assets was either paid in
European currencies or made available for purchases in France.

1/ In 1946, the deficit on current account of Lebanon and Syria was estimated by the Banque de Syrie et du Liban at LL 102 million and it seems probable that there was also a sizable deficit in 1949. During the years 1945 to 1949, Lebanon's exchange reserves declined sharply; thus, in 1949 total gold and foreign exchange reserves, both public and private, fell by LL 26 million.

2/ Said Himadeh, "Nawl mashru al itifaqia al malia al jadida", Al Abhath, March 1948 (Beirut). The French Government did, however, pay to Lebanon and Syria the difference resulting from the depreciation of the franc in December 1945.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621 571 remembered that genealogically and conceptually (the villagers' concept), Munṣif is a single kinship unit.[1]

[178] This structure of in-groups is traditional, and it appears to have maintained its vitality in the face of great culture change, to which a limited amount of local exogamy seems to be the only major concession. When, however, we turn to the other areas of behavior which are reviewed in this chapter, we find that none of them can be discussed at all without reference to the problems of acculturation.

MONEY

436 The villagers' need for, and great concern about, money is very clear indeed. This is entirely understandable since the expense of education and manufactured products, alone, require much of it.

Money as it is known in the Western world is very ancient in the Middle East, in fact it apparently originated there. However, before about seventy-five years ago its use in most villages was limited, since for most needs barter and mutual help in a regime of local self-sufficiency were ordinarily enough to motivate exchange of goods and services.

[457] Money began to come in large quantities into villages like Munṣif from emigrants in America. At the same time, Lebanon began to receive foreign manufactured articles which could only be obtained through payment of cash. Today, money is the only means of exchange in the village, and prices are an incessant topic [435 455] of conversation among the villagers. This is, of course, due in part to the fact that the country has suffered severe inflationary trends during the past ten years, in part, according to Murray, to "a natural speculative proclivity on the part of most of the people" (1947, p. 15).

However, there are some indications that this recent emphasis on money as a thing in itself has set up disturbing conflicts in many people. For example, it is [186] often heard that the Western powers are obviously bent upon buying the friendship of the Arabs, but that true friends cannot be bought. Such an attitude might either be a projection of attitudes and behavior prevalent among the speakers themselves, or it might be an expression of sincere and objective distaste for one of the unpleasant consequences of overemphasis on money. In any case, a conflict in values relating to money is consciously recognized.

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

181 871 555 "In Munṣif you will find many people who live in poor houses but have much education. This is because we would rather, if we must choose, use our money for a fine education than for a fine house." This was one of the first remarks that was made to the writer about the culture of the village, and, as time went on,

[1] For additional perspectives on the structure of the village see Gulick (1955, pp. 570–71).

that flow of correspondence, "Maktoob" (letter) and "Maktoob Musowker" (registered letter). A check was always contained in the registered letter, and it became the symbol of joy and festivities for the family group.

Once or twice a week, the mail came to the village. Many hours before the arrival of the mail, people would assemble in the barber shop of Uncle Deeb (for he became the uncle of everybody) who was responsible for the distribution of the mail. For hours, before and after mail distribution, people would loiter there, exchanging the news of their emigrants and having a social time. Usually, Uncle Deeb preferred to put the registered letters aside and then give them in person to the families concerned. That was his reward—to be a messenger of joy to the people. As he went around, he spread the news of the registered letters far and wide, until everybody began to talk about them.

3. *Cash money becomes a supreme value in village life:* Through the silk industry, foreign missions and contact with the city, cash money, as a highly desirable article of value, was introduced into the village organization. In order to obtain more of this new value, emigrants were lured abroad. Through hard or easy work, straight or crooked means, they got hold of the precious cash and sent it back to their people. Without any exception, every single one of those letters mentioned above, referred to cash money that had been sent, was

167 sent or would be sent to the folks at
436 home. Sending the money home had
457 a double significance to the emigrants.
178 It gave them the satisfaction of living up to the obligation to the kinship group and it built for them prestige in the home village. At the same time, prestige and the satisfaction of luxurious needs were the reward of those who received the checks. They could buy new things with the money, lend it for interest or acquire more land with it.

In a word, emigration was the last step with which the village plunged into the Western economic system and became highly "money conscious." Some fifteen years ago, one of the upstart leaders in Bishmizzeen was reminded of the fact that the business he was conducting in Tripoli and Beirut was not considered as honest by the village folks. His answer was "Once I have a substantial amount of cash in my pocket, the people will forget all about the means by which I got the cash."

167 4. *Emigrants fail to return to the*
621 *village:* At first, emigrants left the village, with a view to earning a certain amount of cash within a few years, and then returning to live in the village. The kinship and the communities ties were still strong, and the early emigrants considered the village as their true home. Some of those early emigrants, about 21, succeeded in carrying through the original intention—they came back and settled down permanently. The majority of those who returned, about 98, could not stay in the village more

P71 (B)

11: Hourani S-4 (no date) 1946 MD1 Syria MD1 LEBANON MD1

L 648 In regard to the 'Services Economiques' and S 648 certain other departments, the experiment was tried of administering them by joint Syro-Lebanese commissions; but for the most part the transferred services were administered separately by the two Governments. To the more ardent nationalists, this was an unsatisfactory element in a transfer which was otherwise to be welcomed. They complained also that the transfer was more in name than in reality, since for reasons of efficiency the French personnel of the services was retained temporarily.

S (ii) In February, 1944, an Anglo-French financial agreement 648 was signed. It named a 'franc area' composed 436 of all territories under the control of the French Committee of National Liberation, and fixed the rate L of exchange at 200 francs to the pound sterling. With 648 the agreement of the Syrian and Lebanese Govern- 436 ments, a special area fixed the rate of exchange of the Syro-Lebanese pound at 22.65 francs (it had previously been 20 francs), and thus prevented any change in the present rate of 8.83 Syro-Lebanese pounds to the pound sterling. The French Committee also agreed to revalue certain franc assets of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments, to restore the gold formerly held by the Banque de Syrie et du Liban, and, should there be any further modification in the value of the franc, to guarantee the Syro-Lebanese pound against any resulting loss.

The agreement was widely criticized in Syria and Lebanon. It was regarded as contravening the allied declarations of June, 1941, which promised Syria and Lebanon full membership of the sterling bloc. Moreover, by weakening the link between the pound sterling and the currency of the two States, it created barriers between them and the other Arab States at a time when the movement for closer association between the Arab countries was gathering renewed strength. More important still, it was observed that the agreement was only temporary, and could be terminated by either party at three months' notice. When it should come to an end, there was a danger

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

FORMAL INSTITUTIONS

SOCIO-ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

STORES

THE two stores which are not in the *sahn* are small, specialized, and not always open. They will not be considered further. Another store building was closed throughout the period of study. The four remaining stores are located in the *sahn*, two (under one roof) on the north side of the main road. One of these is owned by a man of lineage C,XVI, the other by a man of lineage A,III. The building itself is owned by a man of lineage C,XXI. The two stores on the south side of the main road are both somewhat larger than the other two and longer established, going back at least to World War I. Both are owned by members of lineage B,XII. All of these stores are "general stores" from the point of view of the merchandise they carry, and from the point of view of their function as meeting places for the men of the village. 444

In two of the stores, the one in building 8 and one of those in building 6 (see Fig. 3), the proprietor of each is regularly assisted by one of his sons. The other two work alone for the most part. (The son of one of the latter has recently opened his own store in Hilwi.) To some extent, there is some specialization. The gasoline-driven mill, mentioned earlier, is part of the store in building 8 whose proprietor, at the beginning of the study period, was employing a man of lineage A,VIII (his wife's brother) as miller. Grain was imported and ground to flour which was sold in the village and the Qarni. During the period of study, it was decided that this operation was not profitable, it being more practical all around to import flour. The proprietor of the store in building 10 is a butcher who both slaughters animals and sells meat. He also slaughters for the people in Jiddayil. The unassisted proprietor of the store in building 6 sometimes sells meat but does not slaughter animals himself. The proprietor of the other store in building 6, established for only one year, is the priest. [256]

By and large, the stores carry the same goods at, apparently, the same fixed prices. There is no barter. Negotiations are carried out on a cash-and-carry basis, and every sale is recorded item by item. An informal and composite inventory includes the following: flour, rice, grain, peas, beans, coffee beans, sugar and nuts (set about on the floor in open sacks with prices per kilogram written on tags); vegetables and fruits (in season) set on the floor or large trays or in baskets; eggs, hung from the ceiling in wire baskets; various types of hard and chewy [437]

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

food is served

on china platters and/or round plates. If necessary, everyone is provided with knives, forks, and spoons, but napkins are not ordinarily used. Cups and demitasses are provided for tea and coffee, respectively. (The only kind of coffee which is consumed in the village is "Turkish" coffee.) Wine is drunk from small glasses. The only acceptable way to drink water, however, is directly from the spouted jug called *ibriiq*. This is definitely an acquired skill which children are taught as early as possible. For this purpose, a small *ibriiq*, usually made of glass, is provided. With the exception of the coffee grinder, usually the coffee beaters, the pestle and mortar, and the *ibriiq*, all these items are of European manufacture and/or design.

Although kerosene heaters are readily available in Beirut, the standard means of heating houses in the village is by small, round, charcoal braziers which sit low on the floor. If a social group in one room of a multi-room house moves to another, the brazier around which the group has sat will be picked up and carried along. The idea, in other words, is to keep the people warm rather than to heat the room. The European and American kerosene heaters are undoubtedly more efficient, but they are a great deal more expensive to buy and operate. Besides, the charcoal braziers can also be used for boiling coffee and broiling meat on skewers.

Oil lamps, with glass chimneys, of European manufacture and of the same type which is still sometimes seen in rural areas of the United States, are used in many houses. Everyone keeps a supply of candles in case of emergency. But the most widely used type of illumination is provided by a kerosene pressure lantern. This gives a very strong light and is frequently suspended on an iron rod from the ceiling of the room.

Nearly every individual who is adolescent or older has a flashlight and uses it. On moonless or cloudy nights, the village is enveloped in pitch blackness, with only a few undiffused lights showing here and there from doors or windows.

Floor-covering is provided either by small "oriental" rugs or straw mats. Such ornamental or luxury items as elaborately inlaid boxes and furniture, engraved brass or copper trays, and painted pottery, are rare.

DIET

The villagers regularly eat three meals a day, of which the evening meal is ordinarily the largest, except on Sundays. Breakfast is likely to include the left-overs from the preceding evening meal. Bread is eaten at, and coffee served after, every meal. Lunch tends to be small, and the family is apt to be incomplete at lunch, for men or boys working in the fields usually take their lunches with them—a couple of loaves of bread, some olives, and perhaps an onion or cucumber or two, and a jug of water.

The villagers say that in summer they have more to eat than in winter. In effect, what they mean is that fresh fruits and vegetables supplement the year-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME: Lebanon ME1

262 496 meal staples, all, except citrus fruits, in the summer. The staples, which are either constantly obtainable or can be locally preserved and stored, are the following:

- Wheat (mostly imported)
- Rice (imported)
- Mutton (mostly bought on the hoof from outsiders)
- Hens' eggs (locally produced)
- Olives (locally produced)
- Figs (locally produced)
- Fresh fish (caught locally)
- Potatoes and turnips (imported and produced locally)
- Onions and garlic (imported and produced locally)
- A variety of legumes (imported and produced locally)
- Milk (locally produced)
- Salt (locally produced)
- Sugar (imported)
- Coffee and tea (imported)

This base is supplemented in summer by the following items, most of which are produced locally: apricots, fresh figs, grapes, tomatoes, cucumbers, green and yellow squashes, peppers, lettuce, and almonds.

It is clear that the village is heavily dependent upon the outside for food staples. Among the forms in which these staples are eaten are the following:

262 *Bread.* Americans, among whom bread is now a food of secondary importance and generally of poor nutritive value, will at once recognize the significance of "daily bread" when they observe its use among present-day Semitic-speaking peoples. Although it would be an exaggeration to say that it is *the* staff of life, it is certainly the most important single item of food—important both in regard to its nutritive value and the attitudes toward it of its eaters. Bread-making is as important social as well as economic function, and it will be described in detail later. Here it need only be said that the loaf is a disk about one foot or more in diameter and about a third of an inch thick. Tannous (1944, p. 334) says that every adult eats from one to two pounds of it a day and takes it at every meal. Although no attitudes toward it of a religious nature were encountered in Mazraʿah, its importance was indicated by such remarks as: "A meal is not a meal if there is no bread"; "If there is nothing else, bread is enough"; "If you do not eat bread, you will always be hungry"; and "If you drink too much water at a meal, you will not be able to eat enough bread." The average adult in the village eats about two loaves per meal, which is consistent with Tannous' statement.

264 Bread can be eaten alone, but usually it is not. The eater tears it into pieces about three inches square. With this between fingers and thumb (usually, but not exclusively, of the right hand), he reaches out to a common dish and takes a piece of food. The morsel is then conveyed to the mouth as is, or after that which has been taken from the dish has been more thoroughly wrapped up in the bread. For eating semiliquid foods, the piece of bread is made into the shape of a small, crude shovel. Virtually the entire meal can be, and frequently is, eaten, anecdotally and instrumentally, with bread.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

a particularly unfavored district in the physical sense—more favored districts had already been occupied by others.

We have seen that the village territory was subsequently divided into three equal parts, each of which came in time to be dominated by a particular lineage, each descended from a son of the founder. The main house cluster was said to have been first located somewhat below the church, in a recess. This location made the community completely invisible from the coastal highway, and this was described by one informant as a necessary defensive measure. He added that he had heard that in the old days, when men went down to Ḥilwi to work their fields, they went in armed groups to protect themselves against marauding bands of Muslims. This was presumably during the century and more of virtual anarchy which followed the reign of Fakhr ad-Dīn II. As the village grew in population, the house cluster was extended up and along the crest of the ridge, lineage A occupying the upper part, lineage C the lower part. Lineage B members lived mostly at ʾarḍi, surrounding the shrine of Mar Mikhāʾil, and only very recently moved entirely into the eastern and upper portions of the main house cluster.

We have seen that at present the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects the clustering of the houses by maximal lineage. Some of the exceptions to this patterning, especially in the highest part of the village, are due to very recent purchases of land and new construction. Those in the center, however, were explained by one informant as follows: "Maybe a hundred years ago many people were very poor. They sold their land to people in ʿAmshīt. Then later some others bought it again. We don't know who they all were. People went to America to make money and then they came back."

There is at hand what might well be external evidence of this episode. Churchill (1853, vol. 1, pp. 72–73), writes of the spectacular rise of one Michael Tushen, a Maronite from ʿAmshīt, "Making his native village of Amsheet the centre of his operations, he conceived a system which soon brought him into intimate relations with the entire neighbouring population—that of making advances of money on the silk crops. . . . Tushen has become an extensive landed proprietor, and as a landlord his character is unimpeachable."

Until about seventy-five years ago, Munṣif was a very nearly self-sufficient and self-contained community. We can assume that a good proportion of its wheat always had to be imported. As a matter of fact, Ḥilwi used to serve as a point of entry for imported goods which were brought to it by boat, this mode of transportation being cheaper, safer, and easier than overland transport. It was also, apparently, a regular practice for a number of men to do seasonal wage labor in other districts. One specialty of this type, which was hazardous but profitable, was sponge-diving.

But these activities do not seem to have essentially lessened the village's cultural isolation. It was common in those days, according to one informant, to en-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

3. The change is not in conflict, functionally or symbolically, with other, firmly established or unchanging norms.

The second condition provides the adequate motivation essential to learning, and, as Hallowell (1945, pp. 183-83) has pointed out, "learning is the psychological crux of acculturation." Using Barnett's terms (Barnett, 1940, p. 31), we can say that if the *function* of the new item is apprehended and appreciated by the villagers, they will accept it, provided that it does not involve too much expense, does not necessitate elaborate readjustments in otherwise stable systems, and that its *meaning* is neither odious (for example, a part of foreign imperialism) nor in conflict with the meanings of other, stable traits.

Perhaps this analysis will be clearer when we consider two areas of "material culture" which have remained almost wholly unchanged. One of these is diet which has remained unchanged because any fundamental alteration in it would meet with situations which would be contrary to any or all of the three conditions which are necessary to successful change. It would be enough to say that change in diet would involve extra expense and a major alteration in eating habits and cooking methods (violation of conditions 1 and 3). But besides this, the villagers see no purpose in changing their basic diet. It satisfies them physically and gastronomically (violation of conditions 2 and 3). It is probable also that they derive no little spiritual satisfaction in being able to maintain old patterns in this area of behavior where no change is forced upon them.

The other area of material conservatism is in farming techniques. Although farming itself has deteriorated markedly in terms of the number of men who practice it (a negative sort of change), farming techniques remain the same. This is largely because conditions 1 and 2 do not obtain. To introduce, for example, tractors and modern plows and harrows, into a terrace village like Mouqil, would not only involve great expense, it would also be rather absurd from a practical point of view. There would be the problem of moving the equipment from one terrace to another, and most of the terraces are so small and irregular in shape that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to use when it was in place. Chemical fertilizers have been adopted to some extent, probably limited by expense. Certainly the villagers are most eager to obtain an irrigation system, but here their desires are thwarted by external conditions.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

In the economic or subsistence sphere, the village has obviously undergone a profound change. A number of rural specialties, such as weaving and shoemaking, have completely gone out of existence. Farming, formerly the primary occupation, now occupies a very small number of men. A large proportion, if not most, of the village income is now derived from urban occupations.

The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types, economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the importation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

3. The drift of villagers en masse to the city for employment—in part in consequence of factors 1 and 2.

4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

The intellectual factors in the economic change in Menghit were brought about by the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In this connection, three consequences must be noted.

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village and urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied both with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well recognized by a spy. Malinowski (1945, pp. 67-68) has reminded us its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Woodsmall (1946, p. 268) refers to education as enticing people for village life. Kaan (1946, p. 42) speaks of a prevailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Palestinian and Near East [illegible]

> Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The technical technocrats, the centers of economic wealth and economic poverty, the group hatreds, suspicions, the apathy of peasant millions and overlords alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West have small desire "middle-class" groups taking progress, but other generations, unwilling or frustrated in their attempts to change a reluctant-minded system. (1945, pp. 450-51.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts in values among the Menghits, as among other Middle Easterners. The values changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of traditional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Menghits are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a source of sub-

Hs Gullick E-5 [9512]954 MEI Lebanon MEI

in the genealogy, but there is no disagreement on their ultimate origin in this same man, often referred to as "our forefather." On the basis of the number of generations accounted for in the chart, it appears that the founder was probably born sometime late in the 16th century. Historical material is available which gives a clue to the reason for the founding of the village and at the same time supports the estimate of the date suggested by the genealogy. The reign of the Amir Fakhr al-Din II (1590–1635) is known to have been a period in which many Syrian Christians sought refuge in Lebanon to escape Turkish persecution. It is reasonable to suppose that the founder of al-Mansūf, a Greek Orthodox Christian, was one of these. The probable date of the establishment of the village suggests, further, the reason for the selection of a site which is far from ideal for agricultural purposes: the better-favored areas in Lebanon had already been occupied by other groups.

Once established, what manner of village was al-Mansūf? Everything that can be learned about "the old days" indicates that it must have been typical of the traditional pattern of village life in the Middle East, which in turn fits the criteria of the "folk community," as understood by sociologists in general.[3] Life in al-Mansūf, then, prior to the last quarter of the 19th century when the great cultural changes began, was focused on four major themes:

1. *Devotion to the Land.* Agriculture was the economic base of the community, the occupation of all its members except for a few specialists who also were often part-time farmers.

2. *Religious orientation.* Religious attitudes permeated all aspects of life; religious behavior was integrated with economic and family behavior. The religious affiliation of the village was sharply defined.

3. *Predominance of kinship statuses* in the patterning and regulation of interpersonal affairs, for example in mutual aid arrangements. The kinship group was a focus of intense loyalty for its members, so much so that members of the same lineage were often preferred in marriage.

4. *Extreme location* of knowledge, interests, and loyalties. This was reflected in the prevalence of intra-village feuds and in the clear preference for the marriage of an individual to a member of his or her own village rather than to an outsider. (Village endogamy.)

In the case of al-Mansūf, there were a few variations on this normal structure. On the economic side, first, a certain amount of fishing has always been done right from the village itself. Second, the necessity of importing wheat has always made some money income imperative. It was therefore common for village men to do wage labor in other communities in slack seasons. Sponge diving was one such seasonal occupation, profitable but

[3] See, for example, Horace Miner, "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 48 (1942), pp. 190–191; "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution* (1945), pp. 529–539.

433, 162, 464, 439

Egypt	MR1
Turkey	MB1
Iraq	MH1
Syria	MD1
Lebanon	ME1
Historical Palestine	MF2
Israel	MF1

/For an account of the economic effects of industrialization after World War II and information on industrial output in countries of the Middle East, see 66: Bonne, M1 Middle East, category 116 as follows: Egypt - pp. 293-298, p. 309, Turkey - pp. 298-300, 307-308, Syria and Lebanon - pp. 300-302, 309-310, Palestine - pp. 302-304, Israel - pp. 310-311./

121 I. Goods and Services.
- A. Merchandise
- B. Non-Monetary Gold
- C. Foreign Travel
- D. Transport and Insurance
- E. Investment Income
- F. Government Expenditures (not included elsewhere)
- G. Miscellaneous Services

II. Donations and Capital Movements.
- A. Emigrants' Remittances and Transfers
- B. Charitable and Cultural Institutions
- C. Government
- D. Capital Movements

III. Compensatory Financial Operations.

[127] Whenever possible, use has been made of available official information, after suitable corrections and adjustments. Very often, however, the lack of data in various sectors of the economy has necessitated private inquiries which sometimes took the form of supplementary independent surveys. Thus a five-month survey was made of the important summer resort industry, *estivage*, and of tourist expenditures.

The years 1951 and 1952 have been chosen for purposes of this study, as they constitute the only twelve-month periods for which there are complete trade figures for Lebanon alone and for [439] which final government budget accounts are available. Prior to March 1950, Lebanon formed a customs union with Syria, and trade returns of the two countries were combined. The lack of proper records makes it impossible to estimate even approximately the share of each country at that time in total exports and imports. When the customs union was terminated on March 13th, 1950, Lebanon established its own customs, started recording its commercial transactions and embarked on an independent trade and exchange policy. This development makes a preliminary computation of Lebanon's balance of payments not only possible but also necessary if the effects of the new policy are to be properly appraised.

128 The results obtained in this study have been summarized in the following tables in both abridged and standard forms. An

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Merchandise Trade

Data on foreign trade has been taken from the Customs' records. Published annually, this data includes all merchandise trade except:-

1. Goods not constituting exchanges between Lebanon and a foreign country, such as sea food caught off coastal waters, salvaged goods, goods confiscated or abandoned, and sold by the Customs.

2. Travelers' baggage, immigrants' and emigrants' belongings, and other such items not possessing the characteristics of commodity trade.

3. Minor imports and exports of nominal value, especially those sent by post, such as merchandise samples, gifts and goods valued under LL. 5.00, books, etc.

4. Special governmental purchases, including imports of military equipment.

5. Goods imported by foreign embassies and missions and by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA).

6. Imports of specified concessionnaires.[1]

Imports are recorded at the Customs under the appropriate commodity sections and country headings; the entries are based on the declaration of the importer and on the invoice presented when the goods are withdrawn from the warehouses. All the work is done without the use of machines. The present lack of adequate facilities not only leads to many errors in calculation, occasions great waste in time and energy and delays publication, but also makes the preparations of new tabulations extremely difficult and time-consuming; whenever new information has been needed, as was the case for the quarterly tabulation of trade by country, it has been necessary to go back to the original Customs registers where imports are recorded.

The major adjustments which had to be made to the Customs figures have been for (1) coverage and (2) valuation. The following discussion treats each of these categories, and indicates the nature and type of adjustments actually made.

[1] These imports, as well as those of UNRWA, are recorded separately at the Customs.

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A. Adjustment for Coverage

As noted above, Customs figures of imports and exports do not include personal effects of travelers and goods of nominal value. It has not been thought necessary to make any adjustment to account for these relatively small items. However, adjustments have been made with respect to the following:-

a. **Re-exports:** Re-exports in Lebanon are of two types: (i) those which have paid a duty upon entering the country and have thus been recorded as imports, the duty being refunded when the goods are re-exported (cf. Table 1) and (ii) those which have been re-exported directly from the Customs warehouses (cf. Table 2). For balance of payments purposes only re-exports in (i) have been added to the Customs export figures since they already appear as imports and it has been impossible to isolate them; those in (ii) have been considered as part of the transit trade.

b. **Gold:** Gold movements (bullion and coins) are included in Customs statistics and are often recorded at a fictitious value; as there is no import duty on gold, the government does little to enforce proper declaration and recording. In dealing with this problem, the value of gold has been deducted from foreign trade figures, its quantity by weight determined, and revaluation made on the basis of quarterly free market gold prices. The new estimated values have then been set aside for inclusion in the final tabulation under non-monetary gold movements.

c. It was discovered that foreign banknotes imported have been inadvertently recorded as merchandise imports. Their value in 1951 amounted to over 7.3 million Lebanese pounds (cf. Table 3). This item has been isolated from the merchandise figures for inclusion under capital movements.

d. Imported motion picture films are also included in merchandise imports, being given a fictitious value. As most films are not purchased, but enter the country on a rental basis, this item has also been isolated and excluded from trade returns (cf. Table 4).

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e. **Concessions:** The Lebanese Government has entered into special agreements with some foreign concessionnaires thereby allowing them to import certain commodities and

equipment free of duty. These companies may be conveniently divided into two categories according to their main center of interest and operation. 437 471

i. Some companies, like the Beirut Port Company, center their activities in Lebanon.

ii. Others are branches of foreign companies undertaking particular functions which are only a part of major operations abroad. Their local concession gives them some privileges of extraterritoriality; their activities are considered as taking place outside the country, as it were, in a free zone. The Iraq Petroleum Company is in this category.

It is probably because of this distinction between the two types of companies that their imports are recorded differently at the Customs. Whereas imports of companies in (i) are combined with general imports, imports of companies in (ii) are recorded separately. For balance of payments purposes, such a distinction is meaningful; imports by foreign companies in (ii) should be excluded as they do not constitute a drain on the country's foreign exchange resources. On the other hand, imports of companies under (i) should be assimilated to private imports, as these companies, although foreign, pay for their purchases abroad from local earnings. 437[1] 681 439

f. Imports of foreign embassies and missions, and imports of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, whether destined for consumption in Lebanon or for shipment to other countries, have also been left separate for the same reasons as for imports of concessionnaries under (ii) above.

g. It would have been good to isolate also government imports and to include them under "government expenditures". However, this proved an impossible task as ordinary government imports are usually made through private dealers and are entered as private imports in the Customs records. On the other hand, government imports of military equipment are not recorded at all at the Customs, and no estimates of their value could be obtained.

Supplementary adjustments have also been made to account for "unrecorded transactions". This expression is here used to

3:Fei and Klat S-4 (1951-52)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

3457 439 651 cover smuggling and genuine trade operations not declared at the Customs frontiers.

a. **Smuggling**: Smuggled goods may be conveniently divided into (i) merchandise, (ii) narcotics and (iii) gold. It was decided to estimate the value of smuggling in each one of the three categories on the basis of cases caught by the Customs authorities. All contraventions of Customs regulations are in fact entered into special registers, giving particulars on the date, place and nature of the contravention, the means employed, the quantity and value of goods seized, the fine imposed and the conditions of settlement. For 1951 there are over 6000 entries and for 1952 about 5000. However, not all these entries could be considered as willful cases of smuggling; some obviously refer to cases of violations of Customs regulations due to the trader's ignorance of these regulations. Such cases have of course been excluded from consideration for the evaluation of total smuggling. All goods seized are subsequently recorded as merchandise trade by the Customs authorities.

i) Export smuggling of merchandise in Lebanon is normally much larger than import smuggling, mainly because of the country's entrepot position. In 1951 and 1952, most of the import smuggling came from Syria and consisted mainly of tobacco, hosiery, linen, cattle and *samne* (cooking fat), the latter especially during the second half of 1952. The value of smuggled goods seized amounted to about LL. 477,000 in 1951 and LL. 310,000 in 1952. However, private conversations with Customs officials and merchants would indicate that actual import smuggling was at least five times the volume of cases detected; this would make total import smuggling of merchandise about LL. 2.4 million in 1951 and over LL. 2.6 million in 1952.

Goods smuggled out of Lebanon went mainly to Israel and Syria; the merchandise seized is estimated at LL. 133,336 in 1951 and LL. 65,028 in 1952. Customs officials believe that it would be fair to assume that only 2% of the smuggled goods were actually detected. On that assumption export smuggling of merchandise was LL. 6.7 million in 1951 and LL. 3.3 million in 1952.

ii) Very little narcotics is smuggled into Lebanon; the Cus-

toms record of detected cases (mainly of opium brought in by small boats from Turkey) is really negligible; on the other hand, a large amount of *hashish* is smuggled out of Lebanon with Egypt as the main destination. Customs registers indicate quantities seized valued at LL. 152,922 in 1951 and LL. 366,212 in 1952; it is not unlikely, however, that as in the case of merchandise export smuggling, actual traffic was at least 50 times greater, with a value of over LL. 7.6 million in 1951 and LL. 18.3 million in 1952.

iii) As gold movements are not considered a part of merchandise trade, gold smuggling is discussed in a later section, under non-monetary gold movements.

h. **Other unrecorded transactions**: These represent local purchases of small traders from neighbouring countries (e.g. Syria, Turkey and Jordan) who often come to Beirut either to fill specific orders of their customers or to replenish their stocks. The traders take back the purchased goods with them without recording them as exports at the Lebanese Customs. Articles involved in this traffic consist mainly of imported jewelry, perfumes, cosmetics, expensive women's and men's apparel and, in general, any luxury goods that can be easily carried. A private investigation among the main Beirut shops that cater for this business reveals that probably as much as LL. 5 million is spent on it annually by foreign traders.

B. Adjustments for Valuation

1. Customs statistics for imports are given CIF and exports FOB. Moreover, although all imports are paid for in foreign currency bought in the free market, the Customs Administration records them in local currency, the conversion being made at the official rate of exchange, whenever official rates exist. In fact the Exchange Office has fixed such rates for fifteen foreign currencies (cf. Table 5) whose free market value may be anywhere from 30% to 80% higher than the official rate. Only in the rare cases when an official rate does not exist, is the free market rate used as a basis for conversion into local currency.

a. **CIF Values**. As imports at the Customs are recorded CIF, an attempt has been made, in order to conform to the IMF's

*457 651 439 procedure, to discover their FOB value by deducting shipping and insurance costs from the recorded Customs figures. However, many importers themselves were uncertain of these costs; nor could these costs be isolated either by countries or by commodities. The same commodity would be competitively imported from many different countries and in varying bulk. It was felt that a much more intensive study of the problem was needed before the proper adjustments could be made. Moreover, as virtually all shipping and insurance activities are handled through foreign firms, their cost should normally appear as payment, the same way as the price of imports. Thus, as it was not expected that the use of CIF prices would do serious damage to the overall results, the attempt to discover FOB values was abandoned and all the calculations in this study have been made on the basis of CIF prices.

As Lebanese export prices are quoted FOB, no problem of adjustment for shipping and insurance payments arises in their valuation.

h. **Exchange Rates.** As noted above, the value of imports is almost always converted into Lebanese currency at the official rate, which varies substantially from the open market rate. For purposes of conversion into local currency, the Customs Administration considers only the currency used by the importer in making payment, and not that of the country of origin of the goods. In actual practice it has been found that invoices of imports from countries for which no official exchange rates are fixed by the Exchange Office usually bear the notation "To be paid in Dollars or Sterling". This applies sometimes also to many goods imported from countries for which there are official rates of exchange. In general it can be said that goods from the Sterling Area, the Franc Area, and the USA are paid for in their respective currencies, while the bulk of goods from other countries are paid for either in dollars or in sterling. It is on this basis that conversions into local currency are made. When doubt exists as to the actual currency used for payment, the dollar is assumed to have been used and conversion into local currency is made at the official dollar rate.

The FOB value of exports are based directly on the Cus-

toms declarations. An examination of these declarations of a period of one month indicated that no more than one per cent of the export declarations were quoted in foreign currencies. So it was not thought worthwhile to make any adjustment on that score. Export values in 1951 and 1952 are given in table 6.

c. **Multiple Rates.** The problem confronted in the application of market exchange rates to imports is further complicated by the existence in Lebanon of two free exchange rates for some currencies: the "free" rate and the "area" account rate.

In the case of sterling, for instance, the free rate is the open market rate for the purchase of sterling from a special Lebanese account which could be used for sterling imports into Lebanon. The "area" account rate represents the price at which sterling from accounts of sterling area countries are sold to Lebanese importers, for purchases from the sterling area. These accounts can theoretically be used only between countries in the sterling area (e.g. between Jordan and Great Britain); their use by a non-sterling area country, like Lebanon, represents a leakage of sterling. This contravenes no laws in Lebanon, but does evade British financial regulations. No British exporter may accept sterling area accounts in payment for exports to a non-sterling area country. In usual cases, a Lebanese merchant acquires sterling area sterling from sources in, for example, Kweit for purchases of goods from Great Britain, for delivery to Kweit. However, when the goods arrive at the free zone in Beirut, they are "side tracked" and imported into Lebanon.

Sterling area account rates are slightly lower than the Lebanese account rates in the local market (e.g. in the middle of the two year period 1951-52, £1-Sterling Area Account-was LL. 8.80, whereas £1-Lebanese Account-was LL. 9.16). The difference of course accounts for the continued leakages from the sterling area account. The same discrepancy applies to the French franc where a Lebanese account and a Franc area account also exist.

All efforts to isolate the amounts involved in each account have met with failure, and must wait further study

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of the foreign exchange market. For purposes of this study, the Lebanese account rates have been used for both the sterling and the French franc.

d. **The Timing Problem.** The problem of time lags between the payment for, and consequently the transfer of title to goods, and the date of actual importation introduces a serious difficulty in the computation of foreign trade returns. The resulting difference between time of payment and time of recording by the Customs vary with transportation distances, methods of trade (e.g. sale or consignment), and methods of payment (cash, instalment, and credit). The corollary problem is to determine the appropriate market exchange rate to apply to imports.

A survey was made of 31 large importers in Beirut. The sample chosen was based on the principal commodity imports according to value. The number of importers chosen from each commodity group for personal interviews closely approximated the relative value of each category of imports. In many cases, these relatively few large importers accounted for the major share of the imports of that category. Personal interviews were later made of one small importer in each category. The main questions asked related to the time interval between payment and the receipt of the goods.

The results of these interviews, plus conversations with members of various trade associations and banks, seem to indicate that no definite pattern exists in time and method of payment, especially since the end of World War II. Depending on the country, the type of merchandise, and the individual firms involved, time and method of payment ranged all the way from cash payment at the time of placing the order, to credit of up to one month after arrival of the goods. All that can be said is that, in a majority of cases, payment was made partly at time of order and partly at time of shipment. Moreover, payments seem to have been made earlier for goods originating from Great Britain and the USA, and for goods purchased by smaller firms. Credit has been more available for imports from Germany, Italy, and France, and for payments of large and long established firms. A clear case has been that of Germany,

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which has been extending credit facilities in order to recapture some of its former trade with Middle Eastern countries.

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It was decided that the market rate of exchange to be applied should be that ruling at the time the declaration was made by the importer. The use of any exchange rate ruling at a different period could not be justified on grounds of greater accuracy. Anyway, since merchandise trade is compiled on a quarterly basis, some of the timing discrepancies are cancelled out. Moreover, at a further stage of the tabulation, when conversions were made, it was found that use of an average annual market exchange rate and a quarterly one gave a difference in result of between 0.01 % to 0.02 % . Advancing or retarding the applicable monthly rates of exchange to the four quarters (e.g. using the average market exchange rate for December, January, and February instead of January, February, and March for the 1st quarter) gave an insignificant annual difference.

c. **Conversion Factors.** In the conversion from the official to the real value of imports, the following procedure has been adhered to:-

i) Daily open market quotations of the principal currencies have been recorded, and bi-weekly, monthly, and quarterly averages of each currency computed.

ii) A conversion factor has been calculated for each currency, based upon the average quarterly exchange rate and the official rate (cf. Table 7).

iii) The figures obtained from the Customs, once adjusted for better coverage (except for smuggling and other unrecorded transactions) as suggested in section A above, have been reclassified by currency areas and on a quarterly basis.

iv) The appropriate conversion factor has then been applied to each class, thus giving the real value of imports (cf. Table 8).

2. There is another form of undervaluation for which adjustment must be made. Importers have a tendency to undervalue their Customs declarations in order to reduce their tariff

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payments. An attempt was made to assess the importance of this undervaluation from the Customs' contravention registers. However, it was noticed that detected cases of undervaluation were very infrequent (2-3 %, of total contraventions) and that, when a case was detected, the amount of undervaluation was not stated. Mr. G. Messarra suggests that all imports should be revalued 5 %, upwards to account for undervalued declarations[1]; talks with Customs officials and merchants, however, would indicate that such a revaluation would be excessive, especially if made on the basis of import prices recalculated at the open market rate of exchange. A 2 %, revaluation would seem more appropriate, being L.L. 8.5 million in 1951 and L.L. 8.9 million in 1952.

Estimates of the undervaluation of exports are more difficult to come by. It is reported that most exporters put fictitious values on their Customs declarations; this is often done at the request of the foreign importers in order to reduce their Customs payments. As no export duty is ever imposed, the responsible authorities do not seem to insist on exact declarations and do not penalize fairly cases even when detected. Informed guess-estimates of the degree of export undervaluation vary between 10 and 30 %. An average of 15 %, may not, therefore, be too excessive; this would mean an undervaluation of L.L. 10.8 million in 1951 and L.L. 12.5 million in 1952.

Conclusion: The Merchandise Trade Balance

The Customs trade figures show a trade deficit of L.L. 204.8 million in 1951 and L.L. 248.1 million in 1952, the imports and exports (including reexports) figures being, respectively, L.L. 306.7 million and L.L. 101.9 million in 1951 and L.L. 347.8 million and L.L. 99.9 million in 1952. However, when adjustment is made for coverage and valuation as explained in sections A & B above, the net merchandise trade deficit becomes L.L. 311.5 million in 1951 and L.L. 333.1 million in 1952, imports being L.L. 436.4 million and L.L. 454.2 million and exports L.L. 124.9 million and L.L. 121.1 million, respectively.

1 G. Messarra, Plan de Reconstruction de l'Economie Libanaise, Beirut 1948, Appendix 3.

NON-MONETARY GOLD MOVEMENT

Following the general IMF concept, non-monetary gold movement is here used to mean private gold imports and exports. Government (official) gold transactions and gold transit are treated separately.

Lebanon allows the free importation of gold, whether bullion or coins; but gold exportation is subject to licensing. In 1951-52 licenses were used very restrictively and covered only very small shipments of gold jewelry and ornaments to Saudi Arabia. There was a short-lived exception in the first two quarters of 1951, where the exportation of gold coins was authorized.

A good deal of the imported gold goes into the Government's official reserves, as currency backing, or is locally consumed in the making of jewelry and ornaments. It is estimated that an average of 20 kilograms is so consumed weekly (or about 1 ½ tons a year). The balance goes into private hoards. When possible, it is smuggled out of the country. Sometimes, as in 1951, when sales profits are high because of an expanded foreign demand or of large government purchases, there may even be net private dishoarding.

It has not been possible to determine accurately the quantity or value of private hoards; they are, however, known to be fairly large. As in other countries in the Near and Far East, gold is still in Lebanon the best alternative to land as the most popular medium in which savings are accumulated. Estimates of private hoards vary between 5 and 10 tons, to which should be added a large amount of gold jewelry. Such jewelry often consists of no more than gold coins mounted on, or connected with, a gold chain to a bracelet or neck piece.

A. Gold Imports

Gold imports in Lebanon consist of gold bars and coins. Quantum and value records of these imports are kept at the Customs. The value records, however, are extremely unsatisfactory

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*457 than not the value declared is fictitious. As gold imports are duty
• 439 free, the Customs officials do not check carefully on these declarations. It has been necessary, therefore, to reassess the value of imports. This has been done by applying to the recorded quantities of imports the quarterly average gold prices in the open market.

Such a revaluation was easy for imported gold bars as their net weight could be closely determined by the Customs entries; their fineness, although not indicated in these entries, could be ascertained from that of similar bars usually handled in the Beirut gold market. The revaluation of gold coins, however, presented more serious difficulties. The Customs records do not indicate the various types of coins imported. It has been, therefore, impossible to ascertain their free market prices at the time of importations. Under the circumstances it was thought best to assume that all coins imported were gold sovereigns (King George) and to estimate their value on the basis of prices ruling in Beirut. *

Revalued Customs figures show imports of L.L. 37.6 million in 1951 and L.L. 53.7 million in 1952 (cf. Tables 14 & 15). To these should be added the gold that is smuggled in. This gold comes mainly from French Africa where gold exports are forbidden. To estimate the value of smuggled gold, use has been made, as in the case of goods and narcotics confiscated, of the Customs contravention files (cf. pp. 10-11). These files show that L.L. 45,000 worth of smuggled gold was caught in 1951 and L.L. 20,000 in 1952. Both these figures express values calculated at the official rate of exchange; if adjusted to reflect free market quotations, they would be L.L. 111,000 and L.L. 44,286. Assuming, as before, that only one-fifth of all the import smuggling was actually detected, total gold smuggling would be about L.L. 500,000 in 1951 and and L.L. 222,000 in 1952, thus making overall gold imports L.L. 38.2 million in 1951 and L.L. 53.9 million in 1952.

In order to compute non-monetary gold imports, the Government purchases must be deducted from the above figures. As no direct information is available regarding these purchases, they have been assumed to be the same as the increases in the Government official reserves, i.e., L.L. 23.9 million in 1951 and L.L. 15.4 million

* This assumption is justified by the fact that the sovereign is the most easily marketed and commonly handled coin in the local open market.

in 1952.[1] These non-monetary gold imports were L.L. 14.3 million in 1951 and L.L. 36.5 million in 1952.

B. Gold Exports

Except for the two first quarters of 1951 when the exportation of gold was authorized, no gold export is recorded at the Customs. A great deal of gold, however, is known to be smuggled out of the country. The total value of this traffic can only be inferred from the detected cases of contraband.

In 1951, as exportation was allowed during the first six months, smuggling was naturally restricted and the cases of detected contraband were consequently relatively few. The Customs files report seized quantities valued at L.L. 700,385 at the official rate, or L.L. 1.3 millions at the free rate. Assuming again that only one-fifth of the traffic was detected, its total value would be about L.L. 6 millions. To this should be added regular exports which are recorded at the Customs at L.L. 8 millions (cf. Table 10). This latter figure should be revalued to account for the undervaluation of export declarations. If adjusted to cover the same degree of undervaluation as for merchandise export (cf. p. 16), gold exports would be L.L. 9.3 millions; and consequently total gold sales (including smuggling) would amount to L.L. 15.3 millions in 1951.

In 1952, as no exports were licensed, smuggling expanded. This is indicated by the large increase in cases detected. Value of gold seized amounted to L.L. 1.3 million at the official rate, or L.L. 2.5 millions at the free rate, i.e., more than double the cases detected in 1951. It is likely, however, that as the large quantities involved led to greater care by the smugglers, only one-tenth of the traffic was detected. Thus total traffic may well have been around L.L. 25 millions.

C. "Net" Movement

In 1951, non-monetary gold imports were L.L. 14.3 millions and foreign sales L.L. 15.2 millions. As an additional 1 ½ tons of gold is normally consumed annually for industrial purposes (i.e. L.L. 7.5 millions at the prices ruling in 1951) there was, therefore, a "net" disbursement of L.L. 8.4 millions which came from private reserves. It should be remembered, however, that during the same

1 International Financial Statistics, International Monetary Fund, Washington D.C., U.S.A.

period, official gold reserves increased by L.L. 25.9 million. Thus there was a "net" accumulation of gold of L.L. 15.5 million.

In 1952, there was a "net" inflow of non-monetary gold of L.L. 4.6 million, imports being L.L. 36.5 million, local consumption again 1 ½ tons, i.e., L.L. 6.9 million at the then ruling price and exports L.L. 25.0 million. The surplus served to swell private hoards. During the year, however, official reserves increased by L.L. 15.4 million only; thus total gold accumulation was L.L. 20 million, i.e., only L.L. 4.6 million more than in 1951.

4457 (pp. 11-12) imports into Lebanon are valued CIF, and therefore, no new additional entry should have be made for import insurance. However, a small adjustment should be made to account for the proportion of imports insured with local firms. Normally, such an adjustment should have taken the form of a deduction from the CIF value of imports, since an import insurance with a local firm represents a payment from one resident to another. However, it has been thought more meaningful to show it separately as a credit under insurance. As no information is available regarding such insurance in 1951 and 1952 it has been assumed to have been the same as in 1953 when it amounted to L.L. 0.2 million.

• [439] On the export side, only 40 %, of the goods shipped abroad are insured with local firms. On the assumption that the insurance premia on commercial exports are normally calculated at 0.6 %, of the value of the goods, receipts from export insurance was L.L. 0.22 million in 1951 and L.L. 0.19 million in 1952.

(2) **Life assurance**: Life assurance in Lebanon is carried by, or on behalf of, foreign companies. Net movement of life assurance funds are, therefore, difficult to ascertain; however, as they are relatively small, they can be disregarded without serious damage to the final results.

(3) **Other insurance transactions**: Other kinds of insurance in Lebanon are mainly in connection with motor and fire insurance. These risks are usually reinsured with foreign firms, so that in effect insurance companies in Lebanon act in these respects as insurance brokers. It is estimated that the total amount of re-insurance less commission earned by the local firms amounted to L.L. 0.57 million in 1953. As no figures are available for earlier years, earnings in these years are estimated to have been the same as in 1953.

Total earnings from insurance (including the L.L. 0.2 million on import insurance) was therefore L.L. 0.99 million in 1951 and L.L. 0.96 million in 1952.

Table 1

[illegible]

(In L.L. 1,000)

Country	1971					1972				
	I	II	III	IV	Year	I	II	III	IV	Year
[illegible]										
[illegible]										
[illegible]										
[illegible]										
[illegible]										
[illegible]										
[illegible]										
[illegible]										
[illegible]										
[illegible]										
[illegible]										
[illegible]										
TOTAL										

Source: Economic indicator quarterly

Source: Figures computed from the Customs' Records

[illegible]

Table 2

Ordinary Re-exports

(In L.L. 1,000)

Country	1931					1932				
	I	II	III	IV	Year	I	II	III	IV	Year
Egypt	10	23	3	40	84	239	23	46	26	333
Kuwait, Bahrein, Qatar	83	60	258	203	603	2388	577	137	253	3355
Saudi Arabia	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Iraq	113	17	33	173	336	83	338	113	185	719
Transjordan & Palestine	553	758	804	580	2695	738	1183	1055	1258	4234
Turkey	135	361	117	621	1234	1111	1183	1055	1258	4234
Persia	119	140	579	338	1176	1111	1183	1055	1258	4234
Other Near East	10	138	300	17	465	1111	1183	1055	1258	4234
Cyprus	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Italy	-	-	-	3	3	16	121	201	30	368
United Kingdom	2	653	37	39	731	37	42	717	41	837
Other Trading Area	-	60	3	33	136	17	42	866	41	971
Other Western Europe	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Eastern Europe	-	40	8	6	54	13	9	57	361	440
U.S.A.	-	-	23	5	28	-	-	30	-	30
Others	-	35	31	80	146	84	83	45	54	266
	158	85	34	101	378	1388	387	453	150	2378
TOTAL	1183	2341	2042	2088	8427	7405	6872	4799	3949	23025

Roman Numerals indicate quarters

Source: Figures computed from the Customs' Records

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Table 4

Value of Films Imported During 1951 and 1952
As Recorded by Customs
(In L.L. 1,000)

Country	1951					1952				
	I	II	III	IV	Year	I	II	III	IV	Year
[redacted]	2	4	—	—	6	—	—	1	—	1
[redacted]	3	4	4	—	11	5	3	1	3	14
[redacted]	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
[redacted]	21	10	15	11	57	17	11	11	11	50
[redacted]	22	15	17	23	77	23	15	9	15	72
[redacted]	—	—	—	3	3	—	—	—	1	1
[redacted]	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	1
[redacted]	2	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	1
[redacted]	—	2	—	—	2	3	4	—	3	10
[redacted]	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2
[redacted]	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—
Turkey	—	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	1	4
United Kingdom	11	6	6	13	41	6	6	7	6	25
U.S.A.	100	75	59	87	320	84	75	57	88	304
U.S.S.R.	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	3
TOTAL	174	136	107	139	579	145	127	86	136	534

Reasons Numerals indicate quarters

Source: Customs' Records

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Table 6

Exports (F.O.B.)

(In LL. 1,000)

Country	1951					1952				
	I	II	III	IV	Year	I	II	III	IV	Year
Egypt	1,403	3,579	2,133	2,864	9,479	1,309	1,337	925	3,251	6,772
Iraq	611	538	638	1,145	2,932	700	780	787	1,087	3,367
Kuwait, Bahrein, Qatar	134	319	173	353	979	360	887	673	840	2,454
Saudi Arabia	641	880	842	1,070	3,443	1,145	2,384	2,371	2,436	8,405
Syria	8,735	5,680	3,874	4,530	22,819	4,355	4,854	3,453	5,543	17,864
Transjordan & Palestine	721	1,361	732	1,308	4,385	779	894	948	1,451	4,073
Turkey	65	236	31	181	513	215	267	171	68	721
France	314	1,704	365	1,053	3,436	819	814	308	1,808	3,743
Other Franc Area	1	854	5	263	623	7	36	41	476	585
Germany	36	86	111	52	285	250	160	80	77	668
Italy	324	1,338	1,219	1,483	4,362	1,405	685	315	1,379	3,784
United Kingdom	836	894	984	985	3,739	2,740	883	348	879	4,850
Other Sterling Area	350	1,373	698	1,424	3,824	2,448	430	1,302	2,915	7,095
Other Western Europe	449	681	232	780	2,089	1,904	575	280	668	3,054
Eastern Europe	307	330	1,004	1,540	3,477	780	650	881	1,555	3,571
U.S.A.	4,005	12,600	2,540	2,904	22,738	2,984	875	1,200	2,928	8,987
Others	571	835	1,206	1,457	4,139	1,209	1,336	1,067	1,419	5,031
TOTAL	20,324	33,170	18,403	22,869	94,791	23,342	16,568	15,009	28,176	83,095

(1) Roman Numerals indicate quarters
Including Reexports with reimbursements of duties.
Source: Figures compiled from the Customs' Records.

Table 8

Imports (C.I.F.)
At Price Market Rates
(in 1,000 Leb. Pounds)

Country	1931					1930				
	I	II	III	IV	Year	I	II	III	IV	Year
Egypt	1,639	2,681	1,380	831	6,531	764	575	1,606	764	3,709
Iraq*	6,513	4,911	10,008	7,804	29,115	6,314	4,389	5,519	7,826	23,948
Kuwait & Bahrein	1	224	45	4	274	57	98	19	81	255
Saudi Arabia	275	618	719	987	2,749	906	843	2,486	1,307	5,541
Syria	14,196	18,792	13,841	15,103	61,932	8,964	13,936	17,173	23,963	63,036
Transjordan & Palestine	1,313	1,337	473	426	3,549	708	796	1,488	1,686	4,777
Turkey	3,908	3,588	1,589	4,707	11,404	2,571	765	1,130	2,116	6,582
Persia	13,888	20,017	8,660	10,804	53,369	10,194	6,134	7,979	13,393	36,697
Other Persian Area	339	765	378	468	1,950	478	338	388	807	1,991
Germany	3,805	4,577	3,708	3,199	15,287	3,148	3,858	3,944	4,984	15,934
Italy	4,715	4,886	2,583	5,530	17,631	5,433	3,369	3,436	5,335	17,573
United Kingdom	11,577	13,783	8,983	13,071	44,365	10,388	11,481	9,731	14,334	45,934
Other Sterling Area	3,893	3,983	3,149	1,431	8,348	3,143	3,598	3,798	3,536	14,076
Other Western Europe	11,438	13,369	9,437	11,865	47,109	13,775	10,314	14,756	14,955	53,799
Eastern Europe	4,681	3,779	2,371	4,365	15,196	4,479	3,734	3,543	5,992	18,748
U.S.A.	15,815	20,316	13,739	21,487	77,357	24,513	18,917	15,797	19,885	79,111
Others	3,793	7,319	4,339	13,721	29,172	11,141	3,389	3,737	21,993	39,249
TOTAL	85,439	110,346	81,117	115,866	432,768	110,193	86,676	85,170	137,201	443,241

* Including Oil imported from I.P.C.
Refineries in Irbid, Tripoli.

Source: Figures compiled from the Customs' Records

Table 8

Trade by Commodity

(Rs. Lakhs)

No.	Section	IMPORTS		EXPORTS	
		[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
I	Animals & Products of				
II	Vegetable Products				
III	Fats, Oils, Wax and Products of				
IV	Food Products, Beverages & Tobacco				
V	Mineral Products				
VI	Chemical & Pharmaceutical Products				
VII	Leather, Skins, Fur and Products of				
VIII	Rubber Products				
IX	Wood, Cork and Products of				
X	Paper Products				
XI	Textiles and Products of				
XII	Shoes, Hats & Articles of Feathers				
XIII	Ceramics, Glassware etc.				
XIV	Jewelry				
XV	Common Metals				
XVI	Machinery, Electronics, Electrical Appliances				
XVII	Transportation Equipment				
XVIII	Scientific & Musical Instruments, Watches				
XIX	Arms & Ammunition				
XX	Other Merchandise				
XXI	Artistic Works & Collections				
	TOTAL				

* The discrepancy between these figures and those on Table 2 are due to the fact that, whereas the latter have been calculated on the basis of a quarterly conversion factor, the former, in order to facilitate comparisons, have been calculated on the basis of a yearly conversion factor.

Source: Figures compiled from the Customs' Records

Table 10

IMPORTS
(By Currency Area)
(In U.L. 1,000)
1961

No.	Section	Sterling Area	Dollar Area	Other Area	Unknown	Total
I	Animals & Products of	36,287	1,748	171	3,569	36,724
II	Vegetable Products	11,014	33,744	2,935	43,673	84,366
III	Fats, Oils, Wax and Products of	346	1,185	885	1,914	4,330
IV	Food Products, Beverages & Tobacco	1,087	18,338	1,750	7,548	28,681
V	Mineral Products	155	22,970	433	8,941	32,499
VI	Chemical & Pharmaceutical Products	28	8,139	4,636	13,787	26,590
VII	Leather, Hide, Fur and Products of	836	3,360	440	1,888	6,579
VIII	Rubber Products	-	1,888	881	3,189	7,068
IX	Wood, Cork and Products of	48	488	1,688	10,586	13,774
X	Paper Products	1	738	1,324	10,344	13,408
XI	Textiles and Products of	18,486	33,338	12,368	37,885	80,377
XII	Shoes, Hats & Articles of Fashion	-	488	185	1,378	2,887
XIII	Ceramics, Glassware etc.	138	887	1,463	6,338	8,833
XIV	Jewelry	-	388	58	741	1,888
XV	Common Metals	31	3,843	8,338	2,731	14,938
XVI	Machinery, Space Parts, Electrical Appliances	35	7,387	8,368	36,478	36,471
XVII	Transportation Equipment	4	1,388	1,874	15,738	18,384
XVIII	Scientific & Musical Instruments, Watches	31	488	488	4,387	5,378
XIX	Arms & Ammunitions	2	72	288	388	912
XX	Other Merchandise	-	454	888	1,888	2,388
XXI	Artistic Works & Collections	18	-	118	48	388
	TOTAL	81,388	188,488	58,888	388,438	888,388

Source : Figures compiled from the Customs' Records.

Table 11

IMPORTS

(By Currency Area)

(In U.S. $,000)

1952

No.	Section	Japan	Sterling Area	Europe	Others	Total
I	Animals & Products of	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
II	Vegetable Products	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
III	Fats, Oils, Wax and Products of	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
IV	Food Products, Beverages & Tobacco	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
V	Mineral Products	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
VI	Chemical & Pharmaceutical Products	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
VII	Leather, Skins, Fur and Products of	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
VIII	Rubber Products	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
IX	Wood, Cork and Products of	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
X	Paper Products	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
XI	Textiles and Products of	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
XII	Shoes, Hats & Articles of Fashion	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
XIII	Cements, Glassware etc.,	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
XIV	Jewelry	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
XV	Common Metals	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
XVI	Machinery, Spare Parts, Electrical Appliances	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
XVII	Transportation Equipment	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
XVIII	Scientific & Musical Instruments, Watches	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
XIX	Arms & Ammunition	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
XX	Other Merchandise	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
XXI	Artistic Works & Collections	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
	TOTALS	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Source: Figures compiled from the Customs' Records.

Table 10

EXPORTS

(By Chemical Trade)

(in U.S. Dollars)

No.	Description	1966	1967	1968	1969	1970

Table 13

EXPORTS
(By Customary Areas)
(In U.L. Lakhs)
1982

No.	Section	Kutch	Saurashtra Area	Former Area	Others	Total
I	Animals & Products of	11	559	3	826	1,401
II	Vegetable Products	4,881	13,651	1,519	6,000	26,051
III	Fats, Oils, Wax and Products of	111	2,588	55	351	3,104
IV	Food Products, Beverages & Tobacco	914	1,680	1,111	1,384	5,089
V	Mineral Products	1,149	1,511	2	1,000	3,662
VI	Chemical & Pharmaceutical Products	780	1,559	77	1,000	3,416
VII	Leather, Skins, Fur and Products of	280	1,000	1,000	1,000	4,280
VIII	Rubber Products	111	1,000	1,000	1,000	4,111
IX	Wood, Cork and Products of	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	4,000
X	Paper Products	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	4,000
XI	Textiles and Products of	2,000	2,000	1,000	1,000	6,000
XII	Shoes, Hats & Articles of Fashion	111	1,000	1,000	1,000	4,111
XIII	Cement, Glassware etc...	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	4,000
XIV	Jewelry	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	4,000
XV	Common Metals	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	4,000
XVI	Machinery, Spare Parts, Electrical Appliances	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	4,000
XVII	Transportation Equipment	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	4,000
XVIII	Scientific & Musical Instruments, Watches	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	4,000
XIX	Arms & Ammunitions	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	4,000
XX	Other Manufactures	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	4,000
XXI	Antiques Works & Collections	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	4,000
	TOTAL	16,373	30,000	4,000	25,000	77,000

Source : Figures compiled from the Customs' Records

Table 14

Imports of Gold

1951

Countries	Ingots		Coins			
	Kgs.	Value in £.E. 1,000	Kgs.	$ Gold	Value in £.E. 1,000	Total Value in £.E. 1,000
[illegible]	13	61	4	20	16	77
[illegible]	1377	6720	40	865	324	7044
[illegible]	3	14	40	865	324	338
[illegible]	38	186	30	650	243	429
Pakistan	35	173	11	240	89	262
Peru	11	53	50	1081	870	923
Saudi Arabia	1	4	11	240	89	93
Switzerland	38	185	50	1081	870	1055
U.K.	289	1417	10	216	174	1591
Union of S. Africa	75	367	-	-	-	367
U.S.A.	4326	20729	-	-	-	20729
TOTAL	7413	36503	216	37351	13335	37864

Yearly average price of Kg. of gold: L.E. 4925
Yearly average price of $ gold: L.E. 43.20

Source: Figures compiled from the Customs' Records.

Table 10

Exports of Cotton

1963

Countries	Upland		Egypt			Total
	Qty	Value in U.S. $'000	Qty	Qty (Bales)	Value in U.S. $'000	Value in U.S. $'000
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Table 10
Exports of Gold
(Crude)
1983

Countries	1st Quarter		2nd Quarter		Total	
	Kgs	Value in Sh. '000	Kgs	Value in Sh. '000	Kgs	Value in Sh. '000
South Africa Mainland	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
TOTAL	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Source: Figures compiled from the Customs' Records

boundaries. The principal source of this cash income used to be the silkworm cocoon, supplemented by wage labor. Third, in regard to kinship groups, there appears always to have been a tendency to minimize (in comparison to other villages) the distinctiveness of the various lineages. Here, however, all village members recognized the same common ancestor, and were therefore all related, this tendency does not necessarily indicate that the principle of kinship grouping, in itself, was unimportant in the village.

Finally, extreme localism was to some degree modified in al-Mansūf. Some of the seasonal wage laborers brought back brides from the communities in which they worked — a violation of the principle of village endogamy. However, these cases were rare, and in every case the outsider was at least a contiguously of her husband. Al-Mansūf also had, and still has, a sort of second line of defense, or buffer, between it and the outside world. This is the group of villages, seven of them including al-Mansūf, which has been alluded to earlier. This cluster of villages has a name which is used by its inhabitants, symbolizing its unity. Visiting has always been common among the villages, and ties of friendship are many. Furthermore, there has always been a certain amount of intermarriage among the villages. Each case of this was, technically speaking, a violation of village endogamy, but it was a very different matter, in the villagers' eyes, from marrying "a stranger." The unity of the seven villages can be ascribed largely to the fact that the same sect affiliation — Greek Orthodox — is predominant in all of them while the surrounding region is predominantly Moslem. But all these modifications do not detract very much from the picture of the al-Mansūf of former times as being a typical "folk" community: predominantly agricultural, town-oriented, conservative and self-contained in its system of values.

III

The changes which have occurred in al-Mansūf began about 1880. By 1914 all the trends were apparently set which have since gathered momentum and wrought considerable modifications in the traditional patterns of life in the village.

In the latter part of the 19th century, three new factors came to bear on the culture of Lebanon which had profound effects. These can be analyzed specifically in the case of al-Mansūf, but were certainly felt in many other Lebanese villages.

1. Factory-made articles from Europe began to be imported, with two consequences: first, the lessening in importance (and eventual extinction) of village handicrafts; and second, a newly developed demand for European articles, such as furniture, obtainable only on payment of cash. Thus, an already tight economic balance in the village threatened to become an extremely serious squeeze. Doubtless the situation would have become really

Dr. Gulick E-6 [illegible] MEI Lebanon MEI

desperate had it not been for the other two new cultural factors which altered village life:

1. The introduction into Lebanon of Western-style educational institutions and curricula. The two main types were American Protestant and French Catholic. It was the former which exerted the stronger influence on el-Mismiil. Mission schools were established in the village before the turn of the century, and many village children were sent to the American schools in Tripoli. By 1910, some villagers were themselves teaching school in el-Mismiil. Pronunciation itself was for the most part retained, but the quest for secular education — in both Arabic and English — became a major concern in the village. The enthusiasm with which the villagers approached education can be accounted for in several ways. First, the literate individual has always been a person of high prestige in the Arab world. The villagers therefore recognized the fine opportunity for the improvement of personal status which was opened by the new schools. Second, they recognized that through education they would have a better chance of obtaining lucrative jobs and of thus averting the economic disaster which threatened them. Third, the American-sponsored curricula were, in part, a useful introduction to certain aspects of the culture of the West; and this brings us to the third major factor:

2. Emigration, primarily to the United States but also, to a lesser extent, to South America. It is very significant, from the cultural point of view, that the prime motive of the emigrants was not to leave their homeland forever in order to make a new life in a new country, but rather to emigrate temporarily to America in order to make a fortune and then return to the village to resume the old life under conditions of greater financial security. As it turned out, the majority of emigrants never did return. But the number who did, and the number of those who came and went several times before making up their minds, is often overlooked in general accounts of the emigration phenomenon. Remittances from America helped greatly to make the two decades before 1914 a prosperous time for el-Mismiil. It was during this period that the very handsome houses with red tile roofs (imported from France) were built. During this period, also, some of those who did not emigrate took up nonagricultural jobs, such as school teaching, away from the village.

World War I brought a sudden halt to these developments. Owing to the Turkish blockade of Lebanon, emigration became impossible and the flow of remittances was reduced to a trickle. Toward the end of the war there was famine in el-Mismiil, and it was reported that 100 persons died as a result of it. After the war, emigration and remittances were resumed. But the large-scale exodus to the United States was effectively ended by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, which allowed only a very small quota for the Levant. Emigration to other areas continued but also on a smaller

national economy. They produce most of the food consumed by the country, as well as raw materials for industries and some surplus products for export. In fact, agricultural items are Lebanon's principal exports. Agriculture is also destined to play an even greater role in the future. At present the area under cultivation amounts to [illegible] acres, including less than [illegible] acres under irrigation. The crop land can at least be doubled, mainly by means of expanded irrigation. The abundant water resources could be much more efficiently utilized than is now in for increasing crop production, for the generation of power, and for household uses. There are good possibilities for the development of such agricultural and cottage industries as canning, dairying, cold storage for fruit, tanning, and handicrafts. Furthermore, production can be materially increased by the application of improved methods of cultivation. In other words, the village folk of Lebanon are in a position to make an even greater contribution to the national economy than they now do, provided they are given the necessary technical training and expert guidance.

In the third place, the rural community has been a main contributor to the cultural development of Lebanon. By culture here is not meant the conventional fine arts or those items of refinement in behavior that are shared by the few. We mean rather the pattern of living that is characteristic of Lebanon as a whole. We find here certain distinctive features, many of which can be traced directly to their origin in the village community. It is true that cultural influences from abroad have been finding their way into urban centers and thence into rural areas. These influences, however, together with those that have originated in urban centers, have not superseded the main body of culture, which remains predominantly rural. Family solidarity, group loyalty, individual initiative and enterprise, co-operativeness, community consciousness, a democratic way of living involving basic equality, and folk poetry are outstanding examples.

Finally, mention should be made of the significant leadership, in the various walks of life, that has been produced by the Lebanese village. The majority of leaders in politics, education, medicine, law, business enterprise, literature, and the other pro-

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near Aleppo, and at Rayaq and there are many emergency landing fields.

Sea Ports. Since 1939 Beirut has handled over 2 million tonnage of ships a year; an increase of about a quarter of a million over the pre-war figure. The port has a free zone through which goods are shipped to Syria, Iraq, and Jordan. But the Syrian Government hopes to divert some of the transit trade from Beirut and Iraq, with the assistance of a loan of $6 million from Saudi Arabia, formed a company to develop Latakia in order to handle about a million tons of goods a year (in 1939 431,000 tons were handled). Work on the extension of the port was begun by a Yugoslav firm in April 1939. Tripoli, Sidon, and Banias are ports handling the oil from the pipelines[1] and are little used for other purposes.

Wireless and Telephones. An automatic telephone exchange system covers most of Syria and an automatic exchange is planned for Beirut. Telephone links with Europe and America are available through Beirut and normal cable facilities exist. The Syrian state broadcasting authority has two large transmitters and broadcasts in Arabic, French, English, and Hebrew. Near Beirut there is a station which broadcasts in Arabic, French, and English.

The 'Common Interests'

Under the Mandates, Syria and Lebanon formed an economic and customs union, the Higher Council of Common Interests, under the direct control of France, which administered customs and excise and controlled concessionary companies, antiquities, and some other services. On 1 January 1944 the control was transferred to the Syrian and Lebanese Governments. The currencies were linked and interchangeable, and both the Syrian and Lebanese pounds were largely backed by French francs based on a rate of 8·83 to the pound sterling (then worth $4·03). In order to maintain a good profit on the exchange brought in by oil companies the Lebanese and Syrian pounds were not devalued in 1949 to follow sterling. Exchange was controlled by one department for both countries and the note issue is in the hands of the French Banque de Syrie et du Liban.

But these links were incompatible with the differences that developed in the economic policies of the two countries when they became independent. Syria, in normal years, has a large exportable surplus of agricultural products and little transit trade, whereas the debtor trade balance of Lebanon is con-

[1] See Appendix IV, p. 330 below.

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MAIN CROPS

	Area (1000 hectares)		Production (1000 metric tons)		Yield (metric tons per ha.)	
	1951	1952	1951	1952	1951	1952
Wheat	670	700	450	500	0.7	0.7
Barley	340	360	170	180	0.5	0.5
Lentils	50	60	30	35	—	—
Chickpeas	—	—	20	25	—	—
Olives (fruit)	—	—	250	300	—	—
Grapes	60	—	200	—	—	—

— = not available.

(Economic Survey of Syria — the Lebanon, Economic report (Paris, 1953), except figures for cereals, cereal production, and area and production of grapes, all of which have been taken from FAO, Yearbook of Food and Agricultural Statistics, 1952)

312 There is enough water for land to be used more intensively
241 than in Syria but there is not enough room to grow all that the
439 country needs. Improved methods have increased the yield of cereals per acre, but Lebanon will always have to import wheat. The crop of grapes is nearly double the weight of the wheat harvest and Lebanon exports grapes, wine, and the best quality arak. The olive exports are high but the growers have not yet established the same name for quality as have the Israelis. Melons, water-melons, apples, raisins, and potatoes are also important crops and vegetables are exported as far as the oil towns of Kuwait and Dahran. Cotton and tobacco are also grown in small quantities.

423 The land is more evenly parcelled out amongst the people in
369 Lebanon than in Syria but, despite the fact that there are many small holdings, there is a general shift from country to town, and Beirut and its immediate neighbourhood hold nearly half of the population. In the coastal regions of intensive cultivation small holdings predominate, while in the plain regions large estates worked by share-croppers are the most prevalent form of land tenure. Some estates owned by rich men are farmed under modern methods and equipment and there is less room for improvement or for expansion in agriculture than in Syria.

Industry

433 Relative to its size, Lebanon is one of the most industrialized countries in the Middle East area. It is probable that nearly 300,000 persons are so employed, of whom over half are factory workers. However, Lebanese industry has only partly recovered from the loss of the Syrian market and some industries had either to move to Syria or to curtail production. The biggest industries are electricity, which produced 150 million kwh. in 1951, and the Chekka cement factory south of Tripoli, which produced 300,000 tons of cement in 1951. Cotton weaving and

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particularly cars and other finished goods for which Lebanese merchants have agencies for the whole Levant. Another type of transit trade is the exchange and gold markets: in 1950 there was trading in precious metals to a value of £L98,350,000, which dropped in 1951 to £L20,870,000 and £L35,480,000 in 1952. On these transactions not only has the volume dropped but also the profit, but vast sums were made in 1947 and 1948 when the margins on exchange and gold transactions were wide.

Middle East nationalism may have two effects on Lebanese commerce: on the one hand, if Lebanon maintains a policy of welcoming and facilitating foreign capital and merchants, there may be an exodus to Beirut of foreign concerns such as has already occurred as a result of the political disorders of 1951–2. [A tendency in the other direction can be seen in the taking over in March 1953 of the French Beirut electricity company.] But, on the other hand, growing nationalism, parochialism, and isolationism in her neighbours could throw Lebanon on her own resources; Jordan and Syria are both trying to encourage their own ports and merchants to the detriment of Beirut, and Lebanon must now make her services as middle-man and entrepôt more attractive and cheap so that her neighbours will continue to use them. At the same time, if these neighbours squeeze Beirut too hard, they might threaten Lebanon with ruin and it is conceivable that she might be compelled to attempt to seek a replacement of the lost source of income in association with Israel.

Finance

The Lebanese pound of 100 piastres is covered by the French franc under an agreement of 31 January 1948, and Lebanon is a member of the International Monetary Fund and of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, with a quota of $45 million. At the end of 1951 45 per cent of the money circulating was covered by gold and a further 7 per cent by foreign currency—the gold cover has been steadily strengthened, to 54·9 per cent at the end of 1952, to 57·0 per cent by February 1953—when the gold backing amounted to £L114·05 million—and to 60·6 per cent by April 1953. This recent increase in the gold cover results from the part-repayment of an obligation incurred by Syria in 1948; a further instalment was to be repaid in October 1953. In 1939 there were £L29 million in notes circulating, in 1945 £L114 million, and in 1951 £L212 million, but by the middle of 1952 the circulation had dropped to £L199 million and it remained at around this

figure until February 1953.

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SYRIA AND LEBANON

figure until February 1953. The cost of living has likewise risen considerably; during the war it rose almost sixfold, reaching a peak in 1943. It then decreased steadily until the autumn of 1950, when the Korean boom in raw material prices brought fresh inflationary pressures into Lebanon through her growing commercial and entrepôt trade, and persisted until early 1952. This fresh rise in prices was also caused by the rise in food prices (imported and home grown) following the bad harvest of 1951. Although early in 1953 prices had not resumed their pre-Korean level, they had declined steadily.

The following figures showing the indices of wholesale prices and the cost of living illustrate the salient movements in prices (1948 = 100).

	1939	1945	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952
Wholesale prices	72	339	97	104	98	111	134	137
Cost of living	48	285	84	100	98	104	121	125

(Sources: UNO, *International Financial Statistics*, September 1952)

Budgetary expenditure and receipts have also increased considerably, partly resulting from the rise in prices but also from greater commitments. The main increase in expenditure has been for defence, for the Palestine conflict and its aftermath, and for education. The sources of revenue have undergone a marked change: whereas customs provided 60 per cent of the revenue in 1939, they now contribute only 25 per cent, and new indirect taxes on general consumption now provide the major share, about 30 per cent. A measure to increase direct taxation was introduced in September 1951 in the form of a tax on agricultural income based on a 'presumptive' assessment value at progressive rates of tax. As yet its full effect is not known. The budget estimates for 1952 were: expenditure £L94·03 million, and receipts £L94·16 million; further details are given in table 2 on p. 502 below. The 1953 budget was expected to be of the order of £L110 million.

The division between the Syrian and the Lebanese currencies became effective at the end of January 1948 and this introduced an agio between the two currencies. At first this favoured Lebanon, but in 1951 the Syrian pound was the higher and then, in 1952, the Lebanese pound returned to a premium of from 0·6 per cent to 0·7 per cent. The exchange rates of foreign currencies are given in table 3 on p. 503 below.

International Trade

In defiance of the gloomy prophecies of economists, Lebanon contrives to flourish with an adverse trade balance, which in

1950-1 amounted to £L213·5 million. Over half this deficit was met from 'invisible' earnings, such as the tourist trade and transportation, and the rest from private donations and capital movements. Indeed, during this period Lebanon's balance of payments showed a small surplus of £L6·7 million.[1] Most of Lebanon's trade (about 40 per cent) is with other Middle Eastern countries, but the foremost country in her trade is the United States (about 20 per cent). Europe and Great Britain are important sources of imports but not such large export markets. Lebanon's main imports are agricultural products, textiles, machinery, and oil, and her chief exports are agricultural products and textiles. The tourist industry is given full encouragement by the Government and, under certain circumstances, tourists' fares to Lebanon are subsidized.

Development

On 24 February 1951 Lebanon signed a Point Four agreement with the United States and the work to be carried out is based on the report to the United Nations in 1949 by Mr Gordon Clapp.[2] Irrigation projects are under way at Akkar, Yammuna, and Qamiya, and there is a proposal to use the Litani river to irrigate over 125,000 acres of land. In August 1951 the Lebanese Government announced a four-year development plan; the main projects under consideration concern road and hydro-electric power development.

Conclusion

The future of Syria and Lebanon will obviously depend to some extent on the past, many aspects of which have not been fully discussed here because the independent political and economic development of the countries began only in 1946. In internal politics events have moved too rapidly for any record to keep pace with them, and there is not yet apparent any stability that would allow one to regard views and information on the political scene as being valid for more than a brief period. As regards their external policy, the two countries have yet to be convinced that there is a community of interest between them and the West. The Western Powers need the use of Syrian and Lebanese territory on which to base a line of defence, but it is not expected that these countries could or should bear a significant part of the burden of defence in men, materials, and money. The Levant wants greater security against Israel than

[1] See table 6, p. 303 below.

[2] UN, Conciliation Commission for Palestine (chairman: Gordon Clapp), *Economic Survey Mission for the Middle East* (New York, December 1949).

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S.L. 45

STATISTICAL APPENDIX

Table 3
FOREIGN CURRENCY
(Selling rates in £Sterling)

Date	Free Market Rates					
	High	High	High	High		
	Average	Average	Average	High	Low	Average
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

* Rates of Remittance equal for USA, others shown as Transmission rates

(Sources: Banque de Syrie et du Liban, Chambre de Liban; IMF, International Financial Statistics, supply, Various Statements)

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Table 4
VALUE OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS (000)
(c.i.f. for countries)

	Lebanon (£Leb)		Syria (£Syr)	
	Imports	Exports	Imports	Exports
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Totals	367,940	77,497	373,269	376,173

... = not available, — = nil.

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(i) By commodity groups

	[illegible]		[illegible]	
Animals and animal products	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Agricultural products	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Minerals	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Textiles (incl. raw cotton)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Raw metals and goods	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Machinery and electrotechnics	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Transport equipment	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Mineral products	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

* Exports made available [illegible] Imports which originally [illegible] Imports included gold [illegible] and in those being valued [illegible]
† Exports [illegible]
‡ Net [illegible] trade of and all products only.

(Sources: Statistics de l'Economie Syrienne, Bulletin Statistique Trimestriel, [illegible] Syrie, 1932; Bureau de Documentation Économique et Statistique, Bulletin Mensuel et Trimestriel; Annuaire Statistique Trimestriel, Etat actuel; U.S. Bureau of Foreign and Domestic Commerce, Commerce Reports; Syrian Economic Information Bureau.)

Table 3

SYRIA: BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, [illegible]

(£ million)

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
A. Goods and Services				
Exports, f.o.b.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Imports, c.i.f.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Trade balance	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Freight (net)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Transit trade	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Investment, net [illegible] abroad	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Other services	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
B. Private donations and capital movements	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Migrants' remittances	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Capital	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
C. Special official financing	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Short-term loans	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
UN Relief and Works Administration	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
D. Net errors and omissions	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
E. Deficit (−) (A through D)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
F. Compensatory official financing	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Short-term assets, net (increase −)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Monetary gold (increase −)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

* The sign indicates credit; minus sign indicates debit.

(Sources: UNO, Balance of Payments Yearbook, vol. 4, 1950-1, p. [illegible]; based on official statistics.)

3Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1964 M3 Middle East
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Table 6

LEBANON: BALANCE OF PAYMENTS, 1950–1*
(£L. million)

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A. Goods and services	
Exports, f.o.b.	110·8
Imports, c.i.f.†	−326·3
Trade balance	−215·5
Foreign travel	19·0
Transportation	49·0
Investment income	−7·5
Government, not included elsewhere	8·0
Other services	18·5
Total	−129·5
B. Private donations and capital movements	
Donations	101·9
Long-term capital	23·9
Short-term capital	9·8
Total	135·6
C. Net errors and omissions	4·6
D. Surplus (A through C)	0·7
E. Compensatory official financing	
Short-term assets (increase −)	21·8
Monetary gold (increase −)	−14·5
Total	−0·7

* No sign indicates credit; minus sign indicates debit. Year ended 31 March 1951.
† Including non-monetary gold.

(Sources: IMF, *Balance of Payments Yearbook*, vol. 4, 1950–1, p. 184; based on official statistics.)

SYRIA AND LEBANON

During the recent war there was an expansion of cultivation in Syria as a result of high prices and mechanization. The previous table shows the cultivable and cultivated land in different provinces and the distribution of these areas in 1943.

Little is known about the rate of population growth, but it is believed to be rapid. According to the most recent estimates the total in 1944 was 3,987,012, of which the population of Syria was 2,860,411 and of the Lebanon 1,126,600. The population of Syria was divided as follows:

SYRIA: POPULATION AT END OF 1943

Province	Total
Latakia	452,597
Aleppo	870,139
Hama	157,458
Homs	212,484
Hauran	112,841
Damascus	619,889
Euphrates	225,023
Jezira	126,001
Jebel ed Druz	84,128
Totals	2,860,411

(This estimate excludes the Bedouin, whose number is estimated at 470,000.)

About three-quarters of this total, or about 2·1 million, are rural. The amount of cultivated land per head is 2½ acres, but because cultivation is so extensive the area actually cropped is only some 1½ acres.

Lebanon, by contrast with the dry plains of Syria, is intensively cultivated because of the high rainfall on the coast line; yields per acre are higher, and crops are more diversified, including citrus, olives, bananas; small irrigation schemes have been developed along the coast on the streams from the Mountain. The Lebanon depends for part of its grain supply on Syria, and all the cultivated land is cropped. The cultivated area in 1943 amounted to 1·3 million acres. The total population in 1944 was estimated to be 1,126,600; of this probably about 750,000 are rural, and the amount of cultivated land is about 1½ acres per head.

Grain production in Syria and Lebanon together before 1939 averaged 800,000 tons and rose to about 1 million tons during the recent war.

29:Dunn 6-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East
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COTTON IN LEBANON

Table 40

LEBANON: Specified Imports as Per Cent of Total Imports
1937, 1948, 1950, and 1951
Value

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Item	1937	1949	1950	1951
	Per Cent			
Cotton Fabrics	18	6	8	8
Other Textiles	16	11	12	10
Machinery and Vehicles	6	25	12	11
Iron, Steel, and Manufactures	2	12	6	6
Other	58	49	67	66
Total	100	100	100	100
Total Value Converted to Millions of Dollars	56	215	92	124

Note: Imports of the Syrian-Lebanese Customs Union through March 15, 1950.
Source: International Monetary Fund.

Table 41

LEBANON: Specified Exports as Per Cent of Total Exports
1937, 1948, 1950, and 1951
Value

Item	1937	1949	1950	1951
	Per Cent			
Textiles	55	59	59	59
Olive Oil	10	1		
Vegetables	5	6	10	6
Fruits and Nuts	9	9	7	10
Hides, Skins, and Furs	6	1	6	5
Grains	4	10	4	
Others	21	14	14	17
Total	100	100	100	100
Total Value Converted to Millions of Dollars	17	44	29	41

Note: Exports of the Syrian-Lebanese Customs Union through March 15, 1950.
Source: International Monetary Fund.

are produced under dry-land conditions. In the eastern plains and valleys, 241
where less rain falls, all summer crops are irrigated.

Most of the farms in the mountainous areas are owner-operated and [425]
have been in the same families for generations. This has tended to reduce
the size of individual holdings to uneconomic proportions.

Agriculture in Lebanon, as in most Middle East countries, exhibits strong contrasts between the old and the new. The hand of the past is still heavy upon farming practices, but modern methods and machines are making steady inroads.

The country has never been self-sufficient, importing usually two-thirds 241
of its cereals and significant quantities of other agricultural commodities. 428
Food imports normally come from Syria but relations with that country now are strained. The Lebanese do not like this dependence upon imports for food. They remember the hungry days during both World Wars when imports were shut off. They want to become more self-sufficient and, at the same time, to

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East:
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COTTON IN LEBANON

There are said to be five cotton gins in the country, all owned by textile mills. Several are new gins, including one new one. 248

No one expects cotton acreage to climb appreciably, even though cotton normally returns more money to the farmer than other general crops, particularly in years of high prices. Government agricultural officials and technical assistance people agree that farmers are simply more interested in other crops and the country as a whole considers food crops more important.

The consensus is that the crop may expand by a few thousand bales if the price is favorable.

COTTON TEXTILES

The cotton spinning industry has about 70,000 spindles, of which 54,000 were operating in early 1952. The weaving industry reports 969 power looms, about 300 hand looms, and a number of small knitting mills operating at capacity. The spindles and most of the power looms are located in six mills which are privately owned by Lebanese industrialists. Most of these spinning mills were built in the late thirties. Some installed second-hand equipment though the majority bought new equipment from Germany, France, United Kingdom, and Japan. Spinning capacity has remained fairly stable during the past few years but knitting and weaving capacity has expanded considerably. 248 [64]

Until the dissolution of the customs union with Syria in 1950, the industries of the two countries were complementary. Lebanon sold from 50 to 60 per cent of its yarn to Syria and bought cloth. The imposition of duties by Syria and the expansion of the Syrian spinning industry virtually stopped this trade. The Lebanese now want to install more looms to balance their mills and consume the output of yarns. Expansion of the cotton textile industry is expected to be along these lines. [64] 409

At present the cotton textile industry is protected by import duties which average about 30 per cent ad valorem. There are complaints by some local industrialists that this is not adequate. Others maintain that relatively low wages and comparatively high machine efficiency enable them not only to operate successfully in the domestic market but also to compete to a limited extent on the foreign market. These two opinions, reported by the American Vice Consul in Beirut who has studied the industry, likely reflect the range of efficiency. [61]

Cotton yarn exports in 1951 totaled 680 tons in counts from 12s to 40s. This went primarily to Rumania, Pakistan, Cyprus, Aden, Egypt, and Belgium. In the same year the country exported 1,137 tons of cotton cloth, mostly coarse gray goods to Italy, Sudan, Iraq, and other neighboring countries. Imports of piece goods at 1,500 tons were almost equal to exports. Imports for the most part were dyed and printed goods in the specialty lines. 439

Normally Lebanese mills use about 80 per cent Syrian cotton and the balance local and Egyptian. The sources in 1951 were: Syrian, 60 per cent; Lebanese, 20 per cent; Egyptian, 10 per cent; and American, 10 per cent.

ent farmers. Large holdings, owned by absentee landlords and worked according to the share-tenancy system, predominate, however, in the Bekaa valley, in the 'Akkar plain and in the province of South Lebanon.

A diversity of crops is grown in different parts of the country. The subtropical climate of the coastal plain permits the cultivation of citrus fruits and bananas, while olives, grapes, apricots and other fruits flourish on the terraced mountain slopes. Cereals and legumes are the chief crops of the Bekaa, but cotton, tobacco and numerous types of vegetables are also produced. Large numbers of goats, as well as sheep, cattle and other livestock, are raised, primarily as food or draft animals. Sericulture is carried on in many mountain villages, but the competition of artificial silks has contributed to its decline within recent years. The government encourages the expansion of agriculture through the promotion of cooperative credit and marketing facilities. There are no experimental farms or research stations, but instruction in modern methods of farming is provided by the agricultural division of the government's vocational school in Beirut and by the American University.

The mineral resources of the region are negligible. Small deposits of lignite, located in the hills above Beirut and Tripoli, are worked intermittently. Salt is also extracted in evaporating beds along the coast north of Beirut. The development of modern industry received some impetus during the war years 1941-45, but is handicapped by the scarcity of raw materials and the limitations of the internal market. Numerous small plants exist for the processing of consumer goods, including the manufacture of textiles, cement, soaps, distilled liquors, leather goods, cigarettes, olive oil and various foodstuffs. The Iraq Petroleum Company has recently established a refinery at Tripoli, the terminus of its pipeline from the oil fields in the Kirkuk region. The chief exports are olives and olive oil, textiles, silk, fruits and petroleum products.

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in the form of cheese, buttermilk and *leben*, the last a fermented product made from cow's milk. Fresh milk is rarely used, however, except in limited sections in the larger cities. In the rural districts, milk is obtained chiefly from sheep and goats, less frequently from cows. Legumes, potatoes, onions and other vegetables are widely cultivated. Green, leafy varieties are scarce in the inland districts, but wild herbs are often utilized as substitutes. Many types of fruits are abundant, especially in the coastal valleys. They form important supplementary items of diet when in season.

Much of the meat is imported from Syria or Turkey, but relatively little reaches the people outside the larger towns. The average villager seldom consumes meat more than once a week. Mutton and, secondarily, beef are used most extensively. Both are employed, in a cooked or a raw state, in *kubi*, a national dish prepared from meat and *burghul*. Goat meat is found everywhere, while pork is available in the Christian communities. Poultry and eggs are plentiful in most localities and fish in the coastal region. Olive oil and butter are the primary sources of fats.

In spite of the generally satisfactory level of nutrition, a definite decrease in the consumption of protective foods is apparent in the inland districts and in South Lebanon. In 1950, the Lebanese government appointed a Nutrition Committee to promote a better understanding of the elementary principles of nutrition among the people. The different religious customs of the Moslem and the Christian communities influence their nutritional habits and limit the application of mass educational measures.

Housing

Lebanon has a large so-called middle class, and the disparity between the living conditions of the rich and the poor is less pronounced than in most of the neighboring countries. Moreover, many families maintain financial and social contacts with

67: United Nations S-5 (1945-1954) 1955 ME Middle East
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Chapter 6

LEBANON

Developments to the End of the Second World War

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Lebanon's high economic level, compared with other Middle Eastern countries, is largely attributable to certain factors which helped to improve economic and social conditions, 1/ from early modern times. A relatively greater degree of security in Lebanon attracted European merchants, who provided an expanding market for Lebanese raw silk; it also brought in missionaries and educators, who established modern schools. In the second half of the nineteenth century, large-scale emigration began. It is estimated that, between 1860 and 1900, some 120,000 persons emigrated from Lebanon and Syria - an average of 3,000 a year, of whom over half were from Lebanon. In 1900-14, the yearly average rose to 15,000. 2/ A large number of these emigrants returned, bringing back with them capital and skills. There was also a small capital inflow from Europe, which was invested in railways, ports and other public utilities, as well as in banks. By 1900, Beirut had become the main distributing centre for Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, northern Iraq and southern Anatolia. Another important economic item was the export of raw silk.

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During the First World War, Lebanon, which had become a food importer, experienced a large-scale famine. In addition, its silk industry was disorganized, the mulberry trees being cut down for fuel, and its transit trade was disrupted. In the inter-war period, silk suffered further, from the competition of more efficient producers and of rayon, and gradually ceased to play an important part in the economy. A still harder blow was the decline in emigration, following restrictions imposed in most countries of immigration. After reaching a peak of 16,000 in 1925, emigration from Lebanon and Syria fell off rapidly to an annual average of 2,000 in the nineteen-thirties, of whom slightly over half came from Lebanon.

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1/ Net national income in 1950 was estimated at 1,000 million Lebanese pounds (see table 43), giving a per capita figure of LL 900 per annum. (Some confirmation of this figure is provided by a survey in North Lebanon which showed that in 1953 per capita income in a group of villages was LL 627. This figure does not include rent, since practically all families own their own houses (Salah H. Sawaya, Household Income and Expenditure in Al Kura, unpublished thesis, American University, Beirut, 1955)). Converted at the average free market rate (in 1950 one United States dollar equalled 3.47 Lebanese pounds), which considerably undervalues the purchasing power of the Lebanese pound, this gives a per capita income of $250, a figure well above that prevailing in the region. Some two thirds of the Lebanese population is literate, and over 40 per cent is urban, proportions which are well above the regional level.

2/ S.B. Himadeh (editor), The Economic Organization of Syria (Beirut, 1936), page 16.

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Other sources of income were developed, however. Although the breakup of the Ottoman Empire and the erection of tariff barriers in the successor states handicapped Lebanon's transit trade, Beirut continued to be an important distributing centre. In this it was helped by the enlargement of its harbour and by the construction of a good network of roads. These improvements, together with the development of public utilities and hotels, attracted to Lebanon an increasing number of Middle Eastern tourists.

In agriculture, the most important development was the expansion in the acreage planted to olive and fruit trees, and the improvement in quality. The tariff protection gradually accorded after 1924 also stimulated industry. At the outbreak of the Second World War, some 20,000 persons were employed in factories and small workshops, including craftsmen engaged in such traditional seasonal occupations as silk reeling. 1/

During the Second World War, the large-scale expenditure of Allied troops raised incomes and prices, 2/ and the reduction of imports further stimulated industrial production. This increase was achieved with existing equipment, since no machinery could be imported.

Another result of the war was the improvement of communications. The forced savings due to inflation and the shift to profits took the form of francs and sterling balances held by Lebanese individuals and institutions.

Post-War Period, 1945 to 1954

Since 1945, the national income of Lebanon has increased considerably, and available data indicate a rise in consumption. The dissolution in 1950 of the customs union 3/ with Syria, which had constituted Lebanon's most important market, caused a setback, compensated in recent years, it appears, by the over-all growth.

Emigration, which had almost ceased during the war years, recovered in the post-war period. In recent years it has averaged over 3,000 per annum, 4/ compared with an annual natural increase of about 15,000. Emigration was, however, offset by an influx of over 100,000 Palestinian Arab refugees in 1948 and 1949. The maintenance of these refugees by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees has largely shielded the Lebanese economy from their impact, though many have found employment in the country while a few brought some capital with them and started new enterprises.

1/ The number of industrial establishments rose from 400 in 1930 to 900 in 1939, according to Mustafa el Husuly, "Min al hirfa ila al sinaa", in Muhadarat al nadwa (Beirut, 1953).

2/ From 1940 to 1944 inclusive, Allied expenditure in Lebanon and Syria totalled £76 million (sterling). From 1939 to 1945 inclusive, Lebanon and Syria had a surplus of 607 million Lebanese-Syrian pounds on current account. The wholesale price index in Beirut rose from 100 in June 1939 to a peak of 1,205 in January 1945.

3/ See chapter 7.

4/ Emigration in 1951 totalled 4,077, in 1952 it was 2,725 and in 1953 it was 3,315 (Le Commerce du Levant, 9 October 1954, Beirut). A significant proportion of emigrants went to the Persian Gulf area.

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brought some capital with them and started new enterprises. Another important factor was the impact on Lebanon of the development of Middle Eastern petroleum resources, an impact which exceeded that exerted on any other non-producing country in the region. Three pipelines have their terminal in Lebanon: two Kirkuk-Tripoli lines, completed in 1934 and 1949, and the line connecting the Arabian oilfields with Sidon, completed in 1950. A refinery was built in Tripoli and another near Sidon. Lebanon has also benefited from the location of offices of oil companies in Beirut. In addition, it has received many tourists, as well as some capital, from the oil producing countries and has supplied exports to these countries: for example, fresh fruit and vegetables sent by air or truck or, more recently, by refrigerated ships. Finally, royalties paid to the Government by the oil companies for pipeline use have increased in recent years.

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The development of transit trade has also contributed to the national income. The increase in such trade was made possible by enlargement and improvement of the port of Beirut shortly before the Second World War, development of inland communications, provision of refrigerated storage and other storage facilities and extension of the free zone in the harbour from 8,000 square metres in 1939 to 75,000 in 1952 and 106,000 in 1955. Although the development of Latakia has diverted some of Syria's trade, Beirut still handles a substantial proportion of that trade as well as a large fraction of that of Jordan, which previously passed through Haifa. The opening of a new airport in Beirut, in 1950, has also stimulated transit of goods and passengers.

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In recent years, Beirut has been the centre of a large and widespread gold trade. The relaxation and subsequent disappearance of exchange controls has also greatly increased the importance of Lebanon as an international financial centre. Tourism has increased in scope and continues to play a significant part in the country's economy.

Agriculture

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Despite large-scale emigration to the cities and abroad, nearly half the Lebanese population still earn a livelihood in agriculture. Since agriculture accounts for less than one fifth of the national income (see table 45), per capita income in agriculture is well below the average in other sectors. The possibilities for raising agricultural income by extending cultivation are, however, very limited. According to the latest estimates, of the total area of 1,038,000 hectares, 575,000 hectares consist of rocky, waste or built-up areas; 74,000 consist of forests; 115,000 are judged to be cultivable, though at present uncultivated; and 273,000 are under cultivation. Of the cultivated area, 48,000 hectares are irrigated and 225,000 are rainfed, but irrigation projects under way or due to be undertaken in the near future will bring 54,000 hectares of rainfed land under irrigation. 1/ The reclamation of the 115,000 hectares judged to be cultivable would involve heavy capital outlay, since most of this land is mountainous. Hence, in recent years, efforts have been mainly concentrated on intensifying agriculture.

1/ Figures from an unpublished paper prepared in the Ministry of Agriculture in 1950. Cultivated land per capita of agricultural population is thus only about 0.4 hectare, of which less than a fifth is irrigated.

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This has been achieved by increasing production of fruit and vegetables, for both of which Lebanon has great natural advantages. The topography of the country and the unequal distribution of rainfall provide a diversity of climate which makes it possible to grow tropical fruits, sub-tropical fruits and fruits of the temperate zone. Soils are also sufficiently varied to suit a wide range of crops. Water is usually available in sufficient quantity, either as rainfall or from small-scale irrigation schemes. Plant diseases and pests are less prevalent than in most parts of the Middle East. The density of the rural population has made it profitable to concentrate on labour-intensive crops, while the relatively high level of education in country areas has encouraged innovation. The broken nature of the land has prevented large-scale mechanization, except in the plains, and has favoured crops which require little land, as has the prevalence of small-scale ownership. 1/ Finally, Lebanon's location has given it access to several important markets, such as Egypt for deciduous fruits, Syria and the Persian Gulf area for most fruits and vegetables, Palestine (until 1948) for vegetables, and Europe for early ripening varieties of citrus fruit and apples.

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The expansion of fruit and vegetable crops was made possible by heavy capital investment. New terraces were built on mountain slopes, and old ones were repaired and strengthened. Various small-scale works carried out since 1942 have substantially increased the irrigated area. The use of selected seeds has considerably increased, as has that of chemical fertilizers. Before the Second World War, some 5,000 tons of chemical fertilizers were imported into Lebanon and Syria yearly. In 1947, Lebanon alone used 8,500 tons 2/ and 1951-53 imports into Lebanon averaged 35,000 tons. Lastly, there has been a rapid expansion of refrigerated storage space facilities. 3/ The greater part of the necessary capital came from outside agriculture, especially from commercial profits and incomes earned in services; the irrigation works were financed through the budg

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The rise in output of fruit and vegetables may be illustrated by citrus fruit, which increased from 70,000 tons in 1944 to 200,000 tons in 195- and

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1/ No general figures on land distribution are available but on the basis of information gathered in the course of a village survey jointly undertaken in 1953 by the Lebanese Office of Statistics and the United States Foreign Operation Administration, the following estimate may be made: some 40 per cent of the land is in holdings of 100 hectares and above and 15 to 20 per cent in holdings of 20 to 100 hectares; the total number of large and medium holders is 6,300. The remaining 70,000 75 per cent belongs to 155,000 small-holders, most of whom own less than two hectares. There are few landless cultivators, and most of these rent land from the larger owners ("Proceedings of the Agricultural Credit Conference", Beirut, 12-14 October 1953).

2/ Sir Alexander Gibb and partners, The Economic Development of Lebanon (London, 1948), page 45. A treasury show that 48 per cent consisted of nitrogenous fertilizers, 33 per cent of superphosphates and 19 per cent of potash. Some 57 per cent of the total was applied to potatoes, 29 per cent to other vegetables and 13 per cent to fruit.

3/ The present capacity of refrigerators is estimated at over one million crates, or about 2,...,000 tons. Le Commerce du Levant, 1 October 1954. Capital invested in refrigeration totalled L.L. 8 million in 1952, and has considerably increased since then.

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in 1945 to 1,120 in 1952; part of this is exported. Output of underwear and hosiery has also increased, from 18 tons in 1945 to 510 in 1952. 1/ 288

Other industries include soap making, with an annual output of 6,000 tons; tanning, with an annual output of 2,000 tons; electric bulbs, of which 500,000 are produced each year; and various iron and steel products, of which 8,000 tons were produced in 1952, compared with 900 in 1945. 388

Among the difficulties facing Lebanese industry, the most important is the very restricted market, due to the smallness of the population; this is only partly offset by the fact that per capita income is higher than in other Middle Eastern countries. The market is further restricted by the marked consumer preference for foreign goods, which, owing to the relatively liberal trade policy of the Government, has been allowed greater latitude than in other parts of the region. Another adverse factor has been the loss of the Syrian market, in which several Lebanese industries, notably cotton yarn, tanning, chemicals and beer, sold a large proportion of their output. Successful attempts have been made to open export markets, for example, for vegetable oils in Cyprus, France and Egypt, for cotton yarn in some western European countries and for cloth in India, Pakistan and West Africa. The precariousness of these markets was shown, however, when, during the depression in the world textile industry in 1952, restrictions were imposed on imports from Lebanon. Similarly, a barter agreement in 1953 with Pakistan, under which Lebanon imported raw cotton and exported yarn, was not renewed. As Lebanese plants seem to be somewhat larger than the regional average, 2/ the shrinkage of the market has forced most of them to work well below capacity, thus raising unit costs. 438

Another obstacle is the scarcity of raw materials; except for food processing industries, Lebanon is heavily dependent on imports. Moreover, in spite of a marked improvement in quality, it is still difficult to obtain sufficient quantities of uniform local produce. The dissolution of the customs union with Syria has also affected the supply of raw materials since there was formerly a greater amount of mutually advantageous specialization; for example, cotton-seed oil was imported from Syria for soap making, while Lebanese olive oil was exported to Syria. This factor has restricted the range of Lebanese industries; in 1950, three groups - food, textiles and non-metallic minerals - accounted for 60 per cent of the labour employed in all industry, 62 per cent of the capital invested and 58 per cent of the value of gross and net output. 3/ Nevertheless, 433 [437]

1/ Figures from the Ministry of National Economy.

2/ The average number of persons employed per establishment in Lebanon in 1948 was 17, compared with 14 in Egypt in 1947, and 14 in Palestine in 1948. Capital investment per establishment was LL 85,000, against LL 57,000 in Egypt and LL 48,000 in Palestine, and gross output per establishment LL 147,000, against LL 65,000 and LL 90,000, respectively (Albert Y. Badre, "National Income of Lebanon", Monograph No. 3). The industrial census of 1950 showed that, of the 1,444 firms listed, 25 had a capital of LL 1,000,000 or over, 29 had LL 500,000 to LL 1,000,000 and 45 LL 250,000 to LL 500,000 while, at the other end of the scale, 381 had a capital of LL 10,000 to LL 25,000 and 249 LL 5,000 to LL 10,000 (Ministry of National Economy, Bulletin statistique trimestriel, October 1951).

3/ Badre, op. cit.

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and bottling machinery were reduced. 1/ At present, most imports competing with local manufactures are subject to an effective duty of 25 to 30 per cent, and grains, industrial machinery and most raw materials enter duty free. 2/ The Government has also attempted to open new markets for Lebanese goods through bilateral commercial treaties or through inter-Arab States agreements.

The Government has, moreover, sought to promote industrial investment by exempting from income tax new establishments with a capital of over LL 1 million (see below). The newly founded Agricultural and Industrial Bank will help to provide industrial credit, the scarcity and high cost of which constitute a major obstacle to development. Another step taken by the Government, with United States aid, has been the establishment in 1953 of an Industrial Institute. The object of this Institute is to undertake production and marketing studies for projected enterprises, to carry out laboratory tests and to assist existing enterprises in matters of modernization and optimum utilization of equipment and use of raw materials and by-products. A pilot plant is being set up. The Institute will be administered by representatives of Government, industry and the Foreign Operations Administration of the United States.

The Government has also taken steps to increase the production of electricity and to reduce its cost. Following a consumers' strike and the refusal of the principal concessionary company to expand its plant, the Government, in 1952, reduced charges by 22 per cent, temporarily took over administration of the company and accelerated the construction of generators. In 1954, it bought out the company for LL 25.5 million, a price agreed upon by both parties. The completion in 1954 of a hydroelectric plant at Nahr el Bared, with a capacity of 9,000 to 18,000 kilowatts, has temporarily met the country's needs; long-term plans are discussed below.

Foreign trade and balance of payments

The development of agriculture and industry, described in the previous sections, has not basically altered Lebanon's character as a provider of services, a fact which accounts for both its high level of trade and its large import surplus. Table 46 shows that, since the ending of the customs union with Syria in March 1950, both imports and the import surplus have tended to increase. Lebanon's imports are among the most diversified in the region. Exports are also diversified, including fruits, vegetables, vegetable oil and textiles, cement and other manufactured goods; in contrast to other Middle Eastern countries, which are highly dependent on two or three products, no single item accounted for more than 5 per cent of Lebanese exports in 1952 or 1953. The chief market for Lebanese exports in 1953 was Syria, followed by Saudi Arabia, France, Egypt and the United States; the chief supplier was also Syria, followed by the United States, United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands.

In recent years Lebanon has sought to promote its exports by means of bilateral commercial agreements. Since March 1950, trade with Syria has been

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1/ United States Department of Commerce, Foreign Commerce Weekly, 22 November 1954 and 31 January 1955 (Washington, D.C.).

2/ Raja Khaddaj, The Fiscal System of Lebanon (unpublished thesis presented to the American University, Beirut, 1953).

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Table 46. Lebanon: Foreign Trade and Transit Trade, 1950 to 1954
(Millions of Lebanese pounds)

Item	1950 a/	1951	1952	1953	1954 b/
Foreign trade:					
Special imports	183.6	238.4	308.5	314.3	288.3
Special exports	51.9	88.7	77.4	87.5	57.5
Re-exports (merchandise)	1.9	1.6	3.9	3.0	1.8
Total	53.8	90.3	81.3	90.5	59.3
Import surplus	129.8	207.1	287.2	223.8	229.0
Transit trade:					
Re-exports (en-bond)	1.5	6.6	15.6	9.2	8.0
Merchandise transit	220.2	323.1	387.6	304.8	259.9
Petroleum	111.1	459.1	471.2	472.8	349.3
Total	334.8	788.8	874.4	786.8	617.2
Trade in gold:					
Special trade:					
Imports	61.2	22.4	38.6	47.4	52.4
Exports	15.2	8.0	-	0.2	9.1
Transit trade	177.5	394.6	259.9	285.3	147.3

Source: Ministry of National Economy, Bulletin statistique trimestriel.

a/ 14 March to 31 December.

b/ Nine months.

carried on under a series of temporary agreements, pending a lasting settlement. Under an agreement signed in 1951, Iraq abolished duties on most Lebanese fruits and Lebanon granted facilities to Iraqi merchants using the free zone in Beirut. In the same year a trade and payments agreement was signed with Egypt. In 1952 Jordan admitted Lebanese agricultural products free of duty, and both countries reduced duties on industrial goods exported to one another; transit formalities through Lebanon were also simplified. In the same year Lebanon and Czechoslovakia undertook to buy a minimum of LL 5 million worth of goods each year from one another. In 1954 an agreement with eastern Germany provided for the purchase of $1 million worth of goods by each country and another agreement with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics provided for the purchase of LL 10 million of goods by each country. Other agreements were concluded with western Germany and

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Table 47. Lebanon: Principal Items in Balance of Payments, 1951 and 1952

(Millions of Lebanese pounds)

Item	1951			1952		
	Credit	Debit	Balance	Credit	Debit	Balance
Goods and services:						
Merchandise trade[a/]	139.9	436.4	-311.5	122.1	454.2	-332.1
Non-monetary gold	15.2	14.3	0.9	25.0	36.5	- 11.5
Foreign travel	35.0	14.7	20.3	47.6	23.1	24.5
Transport and insurance	16.3	9.2	7.1	21.2	8.5	12.7
Investment income	15.6	11.8	3.8	16.2	9.2	7.0
Government transactions	79.5	9.8	69.7	72.2	6.6	65.6
Transit	113.1	-	113.1	95.4	-	95.4
Total	435.3	496.2	- 60.9	435.7	538.1	-102.4
Private donations and capital movements:						
Emigrants' remittances and transfers	58.4	4.0	54.4	71.7	2.7	69.0
Government transactions	0.5	-	0.5	2.5	-	2.5
Charitable and cultural institutions	10.2	-	10.2	13.5	-	13.5
Capital movements	...	...	14.7	...	...	43.7
Total	...	...	79.8	...	...	128.7
Surplus	...	...	18.9	...	...	26.3
Compensatory financing:						
Monetary gold (increase -)	...	...	- 23.9	...	...	- 15.4
Short-term assets (increase -)	...	...	5.0	...	...	- 10.9
Total			- 18.9			- 26.3

Source: Edward Fei and Paul J. Klat, The Balance of Payments of Lebanon, 1951 and 1952 (Beirut, 1954).

a/ Adjusted for exchange rates, etc.

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Table 45. Lebanon: Traffic through Port of Beirut and International Airport, 1938 and 1945 to 1954

(Thousands of metric tons)

Year	Port				Airport			
	Number of ships entering	Net registered tonnage	Goods loaded	Goods unloaded	Number of planes arriving	Number of passengers: Ordinary	In transit	Freight
1938	2,128	2,630	110	522	-	-	-	-
1945	765	385	37	128	-	-	-	-
1946	1,160	1,050	87	300	-	-	-	-
1947	1,470	1,637	63	457	-	-	-	-
1948	1,744	1,902	119	773	-	-	-	-
1949	1,821	2,388	143	826	-	-	-	-
1950	2,109	2,561	219	895	-	-	-	-
1951	2,058	2,921	285	911	9,211	30,280	28,120	...
1952	2,044	3,105	242	879	10,540	[illegible]	66,734	1.3
1953	2,220	3,569	305	949	11,868	98,184	70,975	1.5
1954	2,342	3,921	376	1,129	13,358	125,118	83,196	1.6

Source: Ministry of National Economy, Bulletin statistique trimestriel.

Yugoslavia. Lebanon ratified the Inter-Arab trade and payments agreement in 1953. 1/

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The deficit in the balance of trade has been largely covered by the following items: income arising from the transit trade and from financial services; expenditure by tourists; government receipts from the petroleum companies and other sources; and donations (see table 47).

Table 48 shows the rapid increase in activity at the port and airport of Beirut, while table 46 shows the value of merchandise, gold and petroleum passing through Lebanon in transit. It has been estimated that, in 1952, some 50,000 passengers and 400,000 tons of goods, other than petroleum, passed in transit, mainly to or from Syria, Jordan and Iraq, and, to a lesser extent, Iran. 2/ The Government has sought to promote transit trade by extending the free zone in the

1/ See the Introduction to this report.

2/ Baron Maxime de Dampet, "Le transit, vocation du Liban", Les Conférences du Cénacle (Beirut, 1953).

9: Gulick E-5 (1954) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The boarding-school, as well as the day-school, students include both boys and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The chief criterion is that none is a manual laborer, and they were obviously all considered to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practicing physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

Protestant preacher	1	Seamstress	5
Detective	1	Waiter	5
Fireman	1	Hospital attendant	4
Soldier (sergeant)	1	Janitor	2
Tailor	2	Surveyor	1

The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus close village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in itself. Parents and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of the girl to a doctor, a very prestigeful status.

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15–44

	Men		Women			Men		Women	
Age	Single	Married	Single	Married	Age	Single	Married	Single	Married
15–19	39	0	27	0	30–34	6	9	4	7
20–24	30	1	17	7	35–39	3	4	2	12
25–29	13	8	12	10	40–44	2	14	0	12

#43 #43 rations that western entrepreneurs of similar class status would be appalled. A small grocery store, for example, might have a stock not worth more than one thousand Lebanese pounds. It would consist of items turning over rapidly, such as cigarettes, which would be in good supply, and probably some canned goods which present a sales turnover of once a year. There would be no breadth to the inventory. Indeed, one of the commonest replies in these stores, and even in much larger ones, is that they will get an item requested later that day, or tomorrow, or next week.

Or a shoemaker and repair man may have a shop two meters by five meters in which he operates by daily purchases of leather or purchases to meet yesterday's demand, so that there is no inventory whatsoever other than a little equipment.

Other small entrepreneurs make their livings variously in such business as small restaurants. These are mainly coffee houses for gossip and the accompanying gossip interactions.

Clerical

#43 Under the heading of clerical, we included bookkeepers, agents usually representing foreign firms, messengers, secretaries, (a term locally used to include both stenographers and secretaries in the western sense) and telephone operators. They constitute slightly over six percent of the sample, which is remarkably small for a city.

Sales and kindred occupations

#43 #41 The next category, sales and kindred occupations, was subdivided into commission agents, peddlers, and salesmen. The peddlers are a particularly large group. They are typically small in their operations, hawking vegetables, fruit, soft drinks, and miscellaneous gadgets through the streets of the town. They, perhaps, should have been included among the small businessmen, but it was felt that even with the minute size of many businesses, the peddlers

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were too small to be thought of in this category. They represent almost six percent of the sample.

Personal services

The category "personal services" was composed of the sub-groups, barbers, cooks, customs relievers, waiters, servants and miscellaneous occupations of similar calibre. Customs relievers, of whom seven were interviewed, is an occupation which would not have been thought of in most indexes of occupations, but constituted a significant part of our personal services sample category. Their occupation involves dealing with the customs officials as a service which relieves travellers and businessmen from the tedious procedures of customs.

Only twelve servants were found in the sample. This figure is misleading unless it is remembered that the servants are primarily women or young girls and they are not heads of families. The incidence of servants is better represented in the household composition chapter. The group accounts for over five percent of the sample.

Protective services

Protective services include policemen, firemen, gendarmes, guardians and soldiers. Firemen are not a significant part of the protective services, because a stone and concrete city has little call for their services. The biggest group is that of policemen and gendarmes. A surprisingly large number of soldiers were interviewed, considering the small military establishment in Lebanon. The entire category was only slightly over four percent.

Agricultural occupations and fishing

Agricultural workers are sub-divided into the workers proper who do not own land and owners who work on their land. Shepherds and fishermen were also included. It is interesting to note that, for a seaboard city, more shepherds were found than fishermen, although this is probably an accident of sampling. However, fishing is less of an occupation than might be supposed since fish are in short supply near the

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spinning was established in Tripoli in 1929 but the textile factories are not as big as those of Syria. In Beirut there are modern industries producing biscuits, vegetable oil, preserves, and soft drinks. There are in Lebanon a host of garages and workshops and some well-equipped repair shops and in Beirut there is an engineering firm that has successfully carried out contracts on major jobs for IPC. New factories are a sugar refinery, a stocking factory, and a cotton-seed oil plant. The following table shows the output of some industries for recent years.

SELECTED INDUSTRIES IN LEBANON

Industry	Unit	Output	Year	Remarks
Cotton, yarn	000 tons	0·1	1951	54,000 spindles
" fabric	mill. sq. metres	4·9	1950	1,000 power looms, 300 hand looms
Woollen fabric	"	0·4	1950	117 power looms
Silk and rayon	"	7	1949	300–600 tons of cocoons each year; 900 looms, nearly half hand operated
Leather, soles	000 tons	1·0	1951	Back to pre-war level
" uppers	mill. sq. ft.	2·3		
Electricity	mill. kw.	130	1951	
Cement	000 tons	305·0	1951	
Sugar	"	3·1	1949	Well below capacity; meets only one-fifth of requirements
Sweets and chocolates	"	6·4	1950	
Cigarettes	million	908	1951	Private monopolies under government supervision
Tobacco	000 tons	0·3	1950	
Beer	000 hectolitres	13	1951	
Wine	"	8	1949	
Arak	"	10	1949	
Industrial alcohol	000 tons	0·3	1951	
Matches	million boxes	60	1949	
Soap	000 tons	6·3	1949	

(Sources: UN, Dept. of Economic Affairs, *Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East, 1951–2*.)

Commerce

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The chief characteristic of the Lebanese economy is its dependence on buying and selling rather than on producing. The merchants of Beirut have a world-wide reputation for shrewdness and efficiency in general commerce and they have grown rich on the transit trade. This has grown considerably in post-war years. According to estimates of the Banque de Syrie et du Liban the value of Lebanese re-exports amounted to £L19,491,000 in 1952 (compared with only £L8,901,000 in 1951), that of transit goods to £L1,258,601,000 in 1952 (compared with £L1,156,795,000 in 1951). On some of these Lebanon makes little profit but other items show good returns,

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441 particularly cars and other finished goods for which Lebanese merchants have agencies for the whole Levant. Another type of transit trade is the exchange and gold markets: in 1950 there was trading in precious metals to a value of £L96,332,000, which dropped in 1951 to £L22,974,000 and £L39,461,000 in 1952. On these transactions not only has the volume dropped but also the profit, but vast sums were made in 1947 and 1948 when the margins on exchange and gold transactions were wide.

439 433 Middle East nationalism may have two effects on Lebanese commerce: on the one hand, if Lebanon maintains a policy of welcoming and facilitating foreign capital and merchants, there may be an exodus to Beirut of foreign concerns such as has already occurred as a result of the political disorders of 1951–2. (A tendency in the other direction can be seen in the taking over in March 1953 of the French Beirut electricity company.) But, on the other hand, growing nationalism, parochialism, and isolationism in her neighbours could throw Lebanon on her own resources; Jordan and Syria are both trying to encourage their own ports and merchants to the detriment of Beirut, and Lebanon must now make her services as middle-man and entrepôt more attractive and cheap so that her neighbours will continue to use them. At the same time, if these neighbours squeeze Beirut too hard, they might threaten Lebanon with ruin and it is conceivable that she might be compelled to attempt to seek a replacement of the lost source of income in association with Israel.

Finance

457 [648] The Lebanese pound of 100 piastres is covered by the French franc under an agreement of 31 January 1948, and Lebanon is a member of the International Monetary Fund and of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, with a quota of $4½ million. At the end of 1951 45 per cent of the money circulating was covered by gold and a further 7 per cent by foreign currency—the gold cover has been steadily strengthened, to 54·9 per cent at the end of 1952, to 57·2 per cent by February 1953—when the gold backing amounted to £L114·25 million—and to 60·6 per cent by April 1953. This recent increase in the gold cover results from the part-repayment of an obligation incurred by Syria in 1948; a further instalment was to be repaid in October 1953. In 1939 there were £L29 million in notes circulating, in 1943 £L114 million, and in 1951 £L212 million, but by the middle of 1952 the circulation had dropped to £L199 million and it remained at around this figure until February 1953.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

of the Westerns and the Mizwli as groups. The Westerns are transhumants, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thoumin, 1936, pp. 134–35). According to Cave Group informants, they, or other Marounites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily in their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. However, the Cave Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The flocks furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mizwli are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mizwli as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a prearranged sum to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this sum is agreed upon with a view to the Cave Group members' getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mizwli, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the bakeries or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or laundresses. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of superiority-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degrees of numerical superiority and local establishment which obtain in the particular area. In other words, as has been suggested above, Munsif is simply one localized example of the operation of Coon's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way colored by *group avoidance* or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in *all* social relationships in the village is equalitarian, combined, to be sure, with the various barriers which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of itinerants: (1) Tinkers and scissors grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the bedlam of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright; others seek, perhaps sincerely, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawar (Gypsies). One group of them was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular head-dress, their faces tattooed, marching up the road with

the following: accountants, college teachers and upper administrative officers, dentists, engineers, lawyers, nurses, newspaper publishers, editorial writers, reporters, surveyors, clergymen and school teachers. The range of income of these groups was large as was the amount of training undergone.

Managers, officials, large businessmen and rentiers

There was considerable difficulty in forming this category, but in general it is meant to include an upper-class group which has general power and influence in the city, either from high-ranking official position or because of position in the business world. It formed the largest group, other than miscellaneous, with almost twelve percent of the total sample. Of these, almost half were large merchants as might be expected in a city which depends on commerce for its existence. This is a much larger group of this type than would be found in most cities.

One reason for the size of this category is that Beirut is a capital city and therefore would have an inordinate amount of public officials. Another reason is that the attractions of a metropolis lure people of wealth.

Small businessmen

Almost equally as large as the managers etc., category, is the group of small businessmen. The largest percentage of these are small retail owners. As a group, they represent marginal enterprises which fill small niches in the economy. They are very often such small ope-

12: Churchill 8-5 (1962) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

463 rations that western entrepreneurs of similar
443 class status would be appalled. A small grocery store, for example, might have a stock not worth more than one thousand Lebanese pounds. It would consist of items turning over rapidly, such as cigarettes, which would be in good supply, and probably some canned goods which present a sales turnover of once a year. There would be no breadth to the inventory. Indeed, one of the commonest replies in these stores, and even in much larger ones, is that they will get an item requested later that day, or tomorrow, or next week.

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Other small entrepreneurs make their livings variously in such business as small restaurants. These are mainly coffee houses for gossip and the accompanying group interactions.

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463 Under the heading of clerical, we included bookkeepers, agents usually representing foreign firms, messengers, secretaries, (a term locally used to include both stenographers and secretaries in the western sense) and telephone operators. They constitute slightly over six percent of the sample, which is remarkably small for a city.

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441 cupations, was subdivided into commission agents, peddlers, and salesmen. The peddlers are a particularly large group. They are typically small in their operations, hawking vegetables, fruit, soft drinks, and miscellaneous gadgets through the streets of the town. They, perhaps, should have been included among the small businessmen, but it was felt that even with the minute size of many businesses, the peddlers

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

FORMAL INSTITUTIONS

SOCIO-ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

STORES

THE two stores which are not in the *saḥa* are small, specialized, and not always open. They will not be considered further. Another store building was closed throughout the period of study. The four remaining stores are located in the *saḥa*, two (under one roof) on the north side of the main road. One of these is owned by a man of lineage C,XVI, the other by a man of lineage A,III. The building itself is owned by a man of lineage C,XXI. The two stores on the south side of the main road are both somewhat larger than the other two and longer established, going back at least to World War I. Both are owned by members of lineage B,XII. All of these stores are "general stores" from the point of view of the merchandise they carry, and from the point of view of their function as meeting places for the men of the village.

In two of the stores, the one in building 8 and one of those in building 6 (see Fig. 3), the proprietor of each is regularly assisted by one of his sons. The other two work alone for the most part. (The son of one of the latter has recently opened his own store in Ḥilwi.) To some extent, there is some specialization. The gasoline-driven mill, mentioned earlier, is part of the store in building 8 whose proprietor, at the beginning of the study period, was employing a man of lineage A,VIII (his wife's brother) as miller. Grain was imported and ground to flour which was sold in the village and the Qurni. During the period of study, it was decided that this operation was not profitable, it being more practical all around to import flour. The proprietor of the store in building 10 is a butcher who both slaughters animals and sells meat. He also slaughters for the people in Jiddayil. The unassisted proprietor of the store in building 6 sometimes sells meat but does not slaughter animals himself. The proprietor of the other store in building 6, established for only one year, is the priest.

By and large, the stores carry the same goods at, apparently, the same fixed prices. There is no barter. Negotiations are carried out on a cash-and-carry basis, and every sale is recorded item by item. An informal and composite inventory includes the following: flour, rice, grain, peas, beans, coffee beans, sugar and nuts (set about on the floor in open sacks with prices per kilogram written on tags); vegetables and fruits (in season) set on the floor or large trays or in baskets; eggs, hung from the ceiling in wire baskets; various types of hard and chewy

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

444 candies, each kind in a large glass jar; bottles of *'araq*, sweet summer drink extracts, and denatured alcohol (for preheating Primus stoves and lanterns); writing paper, pens, pencils, and ink; hairpins, combs, toothpaste, and soap; flashlights and batteries—all of these on shelves set against the walls. We can generalize by saying that the stores provide the villagers with all their purchased food except bread and with small items of everyday use. Conspicuously lacking are clothes, furniture, and all household utensils except the pottery drinking jars which are carried by some of the stores. All other larger items are bought directly from Jbayl or Beirut.

One person said that he made it a practice to patronize all the stores in order not to slight any of the proprietors. How common this practice is the writer does not know. Since the stores are so close together, patronization on the basis of proximity is not likely to be a factor in the determination of particular clienteles.

477 One would expect that the stores would be in keen competition, and, certainly, commercial competition is nothing new or foreign to Lebanon. But among the village stores there appeared to be little if any competition, and some assistance between proprietors was observed. One informant explained the situation in this way:

> Well, they *are* in competition, but you see [and here he seemed quite at a loss for words. He started again:] There is a saying in Arabic *Likull ʾinsaan rizquhu*. It means: "Every person has his fortune." Well, you know, it really means everyone will receive his due. You see, one helps the other because later the other will help the one. But it is more than mutual help; when X helps Y, they may not want to do it, but they do it anyway because they do not want people to think that they are enemies or jealous of each other.

577 The saying which was used by this informant is a positive expression, similar
621 in connotation to the lilies of the field passage in the Sermon on the Mount, of
476 the fatalism which is commonly attributed, with some justification, to the Arabs. We might elucidate its full meaning by paraphrasing it as follows: "You will get your just reward in whatever you are doing if you behave justly." In this case, behaving justly involves the kind of mutual help within an in-group (the village) which is essential to its solidarity. But also, in a wider sense, it is the writer's opinion that among the Arabs, competition for its own sake is not a *generalized* behavioral value, though they do come close to this in their social and cultural group rivalries. Furthermore, none of the four proprietors concerned in this matter is dependent solely on his store for his income. Each is a landowner and maintains his property for agricultural purposes.

444 Turning, now, to the function of the stores as meeting places for the men,
617 we are reminded of the interesting notion, set forth by Kohn (1936, p. 70), that in the Mediterranean area generally, the center of personal and social life is the
[265] open, public place—forum, agora, coffee house, and open shop.

In Munṣif, there is no coffee house and the stores to some extent take the

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

place of one. Close friends of each proprietor frequently sit down with him to a game of backgammon or cards. Other customers while away several minutes with small talk whenever they make a purchase, and small groups of them often collect in the store, some sitting, some standing, to discuss the news, prices, and to exchange gossip. There is not a great deal more to it than this. The point is simply that the stores are not merely agencies for the transfer of goods.

BAKERIES

As has been noted before, there are two, rather widely spaced, bakeries in the village. Like the stores, they are privately owned economic institutions, and they are intensively used as loci of social interaction on the part of women just as the stores are on the part of men. Here the women meet regularly and for protracted lengths of time.

The women who regularly make their own bread (some do not make their own but buy it) do not do so every day. Depending upon the amount she needs to feed her family, the housewife will make bread anywhere from once every three days to once a week. Each time she will spend two or three hours in the bakery with four or five other women. Standing outside one of the bakeries, one hears intermittently the crackle of brushwood just put on the fire, and constantly the women's chatter, laughter, and sometimes singing, accompanied by the rhythmical slapping of hands and dough on stone.

The interior of the bakery in the *saba* is rather dark since it has no windows and only two narrow doors. The building is trapezoidal in shape, with the oven in the narrow end. The oven is a large rectangular masonry structure, with one aperture on the side at a convenient height above the floor of a small pit in which the baker stands. The floor of the interior of the oven is smooth stone or concrete. The fire burns on the left-hand side of this floor. Between the oven and the doors there is a large stone slab raised about a foot off the floor. Around this half a dozen women can sit and work comfortably. To the right of the table and the oven, between them, there are several bins into which the baker tosses the loaves as they come from the oven.

The woman prepares her dough at home, making the necessary number of fist-sized lumps each of which will be made into a loaf. These she then takes to the bakery on a large tray carried on her head. The women form their lumps of dough into disks about a foot in diameter by slapping and kneading them against the stone table. The operation does not call for the same kind of skill which is required in preparing another type of "mountain bread" which used to be made in Munṣif and can still be found easily enough in some other villages, a loaf as much as two and a half feet in diameter. The baking technique is different, and only one loaf at a time can be done.

The baker is equipped with an elongated wooden paddle upon which five disks

at a time can be placed.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

bers" (1929, pp. 80–83). As far as doctrine alone is concerned, this generalization appears to be true of the Arab Orthodox, but among them, nevertheless, sect affiliation as a focus of in-group loyalty is strong.

Bliss describes the Mass and Sacraments of the Syrian Greek Orthodox Church at some length (1912, pp. 130–47), and it is not necessary to repeat his material here in a body. The practices in Munṣif appear to conform to his generalizations.

Ordinarily, the priest goes to the Church about seven in the morning on Sundays, but the congregation does not begin to come in till about eight o'clock. In the intervening period he prepares the elements behind the ikonostasis. Each Sunday one housewife presents five loaves of holy bread (*qurbaan*) which are used in the service. Apparently all the women in the village take their turn at this. The loaf is about the same size as a regular loaf but is about an inch thick. In the middle of each loaf a device is impressed with a wooden stamp (*ṭaabi'*). The device bears four pairs of Greek letters arranged crosswise which are an abbreviation of "Jesus Christ conquers."

The following is a brief description of one Sunday mass which was attended early in the summer. It is representative of several which were attended.

At eight fifteen only the priest and an elderly man were in the church, chanting responsively. At that point, a middle-aged man entered, took his post at one of the lecterns and began chanting. About five minutes later, a young man came in, went to the other lectern and joined in. Next, three small boys entered and sat down in the wooden stalls. Then another young man arrived and went behind the ikonostasis to assist the priest. After that, several more young and middle-aged men came in in short order. In all, about fifteen men were present, together with about an equal number of children of both sexes and about half a dozen young women, one of whom had prepared the *qurbaan* for that day.

The chanting was maintained continuously, with certain individuals who are regular attendants taking noticeable part. Toward the end of the service, the priest took the Host into the congregation, carrying the chalice and plate, which held small pieces of *qurbaan*, on a silver tray. His assistant walked backwards in front of him, holding up a cross. Each member of the congregation bowed as the Host approached him. After this, the assistant took up a collection and distributed *qurbaan* to each person present as well as to several who had been sitting outside all the time.

After the service, the young men, as usual, took turns ringing the bell, leaping off the ground and pulling the cord with all their weight. Others stood around chatting.

The stores are open every Sunday.

FEASTS AND FASTS

Every day of the year is a saint's day, but special observances are made only on a few. Besides Easter and the various special holy days in Lent, the Syrian Greek

361 [795] of the other three project village tere is one mosque. There are no Christian churches here as this region is populated by Moslems of the Shee'ah sect. These are often referred to as Metwalis and and are followers of the descendats of Ali.

362 The 912 dwelling units in th five project villages house an average of 6.1. persons per unit. A positive building trend has taken place in the area during the past five years. For this period, only 'Adloun reported more buillings torn down or otherwise made uninhabitable than were constructed. In the other four villages the opposite trend was reported. No attempt was made to determine the types of units construced and heavy reliance should not be placed on Table IX, «Construction Trend in Last Five Years», for the data in this table are subject to a high degree of error.

Business and Industry

444 265 In the project villages the business district generally is composed of a few small shops selling meat, grain, groceries, small items of hardware, and a limited amount of other items. In these five villages there is a total of thirty-four small shops. There are 17 general stores, 11 meat stores, 2 barber shops and 4 cafes. As the shopping centers of Beirut and Saida are easily accessible by low-cost bus transportation, general stores carry only those items in heavy demand. Several of the cafes service the main Beirut-Saida-Tyre road. Of all the businesses, only these cafes employ the services of personnel other than the proprietor. Only the village of Loubya lacks any form of business center.

It is interesting to note tha in these small villages the meat shops often cooperate by assigning specific days of operation for each shopkeeper. On days allotted to one shopkeeper, the carcasses will hang from his hooks and nearby meat shops will be closed. All the stores are extremely small and require but a meager capital investment.

433 There are no power-operated factories in the project area and very few home industries or handicraft enterprises. Two hand-operated olive presses were reportesd at Sakaskiyah and one at Loubya. With no wood or mineral resources at hand and with no electrical power available, this total lack of village industialization is not surprising.

463 were too small to be thought of in this category.
441 They represent almost six percent of the sample.

Personal services

463 The category "personal services" was com-
445 posed of the sub-groups, barbers, cooks, customs releasers, waiters, servants and miscellaneous occupations of similar calibre. Customs releasers, of whom seven were interviewed, is an occupation which would not have been thought of in most indexes of occupations, but constituted a significant part of our personal services sample category. Their occupation involves dealing with the customs officials as a service which relieves travellers and businessmen from the tedious procedures of customs.

Only twelve servants were found in the sample. This figure is misleading unless it is remembered that the servants are primarily women or young girls and they are not heads of families. The incidence of servants is better represented in the household composition chapter. The group accounts for over five percent of the sample.

Protective services

463 Protective services include policemen, firemen, gendarmes, guardians and soldiers. Firemen are not a significant part of the protective services, because a stone and concrete city has little call for their services. The biggest group is that of policemen and gendarmes. A surprisingly large number of soldiers were interviewed, considering the small military establishment in Lebanon. The entire category was only slightly over four percent.

Agricultural occupations and fishing

463 Agricultural workers are sub-divided into
226 the workers proper who do not own land and owners who work on their land. Shepherds and fishermen were also included. It is interesting to note that, for a seaboard city, more shepherds were found than fishermen, although this is probably an accident of sampling. However, fishing is less of an occupation than might be supposed since fish are in short supply near the

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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STATISTICAL APPENDIX

TABLE 3
FOREIGN CURRENCY
(Selling rates in £L/£S)

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*Official**		Free Market Rates					
		1949	*1950*	*1951*	*1952*		
		Average	*Average*	*Average*	*High*	*Low*	*Average*
1,000 French francs 6·26	£L	8·04	9·44	9·49	9·63	8·74	9·15
	£S	8·75	10·19	9·49	9·70	9·09	9·16
US$ 2·21	£L	3·26	3·47	3·73	3·85	3·54	3·66
	£S	3·48	3·72	3·64	3·86	3·58	3·65
Sterling £ 6·19	£L	9·75	9·06	9·41	9·69	9·14	9·37
	£S	10·28	9·66	9·13	10·12	9·04	9·23

* Since 18 November 1948 for US$, others since 19 September 1949.

(SOURCES: Banque de Syrie et du Liban, *Commerce du Liban*; IMF, *International Financial Statistics*, 1953; Syrian Embassy.)

TABLE 4
VALUE OF IMPORTS AND EXPORTS 1952
(*a*) By country

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	Lebanon* (£L000)		Syria (£S000)	
	Imports	*Exports*	*Imports*	*Exports*
USA	54,827	6,907	45,470	15,995
UK	38,333	4,279	39,245	77,161
France	33,837	3,666	29,573	49,166
Holland	15,226	117	7,519	..
Italy	12,497	3,361	20,472	16,605
Germany, W.	10,154	433	19,098	9,872
Switzerland	9,354	89	5,714	..
Belgium	7,599	567	13,777	3,799
Czechoslovakia	4,643	1,773	4,857	..
India	..	..	5,507	..
Lebanon	—	—	35,724	70,279
Syria	63,842	16,583	—	—
Iraq	17,741	2,732	8,526	17,176
Turkey	4,038	596	18,289	..
Saudi Arabia	4,270	7,284	7,912	10,332
Jordan	2,890	3,181	5,988	16,846
Egypt	2,310	7,082	1,371	4,510
TOTAL:	347,049	77,430	313,340	319,573

.. = not available. — = nil.

9: Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

Land Operation

Hasty conclusions should not be drawn from the tables on land ownership, or the fact that three persons own 42 percent of the land area in the project villages and reside in the cities of Beirut and Saida. A condemnation of the system as representative of the absentee-owner «Feudal Lord» pattern would not be completely justified. Under the absentee-ownership system typical in the Middle East, the large landowner resides in the city or abroad and the land is rented on a share basis. The owner provides virtually no capital or supervision.

In order to render valid conclusions about the area under discussion it is essential that not only the ownership pattern but also the system of operation be examined. Although the three largest landowners, owning 11,300 dunums of land in the five project villages, reside in Beirut or Saida, they directly operate 82 percent of their lands or all but 2,000 dunums. It can be concluded that these examples are not actually ones of absenteeism. Many others of the large landowners who reside outside the villages are within an hour's drive from their lands and take a personal interest in them. Owners often directly operate a considerable portion of their holdings by employing labor from the nearby villages. Therefore their lands often are not let on a share-crop basis. The landlord invests his energy, capital, and managerial ability in the land, and the work of field laborers is closely supervised. In light of the meager credit facilities in Lebanon, the landowner serves as a valuable source of investment capital.

From scattered interviews with peasants, it appears that they would consider 100 dunums of dry land or 20 to 30 dunums of irrigated land as a suitable farm unit. This might be considered as the «family-sized farm». Unfortunately, it was found impractical to obtain data on the ownership and operation of dry and irrigated land separately. It is therefore difficult to generalize about the ability of the existing holdings to support their predominantly agricultural population. It is, however, possible to conclude that few people own or operate holdings sufficient to secure them livelihood. In Sarafand where 150 dunums are irrigated, 350 persons operate farms of less than 25 dunums (6 acres). This is predominantly an area of dry farming and farmers work far less land than is needed for actual subsistence. Completion of the Kasmie Irrigation project will materially increase the irrigated area in this kharaj.

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457 Until recently, it is probable that the profits remitted abroad by foreign companies operating in Lebanon outweighed income accruing from Lebanese foreign investments and businesses operating outside the country. During and after the Second World War, however, both the latter increased substantially, and Lebanon is now a net creditor on investment account. Transfers of profits out of Lebanon were estimated at LL 11.8 million in 1951 and LL 9.2 million in 1952, while incomes accruing from foreign securities and balances, land held abroad and businesses operating outside Lebanon, have been put at approximately LL 15.6 million and LL 16.2 million, respectively. 1/ Little information is available regarding capital movements. It is known that in 1949, owing to unsettled political conditions, an appreciable amount of Syrian capital entered Lebanon and that a certain amount was brought in by Palestinian Arab refugees; during the past few years, a considerable amount of capital from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia has also been invested in real estate in Lebanon, or been deposited in Lebanese banks. In 1952, there was an influx of capital from Egypt, which partly accounts for the large figure shown in table 47. In September 1951, Lebanon repurchased $856,000 worth of its currency from the International Monetary Fund. There has been some Lebanese investment in Syria.

Monetary control and public finance

• 453 652 The increase in production, and still more in commercial and financial activity, noted above was accompanied by a development of the banking system. The number of banks operating in Beirut rose from seven in 1945 to twenty-one in 1954; the proportion of Lebanese banks increased more than correspondingly, but they still play a minor role in the financial structure. 2/ There has been a large increase in bank deposits, from LL 27.5 million in 1939 to LL 227.1 million in 1945 and, after a decline to LL 180.6 million in 1949, LL 392.2 million in 1954; this has led to a marked reduction in interest rates. 3/ A significant proportion of the increase in deposits represents foreign capital which entered Lebanon either for greater security or, more commonly, for short-term investment in commercial and financial transactions, including the transit and gold trades; moreover, in recent years, several foreign firms have opened branches in Lebanon or moved to it their main agencies for the Middle East.

1/ Ibid., pages 35 to 36.

2/ Foreign banks which have recently opened branches in Lebanon include, in addition to the French, Egyptian and Palestinian establishments operating in 1945, Belgian, British, Iraqi, Italian, Netherlands and Saudi Arabian banks (Le Commerce du Levant, 7 July 1954). In April 1954, a law was passed reorganizing the Beirut financial market. This required dealers in gold, stocks or foreign exchange to register as members of the Beirut Exchange and to carry out all transactions within the Exchange, under rules to be drawn up by an administrative committee chosen by them (Le Commerce du Levant, 22 May 1954).

3/ The market discount rate fell from 8.5 per cent in 1945 to 6.9 in 1949, 6.15 in 1953 and 5.30 at the end of September 1954 (International Monetary Fund, International Financial Statistics).

NON-MONETARY GOLD MOVEMENT

Following the general IMF concept, non-monetary gold movement is here used to mean private gold imports and exports. Government (official) gold transactions and gold transit are treated separately.

Lebanon allows the free importation of gold, whether bullion or coins; but gold exportation is subject to licensing. In 1951-52 licences were used very restrictively and covered only very small shipments of gold jewelry and ornaments to Saudi Arabia. There was a short-lived exception in the first two quarters of 1951, where the exportation of gold coins was authorized.

A good deal of the imported gold goes into the Government's official reserves, as currency backing, or is locally consumed in the making of jewelry and ornaments. It is estimated that an average of 30 kilograms is so consumed weekly (or about 1 ½ tons a year). The balance goes into private hoards. When possible, it is smuggled out of the country. Sometimes, as in 1951, when sales profits are high because of an expanded foreign demand or of large government purchases, there may even be net private dishoarding.

It has not been possible to determine accurately the quantity or value of private hoards; they are, however, known to be fairly large. As in other countries in the Near and Far East, gold is still in Lebanon the best alternative to land as the most popular medium in which savings are accumulated. Estimates of private hoards vary between 5 and 10 tons, to which should be added a large amount of gold jewelry. Such jewelry often consists of no more than gold coins mounted on, or connected with, a gold chain to a bracelet or neck piece.

A. Gold imports

Gold imports in Lebanon consist of gold bars and coins. Quantum and value records of these imports are kept at the Customs. The value records, however, are extremely unsatisfactory

in 1952.[1] Thus non-monetary gold imports were LL. 14.3 million in 1951 and LL. 36.5 million in 1952.

B. Gold Exports

Except for the two first quarters of 1951 when the exportation of gold was authorized, no gold export is recorded at the Customs. A great deal of gold, however, is known to be smuggled out of the country. The total value of this traffic can only be inferred from the detected cases of contraband.

In 1951, as exportation was allowed during the first six months, smuggling was naturally restricted and the cases of detected contraband were consequently relatively few. The Customs files report seized quantities valued at LL. 730,265 at the official rate, or LL. 1.2 million at the free rate. Assuming again that only one-fifth of the traffic was detected, its total value would be about LL. 6 million. To this should be added regular exports which are recorded at the Customs at LL. 8 million (cf. Table 16). This latter figure should be revalued to account for the undervaluation of export declarations. If adjusted to cover the same degree of undervaluation as for merchandise export (cf. p. 16), gold exports would be LL. 9.2 million; and consequently total gold sales (including smuggling) would amount to LL. 15.2 million in 1951.

In 1952, as no exports were licensed, smuggling expanded. This is indicated by the large increase in cases detected. Value of gold seized amounted to LL. 1.3 million at the official rate, or LL. 2.5 million at the free rate, i.e., more than double the cases detected in 1951. It is likely, however, that as the large quantities involved led to greater care by the smugglers, only one-tenth of the traffic was detected. Thus total traffic may well have been around LL. 25 million.

C. "Net" Movement

In 1951, non-monetary gold imports were LL. 14.3 million and foreign sales LL. 15.2 million. As an additional 1 ½ tons of gold is normally consumed annually for industrial purposes (i.e., LL. 7.5 million at the prices ruling in 1951) there was, therefore, "net" disbanding of LL. 8.4 million which came from private reserves. It should be remembered, however, that during the same

[1] International Financial Statistics, International Monetary Fund, Washington D.C., U.S.A.

INVESTMENT INCOME

1957 1. Investment income includes, on its debit side, the yearly earnings that are transferred abroad, of foreign businesses established in Lebanon. According to present legislation, these businesses, whether they constitute independent companies or are branches of foreign concerns, have to submit to the Ministry of Finance a yearly balance sheet of their activities in Lebanon for income tax purposes. From these balance sheets, it has been possible to determine these businesses' net distributed profits in 1951 and 1952, namely L.L. 11.8 million and L.L. 9.2 million respectively. There is no doubt that these figures, like all estimates based on tax returns, are understated. No attempt has been made to adjust them, however, on the basis that the undervaluation is probably offset by that part of the profits which is not transferred abroad but is distributed locally to resident shareholders.

1957 2. Income from Lebanese investment abroad may be divided into four categories:
1954

(a) Many residents in Lebanon hold large portfolios of foreign (mainly French, but also Egyptian and British) securities. As there is no exchange control and, therefore, no compulsory recording of these portfolios, any estimate of their importance or value cannot be more than a pure guess. However, as some of the holders of these securities have formed an association to defend their common interests, particularly with regard to double taxation, it has been possible to interview them regarding their own estimates of both the total value of securities held and dividends earned. Estimates of the former varied between L.L. 15 and L.L. 25 million; but the dividends were in most cases reported to be about 5 per cent net. On the basis of these figures, the average yearly earnings from foreign portfolios would be about L.L. 1 million.

(b) A few Lebanese nationals own also large tracts of land abroad, especially in Syria and Egypt. Here again no exact

457 454 information is available regarding annual returns, but as the number of owners concerned is relatively small, personal interviews have been possible. Income from landed property abroad is reported to have been exceptionally large in 1951 and 1952 mainly because of the high prices of cotton and wheat in that period. Annual returns of LL. 2.5 million in 1951 and LL. 3 million in 1952 are not improbable.

(c) To the above two types of income should be added the interest earned on the private balances held abroad, mainly in France and the United States. Balances in other countries are small and can be disregarded. Private balances in the United States at the end of 1951 were $15.34 million and in France the equivalent of $12.03 million; at the end of 1952, respective figures were $19.28 million and $10.93 million.[1] A few banks were asked about the interest earned on these accounts and a 2 per cent average estimate was arrived at. Annual earnings were, therefore, about LL. 2.1 million in 1951 and LL. 2.2 million in 1952. The conversion into Lebanese pounds has been made at the rates ruling at year ends, i.e., LL. 3.3 per dollar in 1951, and LL. 3.57 per dollar in 1952.

(d) Finally should be mentioned the earnings of Lebanese businesses abroad, especially in Syria and the other Arab countries. Earnings in Syria, in the last few years, have been on the decline as the Syrian decree No. 151 is making it extremely difficult for foreigners (including Lebanese) to work in that country. However, annual returns from businesses abroad may still be around LL. 10 million. Moreover, a great development may occur in that line in the near future, when the relatively recent investments made in the Arabian Peninsula and Iraq start bearing fruit.

Taken together, the above estimates would indicate total incomes from foreign investments of LL. 13.6 million in 1951 and LL. 16.2 million in 1952.

1 *International Financial Statistics*, International Monetary Fund, Washington, D.C. U.S.A.

434 525 3001 - 25,000 L.L. receive forty-three percent of the income and those four percent which make over 25,000 L.L. receive thirty-six percent of the income.

434 The total income of Beirut from all sources is estimated at 349,062,286 L.L. The mean income per family, which is not a good measure in this instance, is 6792 L.L. or 1179 L.L. per capita.

Distribution of income in the various census districts is much more even than is generally assumed. All income groups seem to be found in equal numbers in all census districts except Ain el Mreisseh which has a higher average.

8.4 **Amount of savings in year previous to interview, Table 118**

454 Only one household in twenty claimed to have saved money in the previous year or 2841 families estimated in the general population. However, only three percent of the households saved over four fifths (84 %) of the total. The estimated total for the population is 14,752,000 L.L.

p. 24(A)

12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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8.5 Investment of savings. Table 119

An attempt was made to investigate in what form savings were invested. Unfortunately about half of the investments fell into our miscellaneous category. The largest three specific categories were in order: tangible miscellaneous assets (13 %), bank notes (12 %), and real estate (11 %). The figures are highly unreliable statistically and are presented for whatever interest they may have for future research.

8.6 Attitudes toward improvement in economic status. Tables 120, 121 and 122

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Relatively few of those interviewed (13 %) felt that there had been an improvement in their economic status compared to the previous year. On the other hand, it is not known how many felt that their status had deteriorated inasmuch as this question was not asked.

A substantially larger number (18 %) felt that their economic status had improved since five years before, and an even larger percentage (21 %) felt an improvement over conditions ten years before.

p. 24 (B)

13: Churchill s-6 (1955) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Table 118

Amount of Savings in Year Previous to Interview

Amount in Lebanese pounds	Number	Percent
Total	1821	100.00
0 — 25	—	—
26 — 50	—	—
51 — 75	—	—
76 — 100	—	—
101 — 150	2	0.11
151 — 200	3	0.16
201 — 300	8	0.45
301 — 400	3	0.16
401 — 500	4	0.22
501 — 750	3	0.16
751 — 1000	13	0.71
1001 — 2000	26	1.43
2001 — 3000	12	0.66
Over 3000	28	1.53
None	1719	94.40

$\sigma_{\bar{M}} = 46.5$

$v = .158$

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Table 119

Investment of Savings

Uses to which savings were put	Number	Percent
Total	105	100.00
Gold	2	1.90
Foreign currency	—	—
Bank notes	13	12.38
Real estate	12	11.43
Bank account	7	6.67
Tangible miscellaneous assets	14	13.34
Stocks and bonds	1	0.95
Insurance	1	0.95
Others	53	50.48
No answer	2	1.90

p. 60 (A)

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This has been achieved by increasing production of fruit and vegetables, for both of which Lebanon has great natural advantages. The topography of the country and the unequal distribution of rainfall provide a diversity of climate which makes it possible to grow tropical fruits, sub-tropical fruits and fruits of the temperate zone. Soils are also sufficiently varied to suit a wide range of crops. Water is usually available in sufficient quantity, either as rainfall or from small-scale irrigation schemes. Plant diseases and pests are less prevalent than in most parts of the Middle East. The density of the rural population has made it profitable to concentrate on labour-intensive crops, while the relatively high level of education in country areas has encouraged innovation. The broken nature of the land has prevented large-scale mechanization, except in the plains, and has favoured crops which require little land, as has the prevalence of small-scale ownership. 1/ Finally, Lebanon's location has given it access to several important markets, such as Egypt for deciduous fruits, Syria and the Persian Gulf area for most fruits and vegetables, Palestine (until 1948) for vegetables, and Europe for early ripening varieties of citrus fruit and apples.

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312
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The expansion of fruit and vegetable crops was made possible by heavy capital investment. New terraces were built on mountain slopes, and old ones were repaired and strengthened. Various small-scale works carried out since 1942 have substantially increased the irrigated area. The use of selected seeds has considerably increased, as has that of chemical fertilizers. Before the Second World War, some 5,000 tons of chemical fertilizers were imported into Lebanon and Syria yearly. In 1947, Lebanon alone used 8,500 tons 2/ and 1951-53 imports into Lebanon averaged 23,000 tons. Lastly, there has been a rapid expansion of refrigerated storage space facilities. 3/ The greater part of the necessary capital came from outside agriculture, especially from commercial profits and incomes earned in services; the irrigation works were financed through the budget.

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The rise in output of fruit and vegetables may be illustrated by citrus fruit, which increased from 70,000 tons in 1944 to 100,000 tons in 1954 and

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1/ No general figures on land distribution are available but on the basis of information gathered in the course of a village survey jointly undertaken in 1953 by the Lebanese Office of Statistics and the United States Foreign Operation Administration, the following estimate may be made: some 10 per cent of the land is in holdings of 100 hectares and above and 15 to 20 per cent in holdings of 10 to 100 hectares; the total number of large and medium holders is 6,000. The remaining 70 to 75 per cent belongs to 133,000 smallholders, most of whom own less than two hectares. There are few landless labourers, and most of these rent land from the larger owners ("Proceedings of the Agricultural Credit Conference", Beirut, 12-14 October 1953).

2/ Sir Alexander Gibb and partners, The Economic Development of Lebanon (London, 1948), page 45. A breakdown shows that 42 per cent consisted of nitrogenous fertilizers, 33 per cent of superphosphates and 19 per cent of potash. Some 37 per cent of the total was applied to potatoes, 29 per cent to other vegetables and 35 per cent to fruit.

3/ The present capacity of refrigerators is estimated at over one million crates, or about 20,000 tons, Le Commerce du Levant, 1 October 1954. Capital invested in refrigerators totalled £L 8 million in 1952, and has considerably increased since then.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621 671 remembered that genealogically and conceptually (the villagers' concept), Munṣif is a single kinship unit.[1]

[178] This structure of in-groups is traditional, and it appears to have maintained its vitality in the face of great culture change, to which a limited amount of local exogamy seems to be the only major concession. When, however, we turn to the other areas of behavior which are reviewed in this chapter, we find that none of them can be discussed at all without reference to the problems of acculturation.

MONEY

434 The villagers' need for, and great concern about, money is very clear indeed. This is entirely understandable since the expense of education and manufactured products, alone, require much of it.

Money as it is known in the Western world is very ancient in the Middle East, in fact it apparently originated there. However, before about seventy-five years ago its use in most villages was limited, since for most needs barter and mutual help in a regime of local self-sufficiency were ordinarily enough to motivate exchange of goods and services.

[457] Money began to come in large quantities into villages like Munṣif from emigrants in America. At the same time, Lebanon began to receive foreign manufactured articles which could only be obtained through payment of cash. Today, money is the only means of exchange in the village, and prices are an incessant topic [435 455] of conversation among the villagers. This is, of course, due in part to the fact that the country has suffered severe inflationary trends during the past ten years, in part, according to Murray, to "a natural speculative proclivity on the part of most of the people" (1947, p. 15).

However, there are some indications that this recent emphasis on money as a thing in itself has set up disturbing conflicts in many people. For example, it is [186] often heard that the Western powers are obviously bent upon buying the friendship of the Arabs, but that true friends cannot be bought. Such an attitude might either be a projection of attitudes and behavior prevalent among the speakers themselves, or it might be an expression of sincere and objective distaste for one of the unpleasant consequences of overemphasis on money. In any case, a conflict in values relating to money is consciously recognized.

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

181 871 555 "In Munṣif you will find many people who live in poor houses but have much education. This is because we would rather, if we must choose, use our money for a fine education than for a fine house." This was one of the first remarks that was made to the writer about the culture of the village, and, as time went on,

[1] For additional perspectives on the structure of the village see Gulick (1953, pp. 370–71).

Port earnings can thus be much better and more easily assessed from the disbursement than from the income side. Consequently all shipping agencies were requested to provide information on the calling expenses which the lines they represented had incurred in the Beirut harbour. The response was satisfactory; only a few did not answer, but their relative importance could be easily ascertained from a comparison between the returns of the agencies that responded and the detailed statistics on the movement of ships published by the Beirut Port Co. On the basis of these returns, total ship expenditures have been estimated at LL. 5.0 million in 1951 and LL. 5.9 million in 1952 (cf. Table 25).

These figures do not include the expenditures of the various visiting foreign navies which buy independently through a private concern (The Baltagi Brothers). No estimate of these expenditures could be obtained from this concern; it is believed, however, that the amount involved is not more than LL. 1 million annually.

For airplanes, the respective agents have been requested to provide the same information as shipping agencies. However, most of them declined to cooperate. Of the few answers received no reliable estimate could be made especially since the Directorate of Civil Aviation unlike the Port Company, does not have detailed statistics on the movement of airlines. Under the circumstances, there was no alternative but to accept the estimates of informed people who claimed that earnings from airplane expenditures (including refuelling) were about LL. 3 million in 1951 and LL. 5 million in 1952; these figures are net of similar expenditures abroad of the two Lebanese airlines.

Total earnings from transportation was, therefore, LL. 15.3 million in 1951 and LL. 20.2 million in 1952, against expenditures of LL. 9.2 million and LL. 8.50 million.

II. Insurance

Insurance transactions may be divided into three categories: (1) Insurance on account of international trade, (2) life assurance, and (3) other kinds of insurance, including re-insurance.

(1) Insurance on account of international trade.

As has been indicated in the section on merchandise trade

+457 (pp. 11-12) imports into Lebanon are valued CIF, and therefore, no new additional entry should here be made for import insurance. However, a small adjustment should be made to account for the proportion of imports insured with local firms. Normally, such an adjustment should have taken the form of a deduction from the CIF value of imports, since an import insurance with a local firm represents a payment from one resident to another. However, it has been thought more meaningful to show it separately as a credit under insurance. As no information is available regarding such insurance in 1951 and 1952 it has been assumed to have been the same as in 1953 when it amounted to LL. 0.2 million.

[439] On the export side, only 40 % of the goods shipped abroad are insured with local firms. On the assumption that the insurance premia on commercial exports are normally calculated at 0.6 % of the value of the goods, receipts from export insurance was LL. 0,22 million in 1951 and LL. 0.19 million in 1952.

(2) **Life assurance**: Life assurance in Lebanon is carried by, or on behalf of, foreign companies. Net movement of life assurance funds are, therefore, difficult to ascertain; however, as they are relatively small, they can be disregarded without serious damage to the final results.

(3) **Other insurance transactions**: Other kinds of insurance in Lebanon are mainly in connection with motor and fire insurance. These risks are usually reinsured with foreign firms, so that in effect insurance companies in Lebanon act in these respects as insurance brokers. It is estimated that the total amount of re-insurance less commission earned by the local firms amounted to LL. 0.57 million in 1953. As no figures are available for earlier years, earnings in these years are estimated to have been the same as in 1953.

Total earnings from insurance (including the LL. 0.2 million on import insurance) was therefore LL. 0.99 million in 1951 and LL. 0.96 million in 1952.

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316 brought some capital with them and started new enterprises. Another important
382 factor was the impact on Lebanon of the development of Middle Eastern petroleum
434 resources, an impact which exceeded that exerted on any other non-producing
country in the region. Three pipelines have their termini in Lebanon: two
Kirkuk-Tripoli lines, completed in 1934 and 1949, and the line connecting the
457 Arabian oilfields with Sidon, completed in 1950. A refinery was built in
439 Tripoli and another near Sidon. Lebanon has also benefited from the location
651 of offices of oil companies in Beirut. In addition, it has received many
434 tourists, as well as some capital, from the oil producing countries and has
supplied exports to these countries: for example, fresh fruit and vegetables
sent by air or truck or, more recently, by refrigerated ships. Finally,
royalties paid to the Government by the oil companies for pipeline use have
increased in recent years.

434 The development of transit trade has also contributed to the national
653 income. The increase in such trade was made possible by enlargement and
improvement of the port of Beirut shortly before the Second World War, development
of inland communications, provision of refrigerated storage and other storage
facilties and extension of the free zone in the harbour from 8,000 square metres
in 1939 to 75,000 in 1952 and 106,000 in 1953. Although the development of
Latakia has diverted some of Syria's trade, Beirut still handles a substantial
proportion of that trade as well as a large fraction of that of Jordan, which
previously passed through Haifa. The opening of a new airport in Beirut, in
1950, has also stimulated transit of goods and passengers.

457 In recent years, Beirut has been the centre of a large and widespread gold
trade. The relaxation and subsequent disappearance of exchange controls has
also greatly increased the importance of Lebanon as an international financial
centre. Tourism has increased in scope and continues to play a significant
part in the country's economy.

Agriculture

241 Despite large-scale emigration to the cities and abroad, nearly half the
162 Lebanese population still earn a livelihood in agriculture. Since agriculture
312 accounts for less than one fifth of the national income (see table 43), per capita
311 income in agriculture is well below the average in other sectors. The
possibilities for raising agricultural income by extending cultivation are,
however, very limited. According to the latest estimates, of the total area
of 1,038,000 hectares, 575,000 hectares consist of rocky, waste or built-up
areas; 74,000 consist of forests; 115,000 are judged to be cultivable, though
at present uncultivated; and 273,000 are under cultivation. Of the cultivated
area, 48,000 hectares are irrigated and 225,000 are rainfed, but irrigation
projects under way or due to be undertaken in the near future will bring
34,000 hectares of rainfed land under irrigation. 1/ The reclamation of the
115,000 hectares judged to be cultivable would involve heavy capital outlay,
since most of this land is mountainous. Hence, in recent years, efforts have
been mainly concentrated on intensifying agriculture.

1/ Figures from an unpublished paper prepared in the Ministry of Agriculture in 1950. Cultivated land per capita of agricultural population is thus only about 0.4 hectare, of which less than a fifth is irrigated.

and bottling machinery were reduced. 1/ At present, most imports competing with local manufactures are subject to an effective duty of 25 to 30 per cent, and grains, industrial machinery and most raw materials enter duty free. 2/ The Government has also attempted to open new markets for Lebanese goods through bilateral commercial treaties or through inter-Arab States agreements.

The Government has, moreover, sought to promote industrial investment by exempting from income tax new establishments with a capital of over LL 1 million (see below). The newly founded Agricultural and Industrial Bank will help to provide industrial credit, the scarcity and high cost of which constitute a major obstacle to development. Another step taken by the Government, with United States aid, has been the establishment in 1953 of an Industrial Institute. The object of this institute is to undertake production and marketing studies for projected enterprises, to carry out laboratory tests and to assist existing enterprises in matters of modernization and optimum utilization of equipment and use of raw materials and by-products. A pilot plant is being set up. The institute will be administered by representatives of Government, industry and the Foreign Operations Administration of the United States.

The Government has also taken steps to increase the production of electricity and to reduce its cost. Following a consumers' strike and the refusal of the principal concessionary company to expand its plant, the Government, in 1952, reduced charges by 22 per cent, temporarily took over administration of the company and accelerated the construction of generators. In 1954, it bought out the company for LL 23.5 million, a price agreed upon by both parties. The completion in 1954 of a hydroelectric plant at Nahr el Bared, with a capacity of 9,000 to 18,000 kilowatts, has temporarily met the country's needs; long-term plans are discussed below.

Foreign trade and balance of payments

The development of agriculture and industry, described in the previous sections, has not basically altered Lebanon's character as a provider of services, a fact which accounts for both its high level of trade and its large import surplus. Table 46 shows that, since the ending of the customs union with Syria in March 1950, both imports and the import surplus have tended to increase. Lebanon's imports are among the most diversified in the region. Exports are also diversified, including fruits, vegetables, vegetable oil and textiles, cement and other manufactured goods; in contrast to other Middle Eastern countries, which are highly dependent on two or three products, no single item accounted for more than 5 per cent of Lebanese exports in 1952 or 1953. The chief market for Lebanese exports in 1953 was Syria, followed by Saudi Arabia, France, Egypt and the United States; the chief supplier was also Syria, followed by the United States, United Kingdom, France and the Netherlands.

In recent years Lebanon has sought to promote its exports by means of bilateral commercial agreements. Since March 1950, trade with Syria has been

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1/ United States Department of Commerce, Foreign Commerce Weekly, 22 November 1954 and 31 January 1955 (Washington, D.C.).

2/ Raja Himadeh, The Fiscal System of Lebanon (unpublished thesis presented to the American University, Beirut, 1953).

Table 46. Lebanon: Foreign Trade and Transit Trade, 1950 to 1954
(Millions of Lebanese pounds)

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Item	1950 a/	1951	1952	1953	1954 b/
Foreign trade:					
Special imports	183.6	298.4	308.5	314.3	262.3
Special exports	51.9	89.7	77.4	87.5	57.5
Re-exports (drawbacks)	1.9	1.6	3.9	3.0	1.8
Total	53.8	91.3	81.3	90.5	59.3
Import surplus	129.8	207.1	227.2	223.8	203.0
Transit trade:					
Re-exports (ex-bond)	1.5	6.6	15.6	9.2	8.0
Merchandise transit	222.2	323.1	327.6	304.8	259.9
Petroleum	111.1	459.1	471.2	472.8	349.3
Total	334.8	788.8	814.4	786.8	617.2
Trade in gold:					
Special trade:					
Imports	61.2	22.4	38.6	47.4	52.4
Exports	15.2	8.0	-	0.2	9.1
Transit trade	177.3	354.6	239.9	285.3	147.3

Source: Ministry of National Economy, Bulletin statistique trimestriel.

a/ 14 March to 31 December.

b/ Nine months.

carried on under a series of temporary agreements, pending a lasting settlement. Under an agreement signed in 1951, Iraq abolished duties on most Lebanese fruits and Lebanon granted facilities to Iraqi merchants using the free zone in Beirut. In the same year a trade and payments agreement was signed with Egypt. In 1952 Jordan admitted Lebanese agricultural products free of duty, and both countries reduced duties on industrial goods exported to one another; transit formalities through Lebanon were also simplified. In the same year Lebanon and Czechoslovakia undertook to buy a minimum of LL 5 million worth of goods each year from one another. In 1954 an agreement with eastern Germany provided for the purchase of $1 million worth of goods by each country and another agreement with the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics provided for the purchase of LL 10 million of goods by each country. Other agreements were concluded with western Germany and

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Table 47. Lebanon: Principal Items in Balance of Payments, 1951 and 1952

(Millions of Lebanese pounds)

Item	1951			1952		
	Credit	Debit	Balance	Credit	Debit	Balance
Goods and services:						
Merchandise trade[a/]	124.9	436.4	-311.5	122.1	454.2	-332.1
Non-monetary gold	15.2	14.3	0.9	25.0	36.5	- 11.5
Foreign travel	35.0	14.7	20.3	47.6	23.1	24.5
Transport and insurance	16.3	9.2	7.1	21.2	8.5	12.7
Investment income	15.6	11.8	3.8	16.2	9.2	7.0
Government transactions	79.5	9.8	69.7	72.2	6.6	65.6
Transit	113.1	-	113.1	95.4	-	95.4
Total	435.3	496.2	- 60.9	435.7	538.1	-102.4
Private donations and capital movements:						
Emigrants' remittances and transfers	58.4	4.0	54.4	71.7	2.7	69.0
Government transactions	0.5	-	0.5	2.5	-	2.5
Charitable and cultural institutions	10.2	-	10.2	13.5	-	13.5
Capital movements	...	...	14.7	...	...	43.7
Total	...	...	79.8	...	...	128.7
Surplus	...	...	18.9	...	...	26.3
Compensatory financing:						
Monetary gold (increase -)	...	...	- 23.9	...	...	- 15.4
Short-term assets (increase -)	...	...	5.0	...	...	- 10.9
Total			- 18.9			- 26.3

Source: Edward Fei and Paul J. Klat, The Balance of Payments of Lebanon, 1951 and 1952 (Beirut, 1954).

a/ Adjusted for exchange rates, etc.

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Table 48. Lebanon: Traffic through Port of Beirut and International Airport, 1939 and 1945 to 1954

(Thousands of metric tons)

Year	Port				Airport			
	Number of ships entering	Net registered tonnage	Goods loaded	Goods unloaded	Number of planes arriving	Number of passengers: Ordinary	Number of passengers: In transit	Freight
1939	2,128	2,632	110	522	-	-	-	-
1945	765	325	37	128	-	-	-	-
1946	1,160	1,030	87	300	-	-	-	-
1947	1,470	1,637	63	457	-	-	-	-
1948	1,744	1,902	119	773	-	-	-	-
1949	1,801	2,328	143	806	-	-	-	-
1950	2,109	2,561	219	833	-	-	-	-
1951	2,038	2,921	225	911	3,211	30,220	28,100	...
1952	2,044	3,105	242	879	10,340	80,886	66,724	1.4
1953	2,220	3,569	305	949	11,268	92,184	70,975	1.5
1954	2,342	3,921	376	1,129	13,358	125,118	105,156	1.6

Source: Ministry of National Economy, Bulletin statistique trimestriel.

Yugoslavia. Lebanon ratified the Inter-Arab trade and payments agreement in 1953. 1/

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The deficit in the balance of trade has been largely covered by the following items: income arising from the transit trade and from financial services; expenditure by tourists; government receipts from the petroleum companies and other sources; and donations (see table 47).

Table 48 shows the rapid increase in activity at the port and airport of Beirut, while table 46 shows the value of merchandise, gold and petroleum passing through Lebanon in transit. It has been estimated that, in 1952, some 50,000 passengers and 400,000 tons of goods, other than petroleum, passed in transit, mainly to or from Syria, Jordan and Iraq, and, to a lesser extent, Iran. 2/ The Government has sought to promote transit trade by extending the free zone in the

1/ See the Introduction to this report.

2/ Baron Maxime de Dumast, "Le transit, vocation du Liban", Les Conferences du Cénacle (Beirut, 1953).

port of Beirut in 1951, abolishing port dues on goods in transit in 1954, improving communications and concluding agreements with neighbouring countries, but administrative formalities at the various frontiers still constitute a serious handicap. The opening of International Airport in 1950 also greatly increased passenger transit traffic. Lebanon's income from merchandise transit trade (excluding petroleum and also taxes, port dues and transport charges) was estimated at LL 36.9 million in 1951 and LL 46.8 million in 1952. To this should be added profits from the gold trade, which were estimated at LL 76.2 million in 1951 and LL 48.6 million in 1952. 1/

In recent years the gold trade has risen to a high level, owing to various measures taken to stimulate it, for example the permission granted in February 1949 to keep gold in transit within the country for up to two months and to export it to a country other than that to which it was originally destined. In the first three quarters of 1950, 44 tons of gold passed in transit; in 1951, 89 tons; in 1952, 67 tons; in 1953, 73 tons; and during the first half of 1954, 30 tons. The main supplying countries in 1953 were the Netherlands, the United Kingdom, France and the United States. The gold is exported mainly to the Persian Gulf area whence part of it is re-exported to the Far East. In 1951, when Lebanon's gold trade was at its peak, it was estimated that 30 per cent of world gold traffic passed through the country. 2/

Owing to the great freedom allowed in foreign exchange transactions and the improvement of its financial facilities (see below), Beirut has become one of the leading free exchange markets. It has been very roughly estimated that, in addition to balance of payments transactions, which amount to about LL 1,000 million, an equal volume of exchange transactions is undertaken on behalf of foreigners. Income from this source has been roughly estimated at LL 11 million in 1951 and LL 12 million in 1952. 3/

Tourism, one of Lebanon's traditional income-producing activities, has been considerably developed in recent years. In 1952 capital invested in hotels (exclusive of restaurants, night clubs and cafés) was estimated at LL 145 million; in that year there were 585 hotels, with 14,350 beds. 4/ The number of tourists entering Lebanon has risen rapidly, from 60,000 in 1949 to 67,000 in 1950, 127,000 in 1951, 216,000 in 1952 and 285,000 in 1953; 5/ in 1954 there was a further rise. Of these totals, 24,000 in 1951, 21,000 in 1952 and 19,000 in 1953 were summer visitors, mainly from Arab countries, spending a relatively long period in Lebanon, while the balance were visitors from Arab countries, Europe or the United States, making a short stay. Local expenditures by summer

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1/ Fei and Klat, op. cit., page 43. The estimates of the profits from the gold trade are probably too high.

2/ Le Commerce du Levant, 9 February 1952.

3/ Fei and Klat, loc. cit.

4/ Of these totals, 253 hotels with 4,960 beds were in Beirut and 253 hotels with 8,850 beds were in the mountain resorts. (Michel Touma, "Al hurla al khamisa", in Muhadarat al nudwa, Beirut, 1953).

5/ Le Commerce du Levant, 3 July 1954.

67: United Nations S-5 (1945-1954) 1953 ME Middle East
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tourists have been estimated at LL 12.2 million in 1951 and LL 10.8 million in 1952, 1/ those of other tourists at LL 17.8 million and LL 30.2 million, respectively, and those of visitors in transit (of whom about one-tenth, or 10,000 persons, spend more than three days in Lebanon) at LL 1.6 million and LL 2.1 million, respectively. To these totals should be added expenditure by foreign students in Lebanese schools and foreign patients in Lebanese hospitals, estimated at LL 5.3 million in 1951 and LL 6.0 million in 1952. 2/

Income from petroleum companies has also increased with the greater flow of oil. In 1952 direct payments by the Iraq Petroleum Company and the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company to the Lebanese Government totalled 5.5 million. 3/ In addition, local expenditures by the latter company in 1952 totalled LL 17.6 million, while those of the former may have been around LL 10 million. 4/ In 1952 an agreement was reached, under the terms of which payments by the Iraq Petroleum Company would have risen to about LL 3.7 million and those by the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company to about LL 4.5 million. 5/ This agreement was not, however, ratified by the Lebanese Parliament, and negotiations are still in progress.

Expenditures by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees have played an important part in the balance of payments of Lebanon since 1950. Total disbursements, including salaries, local purchases of goods for consumption in Lebanon or in other countries containing refugees and estimated profits on goods purchased by the agency in transit to such countries, amounted to about LL 68 million in 1951 and LL 40 million in 1952. 6/

Donations have, for many years, made a significant contribution to Lebanon's balance of payments. It is estimated that there are about one million persons of Lebanese descent living abroad, and many of the more recent emigrants send back remittances or repatriate capital. Rough estimates indicate that the amount entering Lebanon under both headings was about LL 58 million in 1951 and LL 72 million in 1952. Another channel for donations is foreign cultural or charitable institutions operating in Lebanon, which contributed LL 10.2 million in 1951 and LL 13.5 million in 1952. 7/ Financial assistance from the United States, is discussed below.

1/ In order to promote tourism, the Government from 1949 to 1953 reimbursed from 30 to 100 per cent of the return passage of summer visitors from Arab countries; the amounts spent, LL 1.9 million in 1951 and LL 1.5 million in 1952, should be deducted from the above figures.

2/ Fei and Klat, op. cit., pages 22 to 28.

3/ Ministry of Finance, closed accounts for 1952.

4/ Fei and Klat, op. cit., page 44.

5/ In addition, the Iraq Petroleum Company undertook, within six months, to expand the Tripoli refinery by 25 per cent, and the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company undertook to build a refinery within five years.

6/ Fei and Klat, op. cit., page 40.

7/ Ibid., pages 46 to 50.

457 Until recently, it is probable that the profits remitted abroad by foreign companies operating in Lebanon outweighed income accruing from Lebanese foreign investments and businesses operating outside the country. During and after the Second World War, however, both the latter increased substantially, and Lebanon is now a net creditor on investment account. Transfers of profits out of Lebanon were estimated at LL 11.8 million in 1951 and LL 9.2 million in 1952, while incomes accruing from foreign securities and balances, land held abroad and businesses operating outside Lebanon, have been put at approximately LL 15.6 million and LL 16.2 million, respectively. 1/ Little information is available regarding capital movements. It is known that in 1949, owing to unsettled political conditions, an appreciable amount of Syrian capital entered Lebanon and that a certain amount was brought in by Palestinian Arab refugees; during the past few years, a considerable amount of capital from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia has also been invested in real estate in Lebanon, or been deposited in Lebanese banks. In 1952, there was an influx of capital from Egypt, which partly accounts for the large figure shown in table 47. In September 1951, Lebanon repurchased $856,000 worth of its currency from the International Monetary Fund. There has been some Lebanese investment in Syria.

Monetary control and public finance

453 652 The increase in production, and still more in commercial and financial activity, noted above was accompanied by a development of the banking system. The number of banks operating in Beirut rose from seven in 1945 to twenty-one in 1954; the proportion of Lebanese banks increased more than correspondingly, but they still play a minor role in the financial structure. 2/ There has been a large increase in bank deposits, from LL 27.5 million in 1939 to LL 227.1 million in 1945 and, after a decline to LL 180.6 million in 1949, LL 392.2 million in 1954; this has led to a marked reduction in interest rates. 3/ A significant proportion of the increase in deposits represents foreign capital which entered Lebanon either for greater security or, more commonly, for short-term investment in commercial and financial transactions, including the transit and gold trades; moreover, in recent years, several foreign firms have opened branches in Lebanon or moved to it their main agencies for the Middle East.

1/ Ibid., pages 35 to 36.

2/ Foreign banks which have recently opened branches in Lebanon include, in addition to the French, Egyptian and Palestinian establishments operating in 1945, Belgian, British, Iraqi, Italian, Netherlands and Saudi Arabian banks (Le Commerce du Levant, 7 July 1954). In April 1954, a law was passed reorganizing the Beirut financial market. This required dealers in gold, stocks or foreign exchange to register as members of the Beirut Exchange and to carry out all transactions within the Exchange, under rules to be drawn up by an administrative committee chosen by them (Le Commerce du Levant, 22 May 1954).

3/ The market discount rate fell from 8.5 per cent in 1945 to 6.9 in 1949, 6.15 in 1953 and 5.30 at the end of September 1954 (International Monetary Fund, International Financial Statistics).

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The post-war trend of prices was dominant. Between 1945 and 1950 prices fell rapidly from the high level they had reached at the end of the war. The outbreak of hostilities in Korea temporarily reversed this trend, but, owing to tighter credit and renewal of restrictions and duties on imports of wheat, by the summer of 1951 the downward movement was resumed until 1953, when the index of wholesale prices levelled off. The main factor bringing down prices seems to have been the large deficit in the balance of trade which, during the first half of the period under review, was probably not covered by invisibles. 1/ Another factor was the budget surpluses, which from 1945 to 1950 [illegible] £L 107 million, together with Government purchases of gold in the local market, which were intended both to increase the cover of the note issue and to counter the deflationary trend, checked the downward movement. Speculation and hoarding of goods, which had accentuated the rise in prices in 1950 and 1951, probably acted in the opposite direction in 1952 and 1953. In 1953, there was a trade recession and an increase in bankruptcies, this was quickly overcome by an easier credit policy combined with an increase in international transactions.

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Currency and foreign exchange

During the Second World War, Lebanon's currency and foreign exchange transactions were regulated by various measures taken by the Monetary Authorities, as a result of which over 95 per cent of cover of the notes issued by the Banque de Syrie et du Liban and of the deposits held by it came to consist of franc bills and bonds. These franc holdings in 1944 were guaranteed against any depreciation of the franc in terms of sterling. In the post-war period, the inability of France to supply more than a small fraction of the non-franc foreign exchange requirements of Lebanon and Syria, together with its repudiation of its guarantee of the sterling value of their franc balances, 2/ led to negotiations which resulted in the Franco-Lebanese agreement of 1948. This provided for the maintenance, for ten years, of the guarantee by the French Government of the sterling value of the franc holdings of the Banque de Syrie et du Liban and for the blocking of these holdings until 1953. The balance of Lebanon's franc assets was either paid in European currencies or made available for purchases in France.

1/ In 1946, the deficit on current account of Lebanon and Syria was estimated by the Banque de Syrie et du Liban at £L 102 million and it seems probable that there was also a sizable deficit in 1945. During the years 1941 to 1949, Lebanon's exchange reserves declined sharply: thus, in 1940 total gold and foreign exchange reserves, both public and private, fell by £L 26 million.

2/ Said Himadeh, "Essai analyse et critique du système monétaire du Liban", Al Abhath, March 1948 (Beirut). The French Government did, however, pay to Lebanon and Syria the difference resulting from the depreciation of the franc in December 1945.

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In May 1948, a law was passed providing that half the value of the sale proceeds of gold and foreign exchange and the other half of treasury bills and commercial paper. Purchases of gold by the Government raised its proportion from 0 per cent of the sale items cover in June 1947 to 25 per cent at the end of December 1948, 45 per cent in December 1951, 48 per cent in December 1952 and 50 per cent in December 1953.

Lebanon first relaxed and eventually abolished the foreign exchange controls which had been established during the war. The obligation to surrender invisibles was gradually modified, and in May 1947 exporters were authorized to use half the proceeds of exports to pay for authorized imports. Most of these proceeds were, in fact, sold on the free market. In November 1948, the free market was officially recognized. All recipients of foreign exchange were obliged to surrender to the Government 10 per cent at the official rate of exchange and were permitted to sell the balance on the free market. Importers companies (principally the oil companies) were required to purchase 50 per cent of their local currency needs at official rates, the balance being purchasable on the free market. Thus, there were 11 effect four exchange rates: the official, of 11.2.20 to the United States dollar; the free rate, which varied between 12.3 and 12.4 to the dollar; and two intermediate mixed rates, representing those in part received by exporters or gold by concessionary companies. Payments abroad for invisibles, as well as capital transfers abroad, were authorized, but the necessary foreign exchange had to be provided by the remitter from balances held abroad or from purchases on the free market. 1/

In September 1949, exporters were permitted to retain all their foreign exchange receipts, and in June 1950 summer tourists spending not more than a specified sum were relieved of the obligation to surrender 10 per cent of their transfers of foreign exchange to Lebanon. In January 1952, the Government abolished the requirement that, when exchange receipts from invisibles were sold, 10 per cent should be surrendered to it at the official rate and authorized travellers to take out or bring into the country unlimited amounts of Lebanese or foreign bank-notes. On 17 May 1952, concessionary companies were authorized to obtain all their local currency requirements by purchases on the free market. 2/ Since that date, Lebanon's foreign exchange market has been free from all restrictions. The official rate is used only for Government transactions, and all private business is effected at the free rate.

In the main, the Government has not attempted to influence the free market rate for foreign exchange, but in October 1949 an Exchange Stabilization Fund was established. In terms of dollars, the Lebanese pound fell from an average of 5.05 in 1948 to 5.47 in 1949 and 5.55 in 1951, but an improvement in the balance of payments raised the value to an average of 5.48 in 1952 and

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1/ International Monetary Fund, First Annual Report on Exchange Restrictions (Washington, D.C., March 1950), page 106.

2/ International Monetary Fund, Fourth Annual Report on Exchange Restrictions (Washington, D.C., 1953), page 101.

457 3.42 in 1953. In 1954, after having appreciated rapidly, the pound remained stable around 3.20 to the dollar, partly owing to sales of foreign exchange by the Exchange Stabilization Fund, which feared that further appreciation might impair the country's competitive position. It seems clear, however, that no systematic attempt is being made to stabilize the exchange rate in view of the small size of Lebanon's foreign reserves 1/ and the great volume of exchange operations that take place in the Beirut market.

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The war-time rise in incomes and prices led to an increase in both revenue and expenditure, a rate of increase which was, however, below that of the wholesale price index. Revenue rose from LL 6.1 million in 1939 to LL 35.9 million in 1945 and expenditure from LL 7.9 to LL 54.2 million. In every year, there was a surplus, the total for 1939 to 1944, inclusive, being LL 22.8 million. In the post-war period, there was a sharp rise in both revenue and expenditure. Except in 1950, every budget showed a surplus, the total for 1945 to 1952, inclusive, being LL 127.5 million. At the end of 1952, the Reserve Fund stood at LL 62.5 million. 2/ There is no internal or external debt.

Important tax reforms were carried out in the war and post-war periods. A progressive general income tax was introduced in 1944, which was modified in 1949; incomes from commercial and industrial activities are taxed at from 5 to 30 per cent, incomes from non-commercial activities at from 4 to 37 per cent and salaries at from 2 to 10 per cent. In 1952, a tax on agricultural income was introduced, with rates ranging from 2 to 35 per cent; it will take effect in 1955. As table 49 shows, the reforms have appreciably increased the amount raised through direct taxes, but these taxes still play a minor part in government revenue; customs and excise duties account for about one-half of revenue and the addition of other indirect taxes brings the share to nearly two-thirds.

On the expenditure side, the most striking increase in the post-war period was in education, expenditure for which rose from 8.1 per cent of the total in 1946 to 12.6 in the 1954 estimates; this is due to the active part played by the Government in recent years in supplementing the still predominant

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1/ The gold and foreign exchange reserves held by the Government and the bank of issue fell from $76.1 million at the end of 1948 to $58.5 million at the end of 1950. Thereafter, they rose to $55.2 million at the end of 1953 and a more rapid increase to $ million at the end of October 1954; of the latter $ consisted of gold, $12.4 million of French francs and $5.8 million in foreign exchange. These reserves included the cover of the note issue, which accounted for practically all the gold (International Monetary Fund, International Financial Statistics).

2/ Ministry of Finance, Closed Accounts for 1952 (Beirut).

1: Epstein 5-3 (no date) 1946 ME1 Lebanon ME1

to maintain their Lebanese citizenship abroad are Christians, the overwhelming majority of whom are Maronites.

(*b*) The natural increase among the non-Christian population of the Lebanon, and particularly of the Shi'ah and the Druzes, is more than twice as great as that of the Christian population. These facts can serve as a key to explain various developments, the influence of which may be decisive in shaping the social character and political fate of the Lebanon.

Any person reviewing the demographic problems of the Lebanon cannot but observe a number of factors common to the Christian population of the Lebanon and the Yishuv (the Jewish community) in Palestine. The natural increase of the Christians in the Lebanon is roughly equal to that of the Yishuv in Palestine.*

Against this, however, the Yishuv in Palestine has incomparably more potential reserve in the way of immigration from abroad than that which is available to the Lebanese Christians through the return of emigrants. And just as the chief concern of Zionism in Palestine is the creation of possibilities for the absorption of fresh immigrants from abroad, so the Christians of the Lebanon are faced first and foremost with the problem of preventing emigration from the country, and, in consequence, the creation of opportunities for absorbing emigrants who do return and who can return to their homeland, given suitable absorptive conditions. In addition, attention is devoted to the creation of opportunities for absorbing Christians who require a refuge.

The absence of dynamic economic resources in the Lebanon which could increase and expand the sources of livelihood for a progressive population has led to a steady emigration from the country since the middle of the last century. This process has chiefly affected the Christians whose requirements are more developed and whose living standards are higher than those of their Druze and Moslem neighbours; it has created a serious social and political problem which, taken together with their lower rate of natural increase, places the future of the Lebanese Christians in permanent danger.

Robert Widmer described the economic reasons for a migration from the Lebanon in the following passage:†

> "Lebanon is over-populated. As has been stated, the density of population is about 93 people to a square kilometre. In view of the topography of the country, its rocky mountains and its thin soil, its scarcity of mineral wealth, and its undeveloped industries, the land cannot support all its people. Consequently it is to be expected that some of them have to emigrate, leaving many dependent on their remittances."

As long as emigration was temporary, it was in many ways advantageous. To the general broadening of outlook resulting from contact with more advanced countries were added the material benefits of an increase in the country's capital (brought in by returning emigrants), an out-

* Fourteen pro-mille among the Christians of the Lebanon as against fifteen pro-mille among the Jews of Palestine.

† S. Himadeh, *Economic Organisation of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 14.

1: Epstein S-3 (no date) 1946 ME1 Lebanon ME1

let for surplus population, which kept up the standard of living at home, and, most important, the inflow of a considerable volume of remittances. In 1924, for instance, remittances from abroad were estimated at 4½ million Palestine pounds, as compared with a total commodity export of 4 million Palestine pounds.*

Although there has been an unceasing stream of migrants returning home alongside the stream of emigration from the Lebanon, the percentage of emigrants exceeded that of persons returning during all the years before the war except 1930 to 1933, the period of the economic crisis in America, when the number of emigrants declined and the number of persons returning increased. In 1928, for example, prior to the crisis in America, 14,288 persons emigrated from Syria and the Lebanon and 4,407 returned. In 1932, during the American crisis, 2,426 emigrated and 3,196 returned. In 1933 the emigrants increased again to 2,324, while those returning declined to 1,999.†

According to Widmer, there emigrated from Syria and the Lebanon 120,000 persons between 1860 and 1900, and 200,000 persons between 1900 and 1914. According to the annual reports of the French Government to the League of Nations, 95,000 people emigrated from Syria and the Lebanon between 1923 and 1930; about half of these came from the Lebanon. It therefore follows, according to these sources, that the total emigration from Syria and the Lebanon between 1860 and 1930 (excluding the period 1914 to 1923) amounted to 415,000.

R. Thoumin has dealt extensively with the problem of emigration from the Lebanon.‡ He is one of the important investigators of this subject and an expert on the demography of Syria and the Lebanon.

Emigration from the Lebanon began before 1860, largely for political reasons connected with the persecution of the Christians by the Turks and the unsatisfactory state of security in the country. The increasing stream of emigration during the period of autonomy in the Lebanon derived chiefly from economic sources, as the resources in the country became too restricted for the increase in population under stable political and social conditions.

The first stream of emigration turned to Egypt, where the Lebanese who had been educated in French schools found various opportunities of establishing themselves in Government offices and private institutions, as merchants, journalists, etc. Many of the emigrants established themselves firmly in Egyptian life, and their participation in the cultural field was particularly noticeable. During the '80's and '90's of the last century a steady stream of immigration of Lebanese began to North and South America, and to Western Africa, whilst some went to Australia. In the course of time important centres of Lebanese emigration were established in the Argentine, Uruguay and Brazil. In the U.S. the chief centres are New York and Chicago.§

* W. B. Fish, "The Lebanon," *Geographical Review*, New York, April, 1944.

† S. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 20.

‡ R. Thoumin, *Géographie Humaine de la Syrie Centrale*, Tours, 1936.

§ After the first World War there was an increase in the number of Lebanese in Detroit; here they were employed in the Ford Works.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

562 462 riage. The most popular occupation, nursing, is, it will be remembered, preferred because it is "safe," among other reasons.

Perhaps it can be said, as Fei concluded from a somewhat analogous situation in China (1939, p. 234), that women have more social individualism than they used to have, but to argue that the status of women has or has not been "improved" would, in the present writer's opinion, be tilting at windmills. Ambiguity of one's status and role in life can be harder to bear than, for example, the lack of the legal right to vote.

EMIGRANTS AND EMIGRATION

167 It is said that there are now as many Lebanese, or persons of Lebanese ancestry, living outside Lebanon as there are inside it (about 1,300,000). However this may be, there are certainly a great many, and the majority are in the United States.

Himadeh (1936, p. 13) points out that emigration from Lebanon started with the Phoenicians, the first Lebanese of whom anything is known, then as now experts in commercial enterprises. Lowdermilk (1944, p. 416) suggests that the primary impetus to the Phoenicians' emigration was the same as that to the twentieth century movement: overpopulation—ninety-three persons per square kilometer in recent times (Himadeh, 1936, p. 14).

It is estimated that between 1860 and 1900, 120,000 persons left Syria and Lebanon. The climax period was between 1900 and 1914 when an estimated 15,000 per year emigrated (Himadeh, 1936, p. 16). There was virtually none during the war when the country was blockaded. The process was resumed after the war, but with less intensity than before. Mass emigration to the United States was effectively halted by the Immigration Act of 1924. Since then, the Lebanese have gone to Central and South America, West Africa, and Australia.

The original purpose of all the emigrants was to make a good amount of money and then return to the old country. A great many did just this, and in Munṣif some cases were reported of men who came and went several times. The [582] majority, however, remained for good in the new country, most never returning, although quite a few came back temporarily to the old village for brides—telling evidence of the force of the principle of local endogamy. A few such cases occurred in Munṣif but none since the 1920's.

[177] It is the writer's private opinion that the emigrants themselves have not contributed a great deal to the process of acculturation in Lebanon, apart from drawing the interest of the stay-at-homes beyond their immediate locality. However, the [457] emigrants have contributed substantially to the welfare of the old country which, in 1938 for example, had an adverse foreign trade balance of 4,000,000 pounds sterling (Hourani, 1946, p. 90). This was off-set by money from tourists, foreign investments, and remittances from emigrants. The last amounted to $19,000,000. in 1924 (Himadeh, 1936, p. 18).

The people of Munṣif have done their share in the process of emigration.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

remembered that genealogically and conceptually (the villagers' concept), Munṣif is a single kinship unit.[1]

This structure of in-groups is traditional, and it appears to have maintained its vitality in the face of great culture change, to which a limited amount of local exogamy seems to be the only major concession. When, however, we turn to the other areas of behavior which are reviewed in this chapter, we find that none of them can be discussed at all without reference to the problems of acculturation.

MONEY

The villagers' need for, and great concern about, money is very clear indeed. This is entirely understandable since the expense of education and manufactured products, alone, require much of it.

Money as it is known in the Western world is very ancient in the Middle East, in fact it apparently originated there. However, before about seventy-five years ago its use in most villages was limited, since for most needs barter and mutual help in a regime of local self-sufficiency were ordinarily enough to motivate exchange of goods and services.

Money began to come in large quantities into villages like Munṣif from emigrants in America. At the same time, Lebanon began to receive foreign manufactured articles which could only be obtained through payment of cash. Today, money is the only means of exchange in the village, and prices are an incessant topic of conversation among the villagers. This is, of course, due in part to the fact that the country has suffered severe inflationary trends during the past ten years, in part, according to Murray, to "a natural speculative proclivity on the part of most of the people" (1947, p. 15).

However, there are some indications that this recent emphasis on money as a thing in itself has set up disturbing conflicts in many people. For example, it is often heard that the Western powers are obviously bent upon buying the friendship of the Arabs, but that true friends cannot be bought. Such an attitude might either be a projection of attitudes and behavior prevalent among the speakers themselves, or it might be an expression of sincere and objective distaste for one of the unpleasant consequences of overemphasis on money. In any case, a conflict in values relating to money is consciously recognized.

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

"In Munṣif you will find many people who live in poor houses but have much education. This is because we would rather, if we must choose, use our money for a fine education than for a fine house." This was one of the first remarks that was made to the writer about the culture of the village, and, as time went on,

[1] For additional perspectives on the structure of the village see Gulick (1953, pp. 370–71).

8: Fei and Klat

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/For a detailed statistical summary of Lebanon's balance of payments in 1951-52, see category 116, entire source./

8.2 Incidence of money from any source other than employment in year previous to interview. Tables 115, 116

434 Four hundred and twenty-one (22.25 %) of the sample had received money from miscellaneous sources. The largest group of these was people receiving money from rent of property (33 %). The second biggest specific source was relatives (19 %). Of particular interest are [457] the remittances from overseas. About two and one half percent of our total sample, or an estimated 1250 families in Beirut, received income from abroad.

8.3 Total income. Table 117

Total income of the household from all sources for the previous year was tabulated in intervals of 1000 L.L. Over eight percent of the households had incomes of below 1000 L.L. The modal interval was 1001 - 2000 L.L. making the crude mode 1500 L.L. per year (20 %). Assuming that the average family needs 5000 L.L. as a minimum of health and decency per year, we find that about sixty-five percent do not meet this minimum.

434 565 Arbitrarily assuming the middle class to have incomes ranging from 5001 L.L. to 25,000 L.L. it is noteworthy that this class constitutes about one third of the population (31 %) leaving four percent of the families making more than 25,000 L.L. per year.

Percentage-wise those sixty-five percent of the households which make 5000 L.L. or less receive twenty-one percent of the income, those thirty-one percent which make between

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Table 116

Source of Income Other than Work

Source	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	421	100.00	
Overseas	47	11.16	.015
Rental of rooms in own home	16	3.80	
Rent of property owned	138	32.78	.023
Relative	78	18.53	.019
Pension	6	1.42	
Debt return	1	0.24	
Others	130	30.88	.022
No answer	5	1.19	

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621 to lead to the following general conclusions concerning the influence of emigration upon the social organization of the village:

626 1. *Social control breaks down:* The
167 influence of emigration, as a convenient escape from social control, has been discussed above. It is mentioned again, with a view to emphasizing its significance. At first, social control with its inevitable individual frustrations—was a factor in the enhancement of the emigration movement. However, once that step was taken, emigration began to react upon the social organization of the village and became a strong factor in the breakdown of its social control. The church and the kinship patterns of behavior were no longer adequate for the control of the elements in the new situation. A state of disorganization was the result.

205 2. *Rise of the village post office as*
621 *an institution:* Prior to the emigra-
457 tion movement, no regular post office existed in the village, and the people were not conscious of that institution in any significant manner. There was no need for it, as very few letters were received every month or so. With the advent of emigration, the situation was completely changed. Letters exchanged between the village and abroad became very frequent and highly significant. Through those letters, the ties between the emigrants and the folks at home were preserved and the flow of cash money into the village took place. Two concepts became highly significant in the people's vocabulary, as a result of

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that flow of correspondence, "Maktoob" (letter) and "Maktoob Musowker" (registered letter). A check was always contained in the registered letter, and it became the symbol of joy and festivities for the family group.

Once or twice a week, the mail came to the village. Many hours before the arrival of the mail, people would assemble in the barber shop of Uncle Deeb (for he became the uncle of everybody) who was responsible for the distribution of the mail. For hours, before and after mail distribution, people would loiter there, exchanging the news of their emigrants and having a social time. Usually, Uncle Deeb preferred to put the registered letters aside and then give them in person to the families concerned. That was his reward—to be a messenger of joy to the people. As he went around, he spread the news of the registered letters far and wide, until everybody began to talk about them.

3. *Cash money becomes a supreme value in village life:* Through the silk industry, foreign missions and contact with the city, cash money, as a highly desirable article of value, was introduced into the village organization. In order to obtain more of this new value, emigrants were lured abroad. Through hard or easy work, straight or crooked means, they got hold of the precious cash and sent it back to their people. Without any exception, every single one of those letters mentioned above, referred to cash money that had been sent, was

167 sent or would be sent to the folks at
436 home. Sending the money home had
457 a double significance to the emigrants.
178 It gave them the satisfaction of living up to the obligation to the kinship group and it built for them prestige in the home village. At the same time, prestige and the satisfaction of luxurious needs were the reward of those who received the checks. They could buy new things with the money, lend it for interest or acquire more land with it.

In a word, emigration was the last step with which the village plunged into the Western economic system and became highly "money conscious." Some fifteen years ago, one of the upstart leaders in Bishmizzeen was reminded of the fact that the business he was conducting in Tripoli and Beirut was not considered as honest by the village folks. His answer was "Once I have a substantial amount of cash in my pocket, the people will forget all about the means by which I got the cash."

167 4. *Emigrants fail to return to the*
624 *village:* At first, emigrants left the village, with a view to earning a certain amount of cash within a few years, and then returning to live in the village. The kinship and the communities ties were still strong, and the early emigrants considered the village as their true home. Some of those early emigrants, about 21, succeeded in carrying through the original intention—they came back and settled down permanently. The majority of those who returned, about 93, could not stay in the village more

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16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

desperate had it not been for the other two new cultural factors which affected village life:

2. The introduction into Lebanon of Western-style educational institutions and curricula. The two main types were American Protestant and French Catholic. It was the former which exerted the stronger influence on al-Munsif. Mission schools were established in the village before the turn of the century, and many village children were sent to the American schools in Tripoli. By 1914, some villagers were themselves teaching school in al-Munsif. Protestantism itself was for the most part resisted, but the quest for secular education—in both Arabic and English—became a major concern in the village. The enthusiasm with which the villagers approached education can be accounted for in several ways. First, the literate individual has always been a person of high prestige in the Arab world. The villagers therefore recognized the fine opportunity for the improvement of personal status which was opened by the new schools. Second, they recognized that through education they would have a better chance of obtaining lucrative jobs and of thus averting the economic disaster which threatened them. Third, the American-sponsored curricula were, in part, a useful introduction to certain aspects of the culture of the West; and this brings us to the third major factor:

3. Emigration, primarily to the United States but also, to a lesser extent, to South America. It is very significant, from the cultural point of view, that the prime motive of the emigrants was not to leave their homeland forever in order to make a new life in a new country, but rather to stay temporarily in America in order to make a fortune and then return to the village to resume the old life under conditions of greater financial security. As it turned out, the majority of emigrants never did return. But the number who did, and the number of those who came and went several times before making up their minds, is often overlooked in general accounts of the emigration phenomenon. Remittances from America helped greatly to make the two decades before 1914 a prosperous time for al-Munsif. It was during this period that the very handsome houses with red tile roofs (imported from France) were built. During this period, also, some of those who did not emigrate took up nonagricultural jobs, such as school teaching, away from the village.

World War I brought a sudden halt to these developments. Owing to the Turkish blockade of Lebanon, emigration became impossible and the flood of remittances was reduced to a trickle. Toward the end of the war there was famine in al-Munsif, and it was reported that 100 persons died as a result of it. After the war, emigration and remittances were resumed. But the large-scale exodus to the United States was effectively ended by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, which allowed only a very small quota for the Levant. Emigration to other areas continued but also on a smaller

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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particularly cars and other finished goods for which Lebanese merchants have agencies for the whole Levant. Another type of transit trade is the exchange and gold markets: in 1950 there was trading in precious metals to a value of £L96,332,000, which dropped in 1951 to £L22,974,000 and £L39,461,000 in 1952. On these transactions not only has the volume dropped but also the profit, but vast sums were made in 1947 and 1948 when the margins on exchange and gold transactions were wide.

Middle East nationalism may have two effects on Lebanese commerce: on the one hand, if Lebanon maintains a policy of welcoming and facilitating foreign capital and merchants, there may be an exodus to Beirut of foreign concerns such as has already occurred as a result of the political disorders of 1951–2. (A tendency in the other direction can be seen in the taking over in March 1953 of the French Beirut electricity company.) But, on the other hand, growing nationalism, parochialism, and isolationism in her neighbours could throw Lebanon on her own resources; Jordan and Syria are both trying to encourage their own ports and merchants to the detriment of Beirut, and Lebanon must now make her services as middle-man and entrepôt more attractive and cheap so that her neighbours will continue to use them. At the same time, if these neighbours squeeze Beirut too hard, they might threaten Lebanon with ruin and it is conceivable that she might be compelled to attempt to seek a replacement of the lost source of income in association with Israel.

Finance

The Lebanese pound of 100 piastres is covered by the French franc under an agreement of 31 January 1948, and Lebanon is a member of the International Monetary Fund and of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, with a quota of $4\frac{1}{4}$ million. At the end of 1951 45 per cent of the money circulating was covered by gold and a further 7 per cent by foreign currency—the gold cover has been steadily strengthened, to 54·9 per cent at the end of 1952, to 57·2 per cent by February 1953—when the gold backing amounted to £L114·25 million—and to 60·6 per cent by April 1953. This recent increase in the gold cover results from the part-repayment of an obligation incurred by Syria in 1948; a further instalment was to be repaid in October 1953. In 1939 there were £L29 million in notes circulating, in 1943 £L114 million, and in 1951 £L212 million, but by the middle of 1952 the circulation had dropped to £L199 million and it remained at around this figure until February 1953.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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figure until February 1953. The cost of living has likewise risen considerably; during the war it rose about sixfold, reaching a peak in 1945. It then decreased steadily until the autumn of 1950, when the Korean boom in raw material prices brought fresh inflationary pressures into Lebanon through her growing commercial and entrepôt trade, and persisted until early 1952. This fresh rise in prices was also caused by the rise in food prices (imported and home grown) following the bad harvest of 1951. Although early in 1953 prices had not resumed their pre-Korean level, they had declined steadily.

The following figures showing the indices of wholesale prices and the cost of living illustrate the salient movement in prices (1948 = 100).

	1939	*1945*	*1950 July*	*1951 March*	*1951 Dec.*	*1952 May*	*1952 Dec.*	*1953 May*
Wholesale prices	13	134	76	104	96	86	82	79
Cost of living	20	123	84	95	96	94	91	89

(SOURCE: IMF, *International Financial Statistics*, September 1953.)

Budgetary expenditure and receipts have also increased considerably, partly resulting from the rise in prices but also from greater commitments. The main increase in expenditure has been for defence, for the Palestine conflict and its aftermath, and for education. The sources of revenue have undergone a marked change: whereas customs provided 60 per cent of the revenue in 1939, they now contribute only 25 per cent, and new indirect taxes on general consumption now provide the major share, about 50 per cent. A measure to increase direct taxation was introduced in September 1951 in the form of a tax on agricultural income based on a 'presumptive' assessment value at progressive rates of tax. As yet its full effect is not known. The budget estimates for 1952 were: expenditure £L94·25 million, and receipts £L94·16 million; further details are given in table 2 on p. 502 below. The 1953 budget was expected to be of the order of £L110 million.

The division between the Syrian and the Lebanese currencies became effective at the end of January 1948 and this introduced an agio between the two currencies. At first this favoured Lebanon, but in 1951 the Syrian pound was the higher and then, in 1952, the Lebanese pound returned to a premium of from 2·6 per cent to 0·7 per cent. The exchange rates of foreign currencies are given in table 3 on p. 503 below.

International Trade

In defiance of the gloomy prophecies of economists, Lebanon contrives to flourish with an adverse trade balance, which in

want; there is no local committee of villagers to express their wishes. In other words, the centre works on behalf of, not with the population.* 871

8. It will be observed that the capital and maintenance costs of these ventures are largely provided by subscribers living abroad and that in each case the direction and management are in foreign hands. We made some tentative enquiries as to the possibility of a closer identification of government with the voluntary agencies in the development of the work now undertaken by the latter. There appeared, however, to be some hesitation on the part of the promoters lest the prerequisite of official registration would compromise liberty of action, without obtaining commensurate financial support in return. 871 457

9. We discussed briefly with the Ministry of Social Affairs the possibility of creating or evoking a wide national interest in, and support for community welfare service of the classical pattern, particularly in rural areas, and of relying less than in the past upon foreign financial support and personnel for the continuance and development of existing institutions. It seemed, however, that greater importance, at any rate for the time being, was attached by the Social Affairs Department to the provision in the larger provincial towns of schools, hospitals, improved sanitation and other modern facilities, in an attempt to arrest the drift of population to an already over-crowded metropolis. This policy implied the use of foreign capital on a considerable scale for costly development schemes and not merely the provision of 361 457 652 648

* Those who seek to evaluate the progress and permanence of community welfare activities in countries in which the concept (in the sense in which it is used by many sociologists) is still new, may find a moral in the experiences of a distinguished foreign social worker in the Middle East, as he related them to us in the early days of our investigations. He described the work of the group with which he was associated as passing through three phases: the first - the classical or theoretical approach - had been one of general benevolence and good intentions on the part of a group desirous of serving their fellow men. For a time the group had felt satisfied with what they were doing until it had dawned on them that their activities were making no measurable impact or impression on those for whose benefit they had been planned. This, our informant said, was "working on the community", and a wrong approach. A new start was therefore made; it was hoped that any factor of self-satisfaction had been sublimated in the material benefits planned for and concentrated on the village selected for the second phase. Sanitation was, as is usual in the villages of this part of the world, defective by Western standards. It seemed therefore that the group could usefully build a public latrine in the place. This was done. But as the villagers had never felt the want of improved sanitation and had not been consulted before the work was undertaken, the building remained unused until someone in the village had the idea of storing grain in it. Those who had done the building felt now that they had been working for the community; but here again, according to our informant, the approach was wrong and the effort misguided. But it led to a third - one in which concerted action is taken by the group, this time in concert with the community to plan and execute self-help projects that meet local needs and desires. External help, within the limits of the small resources at the disposal of the group, is provided only as required. Combined operations of this kind afford, in the view of our informant examples of community welfare in which all who participate work with the community, and that is the right approach. But as there is a strong and developing national consciousness in the area concerned and the initiative has been taken by foreigners, our friend, being a wise man, could only be cautiously optimistic and would not prophesy how long the pattern now set would endure in the changing circumstances of the times. 600

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the normal services of technical assistance - whether the latter were afforded under Point IV or from United Nations funds. We tentatively mooted with the Department the possibility of a concurrent development of community social welfare with the help of United Nations Technical Assistance, e.g., by instituting appropriate leadership classes and education in citizenship. Further consideration of the suggestion was promised but there are reasons which militate against progress on these lines. First, we understood that there is a general impression in informed circles that assistance to governments, whether for social or economic projects, is or can be made available under Point IV under more favourable conditions than those applying to United Nations technical assistance (this specifically refers to the proportion of local expenditure to be borne by the recipient government). Second, discussions then current in the local press stressed the view so widely held in the country that the provision of financial aid, chiefly in the form of capital, is just as essential, perhaps more essential, than foreign technique. Third, the simultaneous elaboration in an under-developed country of too many schemes of economic and social development, all of which are intrinsically desirable but which, cumulatively, are beyond the present budgetary and administrative resources of the country not only places an intolerable load upon the machinery of government it may lead to demands for capital expenditure on a scale which cannot be met. It would be regrettable if any pruning of requests for Technical Assistance that had to take place as a result of a belated recognition of this truth were to operate to the prejudice of fully considered schemes of community welfare development, particularly where such schemes had been designed as demonstration projects to become self-supporting in the near future.

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10. Experienced sociologists, working mainly with foreign agencies operating in the Lebanon and other Middle East countries, have urged the desirability under present conditions of establishing with outside financial aid and, if necessary, under foreign direction, more community welfare demonstration centres. In these centres, as they see the position, the whole process of self-help in meeting the economic, health, educational and social needs of a representative sample rural community might be demonstrated and gradually fulfilled. Wherever practicable, and as soon as possible, local officials (administrators, doctors, teachers, agronomists and other technicians) would be encouraged to participate in the organization and management of the demonstration centre, even to the extent (it was suggested by one authority consulted) of rewarding the part-time services of these officials by supplementing the pay which they already receive from public funds. Leaders of the local community would, as the work progressed, be encouraged to form management committees for the various activities. In this way, it was thought practicable, on the basis of actual experience, to arouse interest in, and create a wider public support for the adoption by the government of the movement, leading, in course of time, to the establishment under official auspices of other centres and, ultimately, to a national movement on a self-supporting basis. We were later to see (in Syria, paragraphs 65-68) the practical application of this philosophy on a modest scale under the auspices of the Near East Foundation.

11. As, however, technical assistance is available to governments only, and should be given only at their request, it is not easy to devise a means whereby pilot or demonstration projects of private agencies for developing community welfare and ultimate local self-government can be brought within the scope of the present system. Further, it would manifestly be improper to strain the regulations to enable any privately sponsored application for assistance in establishing multi-purpose community welfare centres to be assisted until the Government has itself supported such a request through official channels. We understand, however, that in the meantime certain foreign voluntary agencies are able to give a measure of assistance for the purpose.

16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

desperate had it not been for the other two new cultural factors which affected village life:

2. The introduction into Lebanon of Western-style educational institutions and curricula. The two main types were American Protestant and French Catholic. It was the former which exerted the stronger influence on al-Munsif. Mission schools were established in the village before the turn of the century, and many village children were sent to the American schools in Tripoli. By 1914, some villagers were themselves teaching school in al-Munsif. Protestantism itself was for the most part resisted, but the quest for secular education—in both Arabic and English—became a major concern in the village. The enthusiasm with which the villagers approached education can be accounted for in several ways. First, the literate individual has always been a person of high prestige in the Arab world. The villagers therefore recognized the fine opportunity for the improvement of personal status which was opened by the new schools. Second, they recognized that through education they would have a better chance of obtaining lucrative jobs and of thus averting the economic disaster which threatened them. Third, the American-sponsored curricula were, in part, a useful introduction to certain aspects of the culture of the West; and this brings us to the third major factor:

3. Emigration, primarily to the United States but also, to a lesser extent, to South America. It is very significant, from the cultural point of view, that the prime motive of the emigrants was not to leave their homeland forever in order to make a new life in a new country, but rather to stay temporarily in America in order to make a fortune and then return to the village to resume the old life under conditions of greater financial security. As it turned out, the majority of emigrants never did return. But the number who did, and the number of those who came and went several times before making up their minds, is often overlooked in general accounts of the emigration phenomenon. Remittances from America helped greatly to make the two decades before 1914 a prosperous time for al-Munsif. It was during this period that the very handsome houses with red tile roofs (imported from France) were built. During this period, also, some of those who did not emigrate took up nonagricultural jobs, such as school teaching, away from the village.

World War I brought a sudden halt to these developments. Owing to the Turkish blockade of Lebanon, emigration became impossible and the flow of remittances was reduced to a trickle. Toward the end of the war there was famine in al-Munsif, and it was reported that 100 persons died as a result of it. After the war, emigration and remittances were resumed. But the large-scale exodus to the United States was effectively ended by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, which allowed only a very small quota for the Levant. Emigration to other areas continued but also on a smaller

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621 778 167 457 scale. The drastic decline in the market price of silk led to greatly reduced production with a consequently increased interest in other occupations. Meanwhile, the road-building program of the French Mandatory regime, coupled with the introduction of motor vehicles, reduced the physical isolation of the village, and the interest of villagers in nonagricultural occupations away from the village was greatly augmented.

IV

621 778 Consideration can now be given to the effects of these processes of change on the traditional culture as they were observed in 1951. To anticipate for a moment, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the effects of change have not been uniform throughout the entire village culture, some aspects of which have been more altered than others. In other words, there now are striking cultural disparities in the village, whereas before there was a high degree of consistency. The result is conflict in the minds and souls of the villagers. In what follows, we shall expand, in turn, upon the four basic criteria which were used in describing the traditional culture. The problem of conflict will be considered at the end, under the heading of Localism.

621 778 162 467 *Economics.* The most far-reaching changes in el-Mansûf, without any question, have been in the area of economic behavior. To comprehend this change, attention must be paid to age distribution and residence patterns. The population of the village in 1951 totalled 503: 238 males and 265 females. A relatively weak representation of persons in their 30's (born during and just after World War I) is to be noted. Formerly all members of the village regularly lived in it. In 1951 only 54.8 percent (166) of the people lived in it all year round, while 33.9 percent (103) regularly lived away (in Beirut or Tripoli for the most part), returning to el-Mansûf only during the summer and for various special occasions. Of the remainder, 10 persons commuted on a daily or weekly basis between the village and the city, and 26, though still considered to be members of the village, visited it only on rather rare occasions. This group of 26 comprised 17 women who had married complete outsiders and 9 other persons who lived and worked in other parts of the Middle East, mostly in Iraq.

621 778 349 The residence factor can also be looked at in terms of households. There were 87 independent households in el-Mansûf. In 22 of these all members were residents in the village all year round. In 18, no members were resident all year round, they returned en groupe only in the summer. In 8 cases, the heads commuted on a daily or weekly basis while their wives and children lived in the village. In the remaining 41 cases, the personnel of each household was split; in general the head and his wife remained in the village while most of the children lived regularly in the city. In other words, a majority of the people, heavily weighted by the older age groups and those

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

241 311 the hollow of the rock the vegetable mould; then hedges round with stones his walls of cunning fertility to conceal and increase them. From below you gaze upwards at barrenness: from above you look down on an arabesque of verdure: the rosy hues of the fresh turned furrows, the soft green of sprouting crops, nestling within the puckerings, grey and brown, of layers of limestone cast up on end, the faces of which are worn like glaciers. This is their arable land in the central range. (Urquhart, 1860, Vol. I, p. 1.)

3. One gets the vivid impression that the farmer of Bsharreen has lost heart and has lost faith in farming. He is looking somewhere else for a possible solution of his problem, which is now the problem of his growing children—employment outside the village, engaging in business, or emigration. (Tannous, 1941, p. 662.)

461 554 454 4. Nowadays young men, especially Maronites and other Christians, many of whom are educated, are unwilling to work on the land. They prefer jobs in the towns, and feeling that many of them would rather live with their families, unemployed and aimless. So, too, the women of the more sophisticated villages no longer work long hours in the fields. A great part of the income of the Lebanese villages is currently derived from sources other than farming—from earnings in the towns, for example, or emigrants' remittances, or the renting of houses to visitors in the mountain summer resorts. (Lewis, 1955, p. 7.)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

565 tarian. Though *individuals* are rated on a scale of values from excellent to worthless, such judgments do not seem to be applied to groups of people. Every person and every family are social equals because everyone is descended from the same man, the founder of the village. No one is a tenant on the land of anyone else, and it is important in this connection to recall a statement made earlier to the effect that villagers do not like to work for each other in menial tasks.

[461]

Families are to some extent distinguished from each other in terms of prosperity, but this seems to apply only to conjugal, or at most, to extended families. Numerous examples were given of families now well off which a few years ago had been poor, and vice versa. Notable prosperity or poverty both seem to be regarded as transitory situations mostly due to "luck." No patriline or lineage seems ever to have become entrenched for a long period either in poverty or in wealth.

The only groups which appear to be blanketed as socially inferior are some of the affiliate families whose founders came as outsiders to work as wage-laborers. (cf. Barth, 1954, p. 166.)

There *are* some suggestions that in time there may develop a distinction which could definitely be called a class distinction between villagers who are well-educated workers and those who remain in the village as manual laborers and farmers. The distinction would be the result of a wide divergence of interests and values.

CONCLUSION

621 A few important points which have been made in the course of this chapter should be isolated and fixed in mind before we proceed further.

1. Genealogically and conceptually, [illegible] is a single superlineage, segmented into maximal and minimal lineages.

2. Village endogamy is the traditional pattern and, in general, is still the ideal. The fairly numerous exogamous marriages are concomitant with recent culture changes whose impetus is external to the village.

3. In terms of function, the maximal lineages appear to be vestigial institutions.

4. The minimal lineages are name groups, they define ordinarily the maximum range of inheritance privileges, and they probably serve as solidary units in times of crisis.

5. There is inconclusive evidence of a dual organization of the village both in the past and the present, but it cannot be satisfactorily correlated either with lineages or cliques.

6. Marriage choices are free within the village, except that the marriage of all first cousins, and closer relatives, is prohibited.

7. The specific marriage prohibition is an aspect of the fact that every individual is a member of a strong bilateral kindred of two, but usually not more than two, generations.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

VILLAGE LIFE VERSUS CITY LIFE

It should be apparent by now that the village as an institution is a significant focus of loyalty and identification for everyone in it regardless of age. This unity of sentiment is not, however, matched by unity of opinion as to which is better, living in the village or living in the city. On this three different points of view were expressed: (1) regret at the passing of the "good old days," coupled with complete resignation to the present situation; (2) regret at the passing of the "good old days" coupled with the desire to revitalize village life, by bringing in irrigation; (3) outspoken preference for the material advantages and comforts of city life, without, however, much spiritual satisfaction in it. By adhering to any one of these views, the average Munqifi necessarily finds himself afflicted with nostalgia, frustration, or both.

Illustrative of the first point of view is the following quotation from the remarks of a middle-aged resident. The occasion was a moment when the investigator had stopped to ask about an enormous mound of small stones, one of many in the village.

> Our grandfathers worked very hard. They took the stones from the ground and put them here, so they could plant. Now people do not work hard. Our grandfathers worked hard, and they lived well. Now we are poor. They were not rich, but they were strong and well.

The second point of view was expressed by another middle-aged man as follows:

> Most of these young people now don't want to work the way their grandfathers did. They want to go to Beirut and make a few easy piasters. And when they get a job there, what happens? It costs so much to live there that they are not any better off than they would be here.
>
> I would like to see these young people settle down here on the land again. Most people here don't want to make a lot of money. All they really want is to make enough so they will not be hungry and without clothes. That is why we need to bring water to the village. Not many can live on the land here now because the land is so poor, because it needs water.

One can read into this statement the problem which many of the young people face: educational emphasis leading away from village life and its satisfactions over and beyond the problem of adequate financial return.

The third point of view was revealed, in significantly ambivalent form, by a young adult who had received the highest type of education. He once remarked: "I think those of us who live in Beirut appreciate the ways of the village more than those who live in the village all the time." But he immediately added that there was very little to do in the village, and for a person of his interests and ambitions, this was certainly the truth. He went on to voice the concern of many young fathers

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621 369 who worked in the city over where they would send their children to school, back in the village or in the city.

Another young adult was completely explicit in his expression of preference for the material and mechanical conveniences of city life which are not available 461 556 302 in the village. The scorn for manual labor on the part of Western-educated Arabs has been noted by other students, and is clearly in evidence. In Beirut, for example, Arabs of the most modest means employ a housemaid if they possibly can. This "effendi-complex" is symbolized by many men by a practice whose resemblance in both form and meaning to a proverbial Chinese one is really quite striking—the nails of the little fingers are allowed to grow conspicuously long. This practice is not followed by everyone, but it is very common.

NATIONALISM AND XENOPHOBIA

186 The rise of nationalism in the Middle East, especially since 1918, is a much written upon topic, full details of which cannot and need not be given here. But we are concerned with the way in which the rise of nationalism has affected the Lebanese village in general, Munṣif in particular. Tannous sums the matter up in the following words:

> Perhaps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. *National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon* [our italics]. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. *Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities* [our italics]. (Tannous, 1949, p. 162.)

The penetration of nationalistic sentiments into villages such as Munṣif would, of course, have been impossible without modern techniques of communication, [494] particularly the press and radio. Rapid surface transportation also has drastically reduced the number and extent of isolated communities. And nationalism itself is a consequence of, and a reaction to, the culture contact situation. (Cf. Schorger, 1952a, p. 31.)

As has been pointed out, the public school curriculum includes regular exhortations in the interests of patriotism, national pride and unity. Small national flags are frequently seen displayed in such unconventional places as automobiles and buses. The national emblem (a cedar tree with triangular foliage and a thick, short trunk) is often seen, in Munṣif and elsewhere, scrawled on walls. It is by no means true, however, that national loyalty has replaced local loyalties in the manner, for example, of modern Japanese villages (cf. Embree, 1939, p. 302). In terms of the in-group analysis in this chapter, the nation has become, for the individual villager, the fifth in the series of in-groups which engage his feelings of loyalty and identification.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

[Munsif]

holds and in order to describe the relationships between them, capital letters will be used to designate individuals. From the village of Fidaar (south of Jbayl on the main highway) there are two households: (1) A, his wife, and his mother B; (2) C, his wife D, and three children. From the village of Ḥjuula (northward and inland from Beirut) there is one household consisting of E, his wife, an unmarried daughter, a son F, and F's wife G.

B, now a widow, was married twice. By her first husband she bore C. By her second husband she bore A and G. At one time, B's second husband was married to another woman, and from this union there came D who is C's wife. In other words, C's mother was once the wife of his wife's (D's) father. C is the half-brother of A and G who are full siblings. D is a half-sister of A and G, and by stretching things a little one might be able to say that she is a step-sister of her husband (C).

This information came to light as the result of a Core Group informant's comment that C and his wife were brother and sister. After the explanation had been made, the informant said, "Well, they *call* each other brother and sister sometimes." The relationship clearly evoked humor, but it is possible that lurking beneath the humor was a feeling that the connection was a little too close for comfort in the eyes of the Christians.

The presence and various activities in Munṣif of the Peripheral Group, the Winterers, and the Mtawli are, with one exception, concrete evidence of the *ethnic division of labor* which, in Coon's view (1951), accounts for so many of the salient characteristics of Middle East culture. With this view the present writer is in essential agreement, and a full discussion of its theoretical significance for this study is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations."

In this instance, the ethnic distinctions are primarily religious in nature. This conforms with the general pattern of the phenomenon, but there are lacking in Munṣif most of the visible cultural differentiations, such as costume, which are often so conspicuous elsewhere. One reason for the homogeneity of appearance in Munṣif is the fact that nearly everyone concerned is from the same rather small region, Northern Lebanon, although several different communities are represented.

It has been noted that there are really two classes of people in the Peripheral Group. One of these, the Greek Orthodox nuclear family from Syria, represents the kind of internal migration which is of common occurrence in the region. Long ago, a similar group by a similar action established the community itself. With respect to the Core Group, the Orthodox family in the Peripheral Group really does not exemplify Coon's ethnic division of labor. The remainder of the Peripheral Group do, however. They differ among themselves, and with respect to the Core Group, in the important matter of religion. Also, they are outsiders to the local group. In terms of the structural theory which is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations," each is a representative of a more widely distributed segment of Sphere 4 (Sect Group) within another, locally established, Sphere 4 segment which is itself an enclave in the area of another segment of Sphere 4. Functionally, all these members of the Peripheral Group serve the Core Group as hired hands in capacities which are generally regarded as menial. It was quite evident that members of the Core Group would be very unwilling to serve each other in such capacities.

What is true of members of the Peripheral Group as individuals is essentially true

6.8 Number of months of work in year previous to interview, Table 83

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As a further check on underemployment and unemployment, respondents were asked the number of months worked in the year previous to the interviews. Assuming that twelve months is full employment, we find only sixty-nine percent in this category. About ten percent were unemployed or an estimated 4438 in the city. It should be pointed out that these figures are merely for heads of families and include no other persons.

6.9 Preference of head of household for rural or urban work, Table 84

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People were asked as to the type of work preferred based on location of occupation. There is no question but that the Beirutis prefer to work in urban employment, eighty percent so indicating. Only three percent definitely prefer rural work, while the remainder were undecided.

6.10 Attitude of head of household toward present job, Table 85

In an effort to find the occupational level of satisfaction, respondents were asked whether they liked their jobs or not. A seemingly surprising seventy-six percent indicated that they did like their present positions, while only nineteen percent were definite in their dislike.*

6.11 Reasons of head of household for liking present job, Table 86

The project asked those who liked their jobs what their reasons were for their opinion. The two largest specific categories of answers were that they liked them for economic reasons (41 %) and because they thought of them as being good training (23 %). Classification into these categories was done in the project office on the basis of the free response of the respondents.

* *Journal of Applied Psychology*, 23 (1939) pp. 547 - 64

p. 18(6)

6.12 Reasons of head of household for disliking present job, Table 87

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For those unhappy in their present positions, the major reason given was economic (44 %) but the second largest group (28 %) resented their jobs because they were too hard.

6.13 Occupational preference of head of household, Table 88

Respondents were then asked to state the occupation in which they would like to be employed. Free responses were again taken and were judged as to their level of reality. That is, if a porter wanted to become a surgeon, it was judged to be an impossible level of aspiration. Forty percent of the respondents were so satisfied with their present position that they indicated no other desires. Only seven percent were judged to have impossible desires in occupations. This is particularly striking since no attempt was made to precondition the respondent by limiting his range of choice. The Beiruti head of household seems to be practical even considering that thirty-two percent expressed job preferences which were improbable.

6.14 Occupational preference of head of household for eldest son, Table 89

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A striking difference between the respondents own occupational desires and those which they held for their children, at least male children, was revealed in answer to the question as to what they would like their eldest sons to be. Each of the response categories is striking. The same lack of impossible objectives was seen, occuring as it did in only six percent of the cases. A slightly different category was used, namely "very possible" into which forty-four percent of the answers fell - indicating a higher level of hardheadedness in attitudes toward children than towards themselves. Fewer wanted their children to continue in their present occupations (7 %). Of course, this may be low

12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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because a number are not of working age as yet. Some insight into the psychology of the household heads is evidenced in the low number (4 %) who answered freely that they wanted their eldest sons to choose their own jobs.

6.15 Incidence of village work by head of household for part of year, Table 90

464

Respondents were asked if they worked in the villages part of the year. Only one in twenty answered affirmatively. Since the sample is so small further analysis is unreliable. Results are presented, however, for whatever interest they may have in Tables 91, 92 and 93.

Summary

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The classification scheme is crude, but is believel to give a fairer breakdown in the major categores than any existing system. Some of the categores are too broad, but further refinement was impossible with this size sample.

For a city its size, the division of labour is quiteextensive. Beirut is a city of small businesses eking out a subsistence. As a footnote to this, it must be pointed out that many people have more than one job, far more than is usual in mostcities.

As the division of labour is splintered, so also do many people operate as jacks-of-all-trades. For example, the tinker-plumber-electrician-plasterer service-man is a combination which combines the skills of what would be decidedly separate occupations in many cities. One unfortunate result of this is the all too often low levd of skill which results from mastering none ofthe services fully.

It will be remembered that respondents were drwn only from political Beirut. The proportion of occupations are therefore only for the cityresidents. They might conceivably be altered if those who commute to the city had been inluded in the study.

p. 19(B)

Table 84

Preference of Head of Household for Rural or Urban Work

Area preferred	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1853	100.00	
Rural	64	3.45	.004
Urban	1489	80.36	.009
No choice	42	2.27	.003
Don't know or No answer	258	13.92	.008

Table 85

Attitude of Head of Household Toward Present Job

Attitude	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1595	100.00	
Likes it	1210	75.86	.010
Does not like it	299	18.75	.010
Don't know	86	5.39	.006

18 Cornell L.Q. (1933) 1934 MEI Library MEI

p. 52 (A)

Table 86

Reasons of Head of Household for Liking Present Job

Type of reason	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1191	100.00	
Economic	493	41.39	.014
Good training	278	23.34	.012
Easy	33	2.77	
Prestige	10	0.84	
Future	5	0.42	
Other	351	29.47	.013
Don't know	21	1.77	

Table 87

Reasons of Head of Household for Disliking Present Job

Type of reason	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	292	100.00	
Economic	129	44.18	.029
Training in other job	11	3.77	
Hard	83	28.42	.026
No future	5	1.71	
No prestige	11	3.77	
Other	52	17.81	.022
Don't know	1	0.34	

p. 52 (a)

13: Churchill 5-6 (1955) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 88

Occupational Preference of Head of Household

Degree of reasonableness	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1459	100.00	
Possible but improbable	463	31.73	.012
Possible and reachable	323	22.14	.011
Impossible	96	6.58	.006
Satisfied with present	577	39.55	.013

Table 89

Occupational Preference of Head of Household for Oldest Son

Degree of reasonableness	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1346	100.00	
Possible but improbable	405	30.09	.012
Very possible	592	43.98	.013
Same as father	108	8.02	.007
Impossible	83	6.17	.006
What he is doing	100	7.43	.007
What he chooses	58	4.31	.005

p. 572(c)

13: Churchill S-S (1959) 1964 MIT Libraries MIT

16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

the households are of minimum size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

Unified in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Munsif maintain a basically equalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is work of this sort which is done in the village. Those who do it live in al-Munsif, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These additional inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 58 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the stokers at each of the bakeries. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Maronites and they come to al-Munsif in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are snowbound at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Munsif and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Mitwali (Lebanese Shi'is). This group has been in al-Munsif only about 12 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.[9] The ethnic distinction in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Localism. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme localism of al-Munsif has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Munsif.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

[9] Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1951).

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1965 ME1 Lebanon ME1

new constructions. This is not the case—at least, it is not to an observable degree. All the stones used in new building in the village are freshly quarried. Perhaps the reason for this is that nearly all the ruins have recognized owners, nearly all of whom are emigrants or their descendants. Even the villagers now admit that "they will never come back," but their property rights are still maintained, either because the older emigrants hesitate to relinquish their claims or because their American-born children are uninterested, both of which prevent local disposition of the property. However, most of the now ruined houses were of the old style, whose roofs would naturally go to pieces if not tended. Consequently, the roofs were removed so that the very valuable timbers in them could be used for other purposes. This hastened the partial collapse of many of the buildings' walls.

HOUSEHOLD ARRANGEMENT AND FURNISHINGS

Nearly every house has its own cistern (*hâv*), either within the building or just outside it. The water is entirely winter rain water drawn from the roof of the house and conducted to the cistern, nowadays, by sheet-iron pipes. This is much more efficient than the older method of letting the water flow down a shallow vertical trough on the outside of the wall of the building. The cisterns have circular openings raised off the ground or floor on a stone or concrete curbing. The opening is fitted, more or less tightly, with a wooden cover.

It is one of the women's jobs to draw water from the cistern by means of a sheet-iron, European-made, bucket attached to a chain or rope. The water needed for the day is stored in large, two-handled, pointed-bottom jars (*jarra*), of porous earthenware, which stand in wooden frames in the kitchen corner, or the kitchen room if there is one. From the *jarra*, water is transferred to cooking utensils, to the spouted pottery or glass drinking jars (*ibriq*), and to the two to three gallon, semi-cylindrical metal tanks in which washing water is stored. These hang against an outside wall or in the wash room if there is one. The tanks are called *hanafiyyi*, a term primarily applied to the small brass spigots with which they are fitted. The term is derived from the Hanafi school of Muslim jurisprudence which decided that the use of spigots was not a violation of the provisions of the Koran. Near the *hanafiyyi* one usually finds a dish for soap and a towel-rack. A few houses are equipped with hand-pumps, a raised tank, and a limited system of pipes and spigots. This, however, is unusual.

The interior arrangement of the one-room house is essentially the same in every case, although of course there are many minor variations. The following description is composite. On entering the front door, one will observe that the room is divided into two sections, front and back. The division is effected by tall cabinets, with doors and drawers, placed across the room. These are used for keeping clothes, dishes, and so on. This means of division may be supplemented by a curtain. In the front section, a long wooden seat, really a bench with a back and

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The boarding-school, as well as the day-school, students include both boys and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The chief criterion is that none is a manual laborer, and they were obviously all considered to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practicing physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

Protestant preacher	1	Seamstress	5
Detective	1	Waiter	3
Fireman	1	Hospital attendant	4
Soldier (sergeant)	1	Janitor	2
Tailor	2	Surveyor	1

The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus close village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in itself. Parents and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of the girl to a doctor, a very prestigeful status.

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15–44

	Men		Women			Men		Women	
Age	Single	Married	Single	Married	Age	Single	Married	Single	Married
15–19	39	0	27	0	30–34	6	9	4	7
20–24	30	1	17	7	35–39	3	4	2	12
25–29	13	8	10	10	40–44	2	14	0	12

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
Mid. East ME

are being steadily removed in most Middle East countries at the present time) do not obtrude very much into everyday living in the average household, though they may do so somewhat more among the Muslims than among the Christians. Furthermore, he believes that that bugaboo of American feminists, the female chattel, has been unusual in any culture at any time except under special, hence exceptional, circumstances. The occurrence of such circumstances can be safely predicted only in individual families in a patrilineal system, which are so well off that the women can be relieved of all useful functions except sex. It is only in such families that extensive polygyny (if the culture permits it) is ordinarily to be found, and certainly an unfavored wife in a wealthy polygynous household can even be deprived of the dignity of her sexual role.

In the Middle East village, however, the basic unit of everyday living is the single household. Among the Christians, it is always based on a permanent monogamous marriage, and the probability is that the same is true among the great majority of the Muslims. The very existence of the household, initially and as time goes on, depends upon the active participation of the wife. She is cook, housekeeper, seamstress, nurse, and, above all, mother of the children who, it is hoped, will project the honor of the family into the future. She is *sitt al-bayt*, "mistress of the house," a title which, in Mastiff, used to be given to quite a number of [illegible] girls as their personal name. Such a woman is no chattel, and there are numerous women in the village who, as individuals, are accorded unqualified respect by all.

The average village-dwelling woman works hard and makes no pretense of "hiding her age." She will continue to work hard until decrepitude overtakes her. One occasionally may even see an old woman trudging along bent nearly double under the weight of a bundle of firewood sometimes nearly as large as herself. But if this woman is socially oppressed, it is the increment physical labor enjoined by necessity which is the tyrant and not the hard-heartedness of her husband, her brothers, or her sons, who are as hard-working and work-worn as she is.

As has been noted, the great majority of the Mastiff women are housewives or apprentice housewives. Domestic duties occupy most of their time, but, as will be seen in the next chapter, their regular chores do not prohibit social interaction outside the house. Before the introduction of convenient and relatively inexpensive Western manufactures, the average housewife wove the cloth with which she made her family's clothes. Weaving, like skewmaking, has now completely disappeared from the village which is not exceptional in this respect (cf. Kinlan, 1936, p. 389). A few housewives do ornamental needlework to supplement the family income (cf. Fisher, 1950, pp. 208–09). The forty-four village women who have non-domestic paying jobs certainly represent something entirely new in the village culture. But the jobs themselves are something entirely new, and the writer is unable to say whether or not the women's taking them is in general motivated primarily by necessity rather than by "career girl" ambitions. His impression is that most of the girls feel that their jobs are temporary arrangements before mar-

[illegible] stage. The most popular occupation, evening, is, it will be remembered, preferred because it is "safe," among other reasons.

Perhaps it can be said, as Ibi concluded from a somewhat analogous situation in China (1935, p. 234), that women have more social individualism than they used to have, but to argue that the status of women has or has not been "improved" would, in the present writer's opinion, be tilting at windmills. Ambiguity of one's status and role in life can be harder to bear than, for example, the lack of the legal right to vote.

EMIGRANTS AND EMIGRATION

[16] It is said that there are now as many Lebanese, or persons of Lebanese ancestry, living outside Lebanon as there are inside it (about 1,500,000). However this may be, there are certainly a great many, and the majority are in the United States.

Himadeh (1936, p. 11) points out that emigration from Lebanon started with the Phoenicians, the first Lebanese of whom anything is known, then as now experts in commercial enterprise. Lewthwaite (1966, p. 414) suggests that the primary impetus to the Phoenicians' emigration was the same as that to the twentieth century movement: overpopulation—ninety-three persons per square kilometre in ancient times (Himadeh, 1936, p. 14).

It is estimated that between 1860 and 1960, 330,000 persons left Syria and Lebanon. The climax period was between 1900 and 1914 when an estimated 37,000 per year emigrated (Himadeh, 1936, p. 10). There was virtually none during the war when the country was blockaded. The process was resumed after the war, but with less intensity than before. Most emigration to the United States was gone to Central and South America, West Africa, and Australia.

The original purpose of all the emigrants was to make a good amount of money and then return to the old country. A great many did just this, and in Mamdi were once were reputed of men who came and went several times. The majority, however, remained for good in the new country, most never returning. Although quite a few came back temporarily to the old village for holiday—telling evidence of the force of the principle of local endogamy. A few such cases occurred in Mamdi but were since the 1930's.

[17] It is the writer's private opinion that the emigrants themselves have not contributed a great deal to the process of acculturation in Lebanon, apart from showing the interest of the stay-at-homes beyond their immediate locality. However, the emigrants have contributed substantially to the welfare of the old country which, in 1958 for example, had an adverse foreign trade balance of 4,000,000 pounds sterling (Hanson, 1960, p. 90). This was all set by money from tourists, foreign investments, and remittances from emigrants. The last amounted to $15,000,000, in 1954 (Himadeh, 1956, p. 10).

The people of Mamdi have done their share in the process of emigration.

Farm Organization

The isolated farmhouse, typical of agriculture in the United States, is rarely seen in Lebanon. In the five project villages nearly all farmers live in the del'ah or built-up area. Their wooden plows, harnesses, and other farm equipment are stored each day in their houses in the del'ah. Often a stable is connected to or a part of the living quarters to take care of the family cow or other livestock. The concentration of dwellings in one area in the Middle East often results in a considerable expenditure of time in walking to fields located sometimes two or five miles from the village. In the project villages the land lies in a narrow strip. Farms at the far ends require an hour or more to reach by walking.

The share-cropper or small landowner has a cow or two which he depends on for draft and milk, a simple wooden plow, and a few other simple hand tools. These comprise his capital equipment. The field work is shared by all the members of the family, although in the dry-land farming areas there is a fairly rigid division of labor between the sexes. Plowing is a man's work, while nearly all the women and girls are carrying water from the village fountain.

In the project area no evidence is seen of tractors, harrows, mechanical threshers, or other mechanized farm equipment except on one or two large farms operated by non-resident owners. None of the project villages has electric power. Farm organization is based upon an intensive use of labor rather than capital. Low wage rates and an ample supply of laborers combine to make the use of labor more advantageous than mechanization. In 1952 the prevailing rate for farm laborers was LL. 3 (about 80 cents) for men and half that for women and 12 to 15 hours days.

Most of the project villages have a plot of land called the kaldar where the villagers, about the middle of June, begin to winnow, thresh their grain. Here the wheat or other seed crop is placed after it has been brought from the fields. For month after month in the summer, one finds the oxen pulling behind them a sledge, a flat board the underside of which is furred with protruding stones or jagged pieces of metal. The farmer's wife or a small boy rides on this sled with a whip to the oxen over a layer of grain. In this way the kernels of grain are loosened and the straw is cut into the kaldar. Later in the day the farmer uses a pitchfork to separate the kernels of grain from the straw, the farmer tosses the mixed grain and chaff

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The living pattern of the summer residents generally amounts to the wife and non-working children living in the village for about three months in the summer. Heads of households and working children commute, usually by day and, of course, spend their vacations of two to four weeks in the village. This pattern is familiar to Americans who can afford it. In Lebanon, however, it is a money-saving device as well as an escape from the summer discomforts of the city. City living is definitely more expensive than village living. This has evidently always been true, but the situation has been greatly aggravated since 1940. In Beirut, food prices increased about five hundred per cent between 1940 and 1950, other commodities about four hundred per cent, causing severe hardship especially among the lower and middle classes (Cooke, 1952, pp. 131–32). This fact accounts for the occurrence of eight households in which the children and usually the wives live in the village all year around, while the husbands commute, usually returning to the village only on weekends.

When we look at Table 1 from the point of view of sources of income, we can deduce that the trend to urbanism is definitely increased as compared with urbanism in terms of residence only. Twenty-six (virtually 30 per cent) of the heads of household have city jobs and presumably support their families primarily thereby. In addition, a large number of unmarried young adults have city jobs. As we shall see shortly, the village is preponderantly dependent upon urban, rather than rural, sources of income. In this connection, we may cite Jardot who classifies Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and western Turkey as an area in which less than 70 per cent of the population are dependent upon agriculture (Jardot, 1946, p. 302).

Twenty-five individuals are listed as "absent." Of these seventeen are women who have married outsiders and are living away from the village, returning only for occasional visits. Most of them are living in Lebanon. The remainder, eight persons, are living outside of Lebanon, mostly in Baghdad. They maintain contact with the village and are still legal residents of it.

The village record is more detailed in Hilwi than it is in the village proper, partly because Hilwi is [illegible] Goes with the outside. Hilwi's population is as follows: resident, 39; summer, 41; absent, 3; emigrated, 2; total 84. None of its eleven households is wholly resident, and three of them are wholly summer.

OCCUPATIONS

A detailed study and discussion of Table 3 will bring out most of the important facts concerning the occupations of the villagers. Let us first consider the series of totals. The number of males for records that of females who have gainful or purposeful employment outside the home, 171 to 44. The discrepancy in the ratio which these figures suggest is corrected by the fact that 120 females are housewives or "at home." The total of 76 heads of household does not tally with

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

the 87 households which have been recorded for the Core Group. This is because some of the heads of households are over the age of sixty-nine, and because a few of the households do not have formal male heads.

The "F" and "S" columns indicate the number of individuals who hold, respectively, village and urban (or extra-village) jobs. By far the majority, it can

TABLE 3. OCCUPATIONAL STATUSES, AGES 15-69

Area	Sex		Occupation														Residence	
	M	F	Unemployed	Retired	Unemployed	School	Housewife	Trade School or College	Village Craft	Village Service	Unskilled	Skilled	Trade	Professional	No Data		M	F
15-19	39	38			1	27	9	6	1	3		7		23	16			
20-24	25	11	2		1			4	1	7		6	9	4	3			
25-29	22 (2)*	7	3	1	1			1	4	9		4	3	3	6			
30-34	9 (2)	1	1						1	4		2	1		1			
35-39	8 (2)	1	1		1				2	2	1		2	1	1			
40-44	10 (1?)	3	2	1	5				3	4	2	2	1		11			
45-49	10 (1?)	3	3		4				2	3	2	2	1	2	9			
50-54	14 (1?)			3	7					1				1	13			
55-59	12 (1?)		2	3	5					1				3	8			
60-64	6 (1)				2				1	1				2	4			
65-69	3 (1)													3	2			
Total	171 (9?)	66	34	10	27	28	9	11	17	37	5	27	24	39	80	120		

* Number in parentheses = heads of households.

? = unknown.

Unemployed, or "at home" (all females) = 120.
Unemployed men recorded (2 male, 1 female) = 6.

be readily seen, have the latter. In terms of gainful employment, 122 persons work in urban jobs (subtracting 20, the number of these in boarding school and college, from 122). Similarly, the total of 83 in village occupations can immediately be reduced to 57 by subtracting the 26 people in the village schools. In addition, most of those listed as unemployed are village residents. The "F" and "S" columns suggest quite strongly the tendency for younger people to predominate in urban jobs, older people to predominate in village jobs.

The "unemployed" figures are the least reliable in the table. In the first place,

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the distinction between "unemployed" and "retired" among the older men is not at all easy to make. It depends, essentially, on the attitudes of the man himself and his family. In the second place, among the younger men especially, the distinction between "village worker" and "unemployed" is not entirely clear. The "village workers" mostly are either hired farm hands or assistants to "village specialists." In most cases, it was not easy to tell, however, how steady their work was. In the third place, it is quite possible that some of those in the "city worker" class are actually unemployed most of the time.

The class of "farmer" (*fillaḥ*) is very distinct. A farmer is a man who not only owns his own property, but works it for the support of himself and his family. Most of the farmers in Mansūf also tend the agricultural property of fellow villagers who are not farmers. This is done, apparently, largely on a cash basis. The standard fee for a day's plowing, for example, was reported to be ten Lebanese pounds (about two dollars and a half).

It was said, "Before (i.e., before emigration and city jobs), we were all *fillaḥīn*." Now there are only ten farmers, and all of them except one are middle aged or elderly men. The exception is a young man of twenty-eight, a member of lineage XX, who evidently intends to make farming a career. He has made a realistic appraisal of the very difficult agricultural conditions in the village itself, and has acted accordingly with considerable initiative. Shortly after World War II he bought some unused land on the southern rim of Wādī Ba'ūnīn, just outside the Qurṭī, close to the present terminus of the irrigation channel which brings water from the River Ibrahīm (see Figs. 1 and 2). Considerable blasting with dynamite was necessary in the preparation of terraces, and earth had to be transported to the site. But with irrigation water he has already been able to develop a very impressive banana orchard which presumably has brought quick profits (cf. Kano, 1946, p. 82), and he said that he plans to expand in the near future. It is significant that *he found he got essentials other village farmers to accomplish this work.*

The nature of the "village specialist" class can better be understood when it is broken down into subcategories, with the number of persons involved in each, as follows:

Mayor	1	Fisherman	3
Taxi driver	1	Surveyor	1
Barber	2	Mason	2
Priest	1	Carpenter	2
Storekeeper	8	Teacher	4

Part-time jobs held by various men most of whom are included in the tabulation above are: storekeeper (the priest), two bakery owners (a teacher and a farmer), and a crop guard (mayor, traditionally a very important position). Two men, still living, were once shoemakers, and another was a muleteer part-time. In the population as a whole there are at least six former teachers and five former store-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The boarding-school, as well as the day-school, students include both boys and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The chief criterion is that none is a manual laborer, and they were obviously all considered to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practicing physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

Protestant preacher	1	Seamstress	3
Detective	1	Waiter	3
Fireman	1	Hospital attendant	4
Soldier (sergeant)	1	Janitor	3
Tailor	2	Surveyor	1

The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus close village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in itself. Parents and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15-44

	Men		Women			Men		Women	
Age	Single	Married	Single	Married	Age	Single	Married	Single	Married
15-19	59	0	37	0	30-34	6	7	4	7
20-24	50	1	17	7	35-39	3	4	2	12
25-29	15	8	10	10	40-44	2	14	0	12

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

[Munsif]

holds and in order to describe the relationships between them, capital letters will be used to designate individuals. From the village of Fidar (south of Jbeil on the main highway) there are two households: (1) A, his wife, and his mother B; (2) C, his wife D, and three children. From the village of Hjoula (northwest and inland from Beirut) there is one household consisting of E, his wife, an unmarried daughter, a son F, and F's wife G.

B, now a widow, was married twice. By her first husband she bore C. By her second husband she bore A and G. At one time, B's second husband was married to another woman, and from this union there came D who is C's wife. In other words, C's mother was once the wife of his wife's (D's) father. C is the half-brother of A and G who are full siblings. D is a half-sister of A and G, and by stretching things a little one might be able to say that she is a step-sister of her husband (C).

This information came to light as the result of a Core Group informant's comment that C and his wife were brother and sister. After the explanation had been made, the informant said, "Well, they call each other brother and sister sometimes." The relationship clearly evoked humor, but it is possible that lurking beneath the humor was a feeling that the connection was a little too close for comfort in the eyes of the Christians.

The presence and various activities in Munsif of the Peripheral Group, the Whites, and the Mawli are, with one exception, concrete evidence of the *ethnic division of labor* which, in Coon's view (1951), accounts for so many of the salient characteristics of Middle East culture. With this view the present writer is in essential agreement, and a full discussion of its theoretical significance for this study is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations."

In this instance, the ethnic distinctions are primarily religious in nature. This conforms with the general pattern of the phenomenon, but there are lacking in Munsif most of the visible cultural differentiations, such as costume, which are often so conspicuous elsewhere. One reason for the homogeneity of appearance in Munsif is the fact that nearly everyone concerned is from the same rather small region, Northern Lebanon, although several different communities are represented.

Of the three Core Group families there are nearly two dozen of people in the Peripheral Group. One of these, the Greek Orthodox nuclear family from Syria, represents the kind of internal migration which is of common occurrence in the region. Long ago, a similar group by a similar action established the community itself. With respect to the Core Group, the Orthodox family in the Peripheral Group only does not exemplify Coon's ethnic division of labor. The remainder of the Peripheral Group do, however. They differ among themselves, and with respect to the Core Group, in the important matter of religion. Also, they are outsiders to the local group. In terms of the structural theory which is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations," each is a representative of a more widely distributed segment of Sphere 4 (Out Group) within another, locally established, Sphere 4 segment which is itself an enclave in the area of another segment of Sphere 4. Functionally, all these members of the Peripheral Group serve the Core Group as hired hands in capacities which are generally regarded as menial. It was quite evident that members of the Core Group would be very unwilling to serve each other in such capacities.

What is true of members of the Peripheral Group as individuals is essentially true

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

of the Westerners and the Mtawli as groups. The Westerners are transhumants, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thoumin, 1936, pp. 134-35). According to Cave Group informants, they, or other Maronites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily in their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. However, the Cave Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The flocks furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mtawli are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mtawli as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a prearranged sum to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this sum is agreed upon with a view to the Cave Group members' getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mtawli, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the bakeries or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or laundresses. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of superiority-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representatives groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degrees of numerical superiority and local establishment which obtain in the particular area. In other words, as has been suggested by Lebeuf, Musil, Murphy, and Jaussen in their presentations of Cana's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way colored by group avoidance or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in *all* social relationships in the village is equalitarian, continued, to be sure, with the various barriers which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of itinerants: (1) Tinkers and scissors grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the liveliness of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright; others seek, perhaps sincerely, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawar (Gypsies). One group of them was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular head-dress, their faces tattooed, marching up the road with

6.1 Occupations of heads of households. Table 76

463 People work in Beirut at occupations which range from the modern technically trained experts to porters who astound new arrivals with their ability to carry huge loads over long distances with horizontal and vertical. These occupations have been grouped in categories in the table.

125 Codification of occupations represented one of the most difficult aspects of the survey. No suitable index was available. The special situation of Beirut made western and eastern categorizations invalid. A tentative categorization was made on the basis of relatively knowledge after city. Coding was done on several hundred cases. At the end of this time a conference was called of the three coders and the directors and assistants. Coders had taken notes on occupations which were relatively frequent but which did not fit the established categories. A final draft agreed upon by all personnel involved was decided upon and interviews were recoded. Seventeen broad categories of occupations were finally established. It must be remembered that our study was limited to the heads of families only in respect to occupation.

It was decided not to publish sub-categories, because the samples of almost all of them were so small that they would have led almost inevitably to misinterpretations even with cautions given about their lack of statistical reliability.

125 463 Professional and semi-professional occupations

Professional people were considered to be

p. 45(6)

the following: accountants, college teachers and upper administrative officers, dentists, engineers, lawyers, nurses, newspaper publishers, editorial writers, reporters, surveyors, clergymen and school teachers. The range of income of these groups was large as was the amount of training undergone.

Managers, officials, large businessmen and rentiers

There was considerable difficulty in forming this category, but in general it is meant to include an upper-class group which has general power and influence in the city, either from high-ranking official position or because of position in the business world. It formed the largest group, other than miscellaneous, with almost twelve percent of the total sample. Of these, almost half were large merchants as might be expected in a city which depends on commerce for its existence. This is a much larger group of this type than would be found in most cities.

One reason for the size of this category is that Beirut is a capital city and therefore would have an inordinate amount of public officials. Another reason is that the attractions of a metropolis lure people of wealth.

Small businessmen

Almost equally as large as the managers etc., category, is the group of small businessmen. The largest percentage of these are small retail owners. As a group, they represent marginal enterprises which fill small niches in the economy. They are very often such small ope-

A 15(c)

443 443 rations that western entrepreneurs of similar class status would be appalled. A small grocery store, for example, might have a stock not worth more than one thousand Lebanese pounds. It would consist of items turning over rapidly, such as cigarettes, which would be in good supply, and probably some canned goods which present a sales turnover of once a year. There would be no breadth to the inventory. Indeed, one of the commonest replies in these stores, and even in much larger ones, is that they will get an item requested later that day, or tomorrow, or next week.

Or a shoemaker and repair man may have a shop two meters by five meters in which he operates by daily purchases of leather or purchases to meet yesterday's demand, so that there is no inventory whatsoever other than a little equipment.

Other small entrepreneurs make their livings variously in such business as small restaurants. These are mainly coffee houses for gossip and the accompanying group interactions.

Clerical

443 Under the heading of clerical, we included bookkeepers, agents usually representing foreign firms, messengers, secretaries, (a term locally used to include both stenographers and secretaries in the western sense) and telephone operators. They constitute slightly over six percent of the sample, which is remarkably small for a city.

Sales and kindred occupations

443 441 The next category, sales and kindred occupations, was subdivided into commission agents, peddlers, and salesmen. The peddlers are a particularly large group. They are typically small in their operations, hawking vegetables, fruit, soft drinks, and miscellaneous gadgets through the streets of the town. They, perhaps, should have been included among the small businessmen, but it was felt that even with the minute size of many businesses, the peddlers

p. 16(A)

were too small to be thought of in this category. They represent almost six percent of the sample.

Personal services

The category "personal services" was composed of the sub-groups, barbers, cooks, customs releasers, waiters, servants and miscellaneous occupations of similar calibre. Customs releasers, of whom seven were interviewed, is an occupation which would not have been thought of in most indexes of occupations, but constituted a significant part of our personal services sample category. Their occupation involves dealing with the customs officials on a service which relieves travellers and businessmen from the tedious procedures of customs.

Only twelve servants were found in the sample. This figure is misleading unless it is remembered that the servants are primarily women or young girls and they are not heads of families. The incidence of servants is better represented in the household composition chapter. The group accounts for over five percent of the sample.

Protective services

Protective services include policemen, firemen, gendarmes, guardians and soldiers. Firemen are not a significant part of the protective services, because a stone and concrete city has little call for their services. The biggest group is that of policemen and gendarmes. A surprisingly large number of soldiers were interviewed, considering the small military establishment in Lebanon. The entire category was only slightly over four percent.

Agricultural occupations and fishing

Agricultural workers are sub-divided into the workers proper who do not own land and owners who work on their land. Shepherds and fishermen were also included. It is interesting to note that, for a seaboard city, more shepherds were found than fishermen, although this is probably an accident of sampling. However, fishing is less of an occupation than might be supposed since fish are in short supply over the

463 226 city and are very expensive as a result. Otherwise the sample is small as might be expected in a city.

Processors of food and other agricultural products

463 The category of processing of food and agricultural products includes such sub-groups as bakers, meat cutters, and those engaged in tobacco and textile manufacturing. About three percent of the sample are in this category.

Clothing fabrication

Those who are engaged in the fabrication of finished clothing include such sub-groups as dressmakers, knitters and tailors. They represent almost five percent of the sample.

Fabricated wood and wood products

463 356 Sub-groups include carpenters, paper-manufacturing employees, and others engaged in final processing of wood products. Carpenters were included in this category rather than in the construction industry, since the use of wood is almost negligible in the construction industry. Indeed, almost nothing but doors are made of wood. The principal work of carpenters is in building furniture and cabinets. They almost invariably work out of small shops. The group includes less than three percent of the sample.

Printing

463 Less than half of one percent of the sample were engaged in the printing trade. This is probably an underestimate.

Potters and allied trades

About one percent of the sample was engaged in the making of pottery and the fabrication of other stone and clay products.

Metal working

Metal working occupations were sub-divided into blacksmiths, jewelers, machinists, and tinkers. Jewelers are primarily gold and silver craftsmen which accounts for their inclusion in

p. 17(A)

463 this category. Almost four percent of the sample falls into this group.

Construction workers

Construction workers include masons, painters, plasterers, plumbers tile setters and electricians. Of course, some of the electricians are working in servicing of electrical appliances [306] rather than in construction. The plumber is usually also a tinker and sells sanitary gadgets. More than three percent of th sample falls into this category.

Transportation

The largest single sub-category of transportation workers is the autodriver. The next biggest group is porters. Thse porters do miscellaneous carrying jobs forpersons and firms who find human labour more cheaper than mechanical transport or whose volume of deliveries is not sufficient to hir porters full time. Other sub-groups are longdistance, motormen, truckmen, and motor vehicl sales and service. Longdistancemen (bahari) area significant subgroup as befits such an important port and transit center as Beirut. Thesetire group is our fourth largest category constituting almost eight percent of the sample.

Miscellaneous

The miscellaneous occupational group includes over eighteen percent of the total sample, but is relatively insignificant when it is realized that of the eighteen percent, thirty percent were housewives, another forty percent were retired or ill, and over twenty-five percent were unemployed.

4.2 Length of time at last job. Table 77

464 Respondents were asked how long they had worked at the job before their present one. Almost forty-two percent had never worked at another job while the modal group of those who had had other jobs was between ten and twenty years. This seems to be high stability of employment.

p. 17(a)

because a number are out of working age as yet. Some insight into the psychology of the household heads is evidenced in the low number (4 %) who answered freely that they wanted their eldest sons to choose their own jobs.

6.15 **Incidence of village work by head of household for part of year. Table 90**

Respondents were asked if they worked in the villages part of the year. Only one in twenty answered affirmatively. Since the sample is so small further analysis is unreliable. Results are presented, however, for whatever interest they may have in Tables 91, 92 and 93.

Summary

The classification scheme is crude, but is believed to give a fairer breakdown in the major categories than any existing system. Some of the categories are too broad, but further refinement was impossible with this size sample.

For a city its size, the division of labour is quite extensive. Bacrot is a city of small businessmen eking out a subsistence. As a footnote to this, it must be pointed out that many people have more than one job, far more than is usual in most cities.

As the division of labour is epitomized, so also do many people operate as jacks-of-all-trades. For example, the toilet-plumber-electrician-gladstone service-man is a combination which combines the skills of what would be decidedly separate occupations in many cities. One unfortunate result of this is the all too often [illegible] which results from monitoring some of the services fully.

It will be remembered that respondents were drawn only from political listed. The proportions of occupations are therefore only for the city residents. They might conceivably be altered if those who commute to the city had been included in the study.

p. 19(a)

[illegible]

Table 76

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Professional and technical occupations	190	9.76	[illegible]
Managers, officials, proprietors	224	11.50	[illegible]
Clerical occupations	117	6.00	[illegible]
Sales and kindred occupations	111	5.70	[illegible]
Personal service	104	5.34	[illegible]
Protective service	78	4.01	[illegible]
Agricultural, forestry and fishing	37	1.90	[illegible]
Processors of food and agricultural products	58	2.98	[illegible]
Clothing fabricators	85	4.40	[illegible]
Fabricated wood and wood products	67	3.45	[illegible]
Printing	9	0.46	
Fabricated chemical products	13	0.66	
Metal working trades	74	3.83	[illegible]
Construction and allied trades	60	3.10	[illegible]
Transportation	132	7.83	[illegible]
Miscellaneous occupations	364	18.70	[illegible]

p. 88(A)

Table 90

Incidence of Village Work by Head of Household for Part of the Year

Sample	Number	Percent	etc.
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Worked in village	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Did not work in village	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Table 91

Occupations in Village for Part of Year

Type of occupation	Number	Percent
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]
Agriculture	[illegible]	[illegible]
Handicraft	[illegible]	[illegible]
Business owners service	[illegible]	[illegible]
Business owners service		
Other	[illegible]	[illegible]
Shop	[illegible]	[illegible]
Others	[illegible]	[illegible]
No answer	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Hr Gulick E-5 (2952)2954 MEI Lebanon MEI

who hold formal authority, are still predominantly village-centered. However, the number of those living away most of the time is impressive, and it includes most of the younger heads of household. In the future, then, it appears probable that the number and proportion of those living away will increase. Yet, of the large number who live away most of the time, few if any have broken effective and affective ties with the village. This is a very important point, and more will be said about it later.

There are two reasons for the prevalence of residence away from the village: (1) education at a higher level than that provided by the two schools (one public, one private) in the village; and (2) urban occupations, qualification for most of which depends on at least a primary education. Education and nonagricultural jobs thus go hand in hand, and the basic motivation rests in the very understandable desire to make a better living than that which farming in the area is likely to provide.

The people of al-Munsif are very proud of their educational status, which they have attained by diligent efforts and considerable sacrifice over a period of several decades. Nearly 100 percent literacy prevails, and in many cases it is bilingual. Forty-eight persons between the ages of 15 and 19 (43 of them between 15 and 19) were still receiving their education in 1952 — in the village schools, in boarding schools, and at the college level. Most of them are boys, but 11 girls are included. The majority of the college students attend the American University of Beirut, and there are several graduates of that institution in the population.

The segment of the population between the ages of 15 and 69 can be looked upon as the potential working force of the village. Thus, 335 people are involved, of which 171 are males and 164 are females. To arrive at the number of people who are gainfully employed outside the home, we must subtract the 48 students, the 120 females who were either housewives or girls "at home," and the 19 men who were clearly unemployed at the time of the study. The actual working force, in terms of earning capacity, therefore amounted to 148 people (115 men and 33 women).

Of these wage earners, 49 were working in the village and 99 away from it. Economically, then, the urban trend appears to be even more pronounced than the population by residence figures, alone, suggests. It must be kept in mind, however, that the majority of heads of household, whatever their primary occupation, are also landowners and derive some income from the produce of their land even though most of them do not do the farm labor themselves.

The village occupations include 10 full-time farmers (mostly middle-aged men) who operate their own farms and also perform various tasks — such as plowing — for other landowners who are not farmers. Services of this kind are paid for in cash. There are 14 other men who work as hired hands for the farmers or for non-operator landowners. Then there are

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621 15 specialties as follows: mayor, 1; priest, 1; taxi driver, 1; butcher, 1;
463 storekeeper, 8; fisherman, 3; surveyor, 1; mason, 1; carpenter, 1; teacher 4.
There are 6 small stores in the village. There are also two bakeries which
are important social centers for the women. One of these is owned by the
taxi driver, the other by one of the teachers.

621 The city occupations include a variety of white-collar jobs (such as clerk,
463 librarian, and government official), semiskilled and skilled jobs, and the
178 following specialties: Protestant preacher, 1; detective, 1; foreman, 1; sol-
dier, 1; tailor, 2; seamstress, 5; waiter, 3; hospital attendant, 4; janitor, 1;
surveyor, 1; merchant, 5; teacher, 17; medical nurse, 24. One man in the
village had been a practicing physician but has now retired. The prevalence
of school teaching is notable, and it will be remembered that the pattern
for this specialty was established early in the process of culture change.
Over two-thirds of the working women are nurses (including student-
[359] nurses). It was explained that nursing is a respected occupation and that
since the women work in the shelter of a large institution, it is a safer
position for them than many other city jobs are.

621 The factors of change in the economics of the village can be summarized
464 as: (1) a drastic reduction in the number and proportion of agricultural
178 workers; (2) a rapid and extensive development of non-village and most
[362] urban occupations, of which there is a considerable variety; and (3) women
working outside and away from home for the first time in the history of
the village. The variety of the women's occupations is much more restricted
than the men's. The majority of the women are under 30 years of age and
appear to consider their jobs as preludes to marriage rather than as life-
long careers.

621 *Religion.* Religion does not appear still to permeate the everyday life
178 of the villagers. In those activities and problem areas which have been,
771 generally speaking, strongly affected by modern rationalism and technol-
ogy — in the prevention and cure of disease, for example, — rationalistic
procedures seem to take precedence over ritualistic.

621 In addition to the village church, there are three saints' shrines in
778 al-Mumsif. Associated with each structure is a section of waqf land of which
178 the priest is the custodian, and the produce of which contributes to his sup-
port. Each shrine is at some distance from the others and from the village
proper, so that it is impossible to get to a shrine without deliberate intent
and effort. Traditionally, the shrines are used primarily for the purpose
of special prayers, offerings, and vows on behalf of those who are sick.
[765] It might be supposed that as the rationalistic treatment of disease increases,
the intensity of the use of shrines would decrease. This is a subtle matter
and really conclusive evidence on it could not be obtained. However, it was
clear that the opinions of the villagers regarding the meaningfulness of the
shrines are varied and conflicting. One remark was that the saints could not

the households are of minimum size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

United in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Mansūrī maintain a basically equalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is work of this sort which is done in the village. There are those who do it live in al-Mansūrī, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These additional inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 51 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the workers at the cafe of the laborers. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Maronites and they come to al-Mansūrī in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are mentioned at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Mansūrī and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Mirwadi (Lebanese Shi'a). This group has been in al-Mansūrī only about 10 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.* The ethnic distinction in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Location. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme location of al-Mansūrī has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Mansūrī.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

*Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1951).

Th Tannous S. G-1 (ix. 1947-48)[1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

Lebanon that it could no longer be absorbed within the country. The village folk had the choice of submitting to a life of poverty or of emigrating abroad, seeking new opportunities and fortunes. The first alternative was incompatible with their cultural heritage. They were mostly independent farm owners, not share croppers; they were awakened by a comparatively high degree of learning; they were exposed to influences of the West; and they had a long history of struggle against great odds, demanding initiative and enterprise on the part of the individual and the group.

Consequently, they resorted to emigration for relief. Some sought opportunities in the urban centers of neighboring Arab countries. They established themselves there as merchants, bankers, publishers, doctors, and as government officials in various capacities. Most of them, however, turned toward the promising New World, north and south. It is estimated that these emigrants, together with the families they have reared, now extend to number the population residents in Lebanon itself.

Recent estimates put the population of Lebanon at 1.2 million, of whom about 75 percent are rural. There seems to be no slackening in the high rate of increase. The density of population, one of the highest in the world, amounts to about 500 per square mile of total area, and 1,000 per square mile of cultivated area. In the Middle East it is exceeded only by Egypt, which holds the world record with a density of about 2,000 per square mile of cultivated area.

This biological resource of the village community constitutes both a serious problem and a challenge to Lebanon. Emigration possibilities for the surplus population are no longer as readily available as they were prior to a decade or two ago. A realistic, long-range solution lies in the application of an enlightened population policy and developmental program that would result in controlled growth on the one hand, and in the efficient development of the country's natural resources on the other.

The second major contribution of the village community to the country is economic. This is readily apparent and needs little elaboration. Dwellers in the villages are the farming folk of Lebanon. Their agricultural activity is the mainstay of the

Lebanon 1951
Syria 1951

In neither country is there an officer caste or a strong military tradition, though the present Syrian regime is trying to create one.

Social Survey

The ruling class in both countries is drawn from wealthy families; titles do not exist and the 'old' rich families, whose position and wealth come from land, rub freely with the 'new' rich families, whose money comes from commerce. There is no stigma in engaging in trade and even members of the upper class are merchants. A middle class of functionaries and employees has been growing up since 1918 in the three main cities. Their flats, between the splendour of the rich quarter and the bustle of the *suq*, are being built in quantities and their new, middle-class way of life is based on European standards. The mass of the people are artisans and labourers. The urban artisan approaches the middle class and the rural labourer approaches the hard life of the nomad; for the farm labourer the standard of living is generally low.

The Press

The press of both countries is important but no one paper or group of papers has established an ascendancy. Damascus had at one time over twenty daily papers some of which could guarantee a circulation of over 5,000. The same state of affairs holds true in Beirut where most parties issue Arabic and in some cases French papers; there are also Armenian newspapers and one English daily.

Individual Lebanese have founded papers and *Le Commerce du Levant*, published in Beirut, has a standing comparable with *Le Bourse Egyptienne*. In both countries press censorship has frequently closed down a paper only for it to re-emerge under another name, and in Syria the military dictatorship has reduced the press to a mere mouthpiece of official propaganda.

Education

In both countries there are primary and secondary schools, and the number of schools and students increase each year. Primary education is compulsory, and although reliable figures of literacy are not available,[1] it may be assumed that the percentage of illiterates is decreasing in both countries, but is higher in Syria than in Lebanon. In Syria, most of the schools are run by the state and of the private schools (which are

[1] The estimate for Syria for 1947 given in UN, Dept. of Social Affairs, *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation*, 1952, was 40·50 per cent.

during and after the war of 1914-1918; and a large number entered the country even more recently, in 1939 after the cession to Turkey of the Sanjaq of Alexandretta, where many Armenian refugees from Turkey had settled. Most of the Armenians arrived penniless and were dependent in the beginning upon international relief organizations, but in the last twenty years their economic situation has greatly improved. They are mainly craftsmen and small traders and almost all are now town-dwellers.

Foreign in language and appearance and socially half-isolated, they have not always been popular with the inhabitants. Some nationalists disapprove of them because they are still unassimilated and because they have added another minority problem to those already existing. Their competitors accuse them, as minorities in their position are often accused, of depressing the level of wages and of monopolizing the trades and crafts to which they have applied themselves.

These Armenians have several alternative conceptions of their future as a nation. There are some, mainly those who have made good, who are prepared to live permanently in Lebanon as a minority; in order to make this possible they wish the Armenians to learn Arabic, to prove themselves good citizens and to co-operate with the bulk of the population in matters of common interest, but at the same time to retain their Armenian characteristics and loyalty. Probably the majority of the Armenians however regard their residence in Lebanon as a temporary exile, and hope sooner or later to return to their own country. Of these, the Tashnak party wish to see their country once more an independent national state, while the Communists and others accept the incorporation of Armenia in the U.S.S.R. and are eager to return and become Soviet citizens. Both these parties recognize that their exile although temporary may be long and that therefore an interim policy is necessary. Some of the Tashnak have tried to follow the example of the Maronites and throw themselves upon a foreign protector; but very many of their party, and all the Communists, desire to reach a modus vivendi with the political forces among the Arabs, either with the Arab nationalists or else with the Arab Socialists and Communists.

433, 162, 464, 439

Egypt	MR1
Turkey	MB1
Iraq	MH1
Syria	MD1
Lebanon	ME1
Historical Palestine	MF2
Israel	MF1

/For an account of the economic effects of industrialization after World War II and information on industrial output in countries of the Middle East, see 66: Bonne, Mid Middle East, category 116 as follows: Egypt - pp. 293-298, p. 309. Turkey - pp. 298-300, 307-308. Syria and Lebanon - pp. 300-302, 309-310. Palestine - pp. 302-304. Israel - pp. 310-311./

SUBSISTENCE

RESIDENCE PATTERNS

TURNING again to Table 1, it will be observed that the people of the village are classified not only according to lineage and household but also according to residence, of which five types are distinguished and briefly defined on the table itself. This section will deal with all of them except the emigrant group, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Unquestionably, the outstanding demographic fact about al-Mansūrī today is the large proportion of its citizens who are absent from it most of the year, living and working in Beirut or Tripoli. This trend was preceded by that of mass emigration, but the active phase of the latter is now largely over, owing to the restrictive immigration quotas put into effect by several countries since 1920. Table 1 indicates the way in which each household is affected by the trend to the city. It will be observed that of the 87 households: 22 are wholly resident; 16 are wholly summer; 6 have heads who commute while the main body of the household is resident; 40 are split. Of the 40 split households: 33 have the head and others resident; 3 have the head and others in summer only.

From this and the population trends, it is clear that in terms of numbers, and down in the village all year around is still the predominant pattern. Of the total personnel only 10 per cent of the households are "summerers" (the villagers sometimes refer to them as *mṣayfīn*) only. The urban trend is, nevertheless, far more marked than it was in Shīmmīnīn about 1930 when 13.3 per cent of the total population held jobs or went to school away from the village nine months of the year (Thomsen, 1940, p. 67). Thomsen refers to this as "temporary emigration," and says that it is a "unique phenomenon which has recently occurred in the village" due to the development of modern means of transportation. Abbott (1930, p. 277) says that in Ras al-Matn, a large village north and inland from Beirut, many are absent during the winter. Fisher (in a personal communication) remarks that low-altitude villages around Jbeil appeared to be largely deserted in winter time in 1931. Thomsen (1930, p. 102) says that in general automobiles [illegible] have increased the circulation of the population, especially in the direction of the city. We can safely say that urbanism has been an increasing tendency since the 1930's, but we cannot say how the situation in Mansūrī compares to that in other villages.

The living patterns of the summer residents generally consists in the wife and non-working children living in the village for about three months in the summer. Heads of households and working children commute, usually by day and, of course, spend their vacations of two to four weeks in the village. This pattern is familiar to Americans who can afford it. In Lebanon, however, it is a money-saving device as well as an escape from the summer discomforts of the city. City living is definitely more expensive than village living. This has evidently always been true, but the situation has been greatly aggravated since 1945. In Beirut, food prices increased about five hundred per cent between 1940 and 1950, other commodities about four hundred per cent, causing severe hardship especially among the lower and middle classes (Gardet, 1952, pp. 131-32). This fact accounts for the occurrence of eight households in which the children and usually the wives live in the village all year around, while the husbands sojourners, usually remaining in the village only on weekends.

When we look at Table 1 from the point of view of sources of income, we can deduce that the trend to urbanism is definitely increased as contrasted with urbanism in terms of residence only. Twenty-six (virtually 30 per cent) of the heads of household have city jobs and presumably support their families primarily thereby. In addition, a large number of unmarried young adults have city jobs. As we shall see shortly, the village is preponderantly dependent upon urban, rather than rural, sources of income. In this connection, we may cite Jaber who classifies Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and western Turkey as an area in which less than 10 per cent of the population are dependent upon agriculture (Jaber, 1946, p. 102).

Twenty-five individuals are listed as "absent." Of these seventeen are women who have married outsiders and are living away from the village, returning only for occasional visits. Most of them are living in Lebanon. The remainder, eight persons, are living outside of Lebanon, mostly in Baghdad. They maintain contact with the village and are still legal residents of it.

The urban trend is more marked in Ghirr than it is in the village proper, partly because Ghirr is better located from the point of view of rapid communication with the outside. Ghirr's population is as follows: resident, 39; summer, 41; absent, 11; emigrated, 3; total 94. None of its eleven households is wholly rural, and three of them are wholly summer.

OCCUPATIONS

A detailed study and discussion of Table 2 will bring out most of the important facts concerning the occupations of the villagers. Let us first consider the items of trade. The number of males by occupation of females who have gainful or purposeful employment outside the home, 171 to 65. The discrepancy in the ratio which these figures suggest is accounted for by the fact that 120 females are housewives or "at home." The total of 10 heads of household does not tally with

the distinction between "unemployed" and "retired" among the older men is not at all easy to make. It depends, essentially, on the attitudes of the men himself and his family. In the second place, among the younger men especially, the distinction between "village worker" and "unemployed" is not entirely clear. The "village workers" usually are either hired farm hands or contracts to "village specialists." In most cases, it was not easy to tell, however, how steady their work was. In the third place, it is quite possible that some of those in the "city worker" class are actually unemployed most of the time.

The class of "farmers" (*fellah*) is very distinct. A farmer is a man who not only owns his own property, but works it for the support of himself and his family. Most of the farmers in Mureid also rent the agricultural property of fellow villagers who are not farmers. This is done, apparently, largely on a cash basis. The standard fee for a day's plowing, for example, was reported to be two Lebanese pounds (about two dollars and a half).

It was said, "Before (i.e., before emigration and city jobs), we were all fellahin." Now there are only ten farmers, and all of them except one are middle aged or elderly men. The exception is a young man of twenty-eight, a member of lineage XII, who evidently intends to make farming a career. He has made a realistic appraisal of the very difficult agricultural conditions in the village itself, and has acted accordingly with considerable initiative. Shortly after World War II he brought water-vessel land on the southern rim of Wadi Sa'idan, just outside the Quarter, close to the present terminus of the irrigation channel which brings water from the River Damûrân (see Figs. 1 and 2). Considerable blasting with dynamite was necessary in the preparation of terraces, and earth had to be transported to the site. But with irrigation water he has already been able to develop a very impressive banana orchard which presumably has brought quick profits (cf. Khuri, 1960, p. 62), and he said that he plans to expand in the near future. It is significant that he had to go outside the village territory to accomplish his ends.

The nature of the "village specialist" class can better be understood when it is broken down into subcategories, with the number of persons involved in each, as follows:

Shops	5	Fishermen	5
Taxi drivers	4	Barbers	4
Butcher	2	Bakers	2
Priest	1	Carpenter	1
Bookkeeper	0	Teacher	0

Part-time jobs held by various men most of whom are included in the tabulation above are: storekeeper (the priest), two bakery owners (a teacher and a farmer), and a rural guard (women, traditionally a very important position). Two men, still living, were ex-shoemakers, and another was a midwife part-time. In the population as a whole there are at least six former teachers and five former pastors

"The Absentees" as the villagers call their relatives in the United States, are concentrated in and around Vicksburg, Mississippi. There are families, also, in Shreveport, Louisiana, and in Marshall, Texas. There are a few in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Australia. One returnee, in particular, spoke English with a noticeable Southern accent. The remarks of another returnee indicated an identification with the Southern whites as a caste or upstart Old Negroes.

LAND OWNERSHIP, UNEMPLOYMENT, ABSENTEEISM

Mansour Jaafar el-Khouri, the founder of the village, divided the village territory into three equal sections, one for each of his sons. He did this by, as it were, trisecting the triangle of its apex (the eastern extremity of the village, now occupied by the houses). The three triangular strips running down to the sea which were thus created provided the land-property bases for the sectional lineages. To some extent, the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects this division, with Sectional Lineage B concentrated in the north, C in the south, and A in between (see Fig. 1). The corresponding pattern for the village territory as a whole, however, has long since been obliterated by sales and cross-sectional lineage inheritance. The land-holdings are not clustered by sectional lineage either. Most of the land in the village is held in individual private ownership (*melk*), and nearly all the adult males own property in this manner. Along the shore there are some plots which are modern (communal) land to the sectional lineages. "They were never divided because they are worthless, the salt kills the plants." There are four large sections of *waqf* (land which has been put in trust). These will be discussed in the next chapter.

From what has been said before in this chapter, it can be deduced that most of the men do not derive all or even most of their income from the land they own. However as far as could be determined, each landowner, even though he may be a white-collar worker in the city, maintains his plots (*qat'a*), which are usually widely scattered over the village territory, with the assistance of a resident farmer or village worker.

Many of those of whom it was said "he does nothing" (unemployed) or "he no longer works" (retired) actually derive some income by this means, but probably very few in the village could entirely support themselves and their families without money from other sources as well. The young unemployed, as has been mentioned, are from a superficial perspective difficult to distinguish from village workers if they are unmarried and living with members of their family. There are a few cases of heads of households who clearly depend on the help of other members of the family in supporting it. We can say that a man has retired when he does nothing and when no hopes of employment are held. A large number of the men in their sixties and all those over seventy were in this class. Nevertheless, most of these retired men continued to garden about their houses, rarely actively in some cases.

WELFARE

In a very few cases of total incapacitation, individuals have had to be placed in public institutions for care. Otherwise, the village takes care of its own. Sometimes, in conformance with the traditional attitudes of self-sufficiency, a unit of the Lebanese Red Cross visits the village at regular intervals to provide medical care for those who need it, but have been unable or unwilling to go to a doctor in the city. There is a regular, and entirely traditional, mechanism for caring for families who get into financial straits. A close friend of the family, who has learned of the situation because of his closeness, goes to each household in the village saying, "There is among us a family in need. I am going to give them some money; how much are you willing to give?" It is very bad form to ask [illegible] whom the collection is being made, and a contribution which is alloted under such conditions may be refused by the collector. The strict anonymity which accompanies this behavior suggests that even in such a tight-knit group as the village keeping up appearances is a conscious value. Clique and lineage structure undoubtedly contribute to this.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONS

Everyone in the village, except for a handful among the very old, can literate. A quite respectable number have survived or are receiving college educations. The significance of education in the village will be discussed in the next chapter, here it is appropriate to consider only the limiting which education has on occupations.

Literary itself is no entity in Lebanon. In fact, among the Christians, at least, one can safely say that it is the expected thing. Most literary class would raise one's aspirations only above that of manual laborer, in the city. For professional status or for governmental positions college education are prerequisite. Medicine and the law require additional training beyond college which no one in Mansif has recently undertaken. The number of positions open to ordinary college graduates which are in line with the individual's ambitions (fulfilling a learned and cultured person) are rather limited in Lebanon, and many such persons must be satisfied with whatever they can find. In consequence, a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction is to be found among those who have had advanced education.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

Mansif depends, and has always depended, upon crops which do not require rain or irrigation in the growing season. In order, the most important are olives, figs and grapes. Of these the major cash crop is olives. This has not always been true. Up to 1914 the major cash crop in the village, and in Lebanon as a whole, was the [illegible]-worm cocoon, fed on mulberry leaves. Sericulture has not died out completely in Lebanon, and it is still fairly strong in the Kisserwan, Kura, Akkar, and Beirut districts (Stewart, 1948b, p. 141), but it has long since lost its economic

a particularly welcomed district in the physical sense—most favored districts had already been occupied by others.

We have seen that the village territory was subsequently divided into three equal parts, each of which came in time to be dominated by a particular lineage, each descended from a son of the founder. The main lower cluster was said to have been first located somewhat below the church, in a ravine. This location made the community completely invisible from the coastal highway, and this was described by one informant as a necessary defensive measure. He added that he had heard that in the old days, when men went down to Eldri to work their fields, they went in armed groups to protect themselves against marauding bands of Muslims. This was presumably during the century and more of virtual anarchy which followed the reign of Pahlav ad-Din II. As the village grew in population, the lower cluster was extended up and along the crest of the ridge, Lineage A occupying the upper part, Lineage C the lower part. Lineage B members lived mostly at Yaqlit, surrounding the shrine of Mar Mikhaiil, and only very recently moved entirely into the eastern and upper portions of the main lower cluster.

We have seen that at present the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects the clustering of the houses by matrilineal lineage. Some of the exceptions to the patterning, especially in the highest part of the village, are due to very recent purchases of land and new construction. These in the center, however, were explained by one informant as follows: "Maybe a hundred years ago many people were very poor. They sold their land to people in 'Amshish. Then later some others bought it again. We don't know who they all were. People went to America to make money and then they came back."

There is at least what might well be unusual evidence of this episode. Churchill (1855, vol. I, pp. 70-71), writer of the spectacular use of one Mikhael Toshaw, a Nestorian from 'Amshish, "Wishing his native village of Asshuet the centre of his operations, he conceived a system which soon brought him into intimate relations with the entire neighbouring population—that of lending advances of money on the silk crops. . . . Toshaw has become an extensive landed proprietor, and as a landlord his character is unimpeachable."

Until about seventy-five years ago, Mlamdi was a very nearly self-sufficient and self-contained community. We can assume that a good proportion of its wheat crops had to be imported. As a matter of fact, Eldri used to serve as a point of entry for imported goods which were brought to it by boat, this mode of transportation being cheaper, safer, and easier than overland transport. It was also, apparently, a regular practice for a number of men to do seasonal wage labor in other districts. One specialty of this type, which was lucrative but perilous, was sponge-diving.

The farm activities do not seem to have essentially lessened the village's subsistence isolation. It was common in these days, according to one informant, to an

[illegible]

Farm Organization

The isolated farmhouse, typical of agriculture in the United States, is rarely seen in Lebanon. In the five project villages nearly all farmers live in the district or built-up area. Their wooden plows, harrowers, and other farm equipment are stored each day in their houses in the district. Often a stable is connected to or is part of the living quarters to take care of the family cow or other livestock. The interconnection of dwellings in one area in the Middle East often results in a considerable expenditure of time in walking to fields located sometimes one to five miles from the village. In the project villages the land lies in a compact unity. Farms of the far ends require an hour or more to reach by walking.

The share-tenant or small landowner has a cow or two which he depends on for draft and milk, a simple wooden plow, and a few other simple hand tools. These comprise his capital equipment. The field work is shared by all the members of the family, although in the district nearest the city there is a fairly rigid division of labor between the sexes. Plowing is a man's work, while cattle tending is done by women carrying water from the village fountains.

In the project area no evidence is seen of tractors, harrows, mechanical threshers, or other mechanized farm equipment except on one or two large farms operated by semi-resident owners. None of the project villages has electric power. Farm organization is based upon an extensive use of labor rather than capital. Low wage rates and an ample supply of laborers combine to make the use of labor more advantageous than mechanization. In 1952 the prevailing rate for farm laborers was LL. 3 (about $2) cents for men and half that for women per day or 12 hours day.

Most of the project villages have a plot of land called the [illegible] where the villagers, after threshing in common, thresh their grain. When the wheat or other small crop is planted after a rain, it is brought from the fields. In a windy place nearby in the summer, one finds the most striking feature of a community, the [illegible] of which is dotted with protruding straws or jagged pieces of wood. The farmer's wife or a small boy rides on the wood with a wide sheet, the open ends of which of grain. In this way the kernels of grain are loosened and the straw is not thus far broken. [illegible] enable to separate the kernels of grain from the chaff, the farmer rakes the mixed grain and chaff

[illegible] Fishing is organized as a system of [illegible] with a headland. The village groups [illegible] of which [illegible] has a suburb [illegible] grouped along the coast where a fishing community exists. The industry, primitive and using [illegible] employs some 300 persons on a part or full-time basis. The gross sales is estimated at L.L. 40,000 - 100,000 annually. There fishermen [illegible] very small plots of farm land, which accounts for many of the 300 small farms reported for Sarafand.

[illegible] The Trans-Arabian Pipe Line (Tapline) has its Mediterranean terminus at Sidon which lies [illegible] km north of the area under discussion. About 600 Lebanese workmen are employed by the company, some of them coming from the villages under study. No statistical data are available on this question but it does not appear that employment by Tapline affects the five villages to any great extent.

It is reported that some of the member companies of Tapline are planning to erect an oil refinery near their present operations. During construction employment opportunities for local unskilled labor will probably occur. When the plant is in operation, two or three hundred men will be required, hence considering employment opportunities will be available. It may be that small industries will be established to use some of the products of the refinery. This would offer an opportunity for limited industrial development. Such diversification is very desirable for this otherwise agricultural community.

Domestic Water, Sanitation and Health

[illegible] Technical details concerning pollution of wells, types of diseases prevalent in the project villages, and similar data will not be found in this report. This aspect of the problem falls within the jurisdiction of the specialized and highly trained public health technicians attached to the Technical Cooperation Service, Lebanon.

[illegible] An adequate and safe supply of drinking water is not available for any of the five villages included in the improvement project. Ras Nourieh depends upon a communal shallow well for its domestic water supply, the other villages have access to springs. In most cases these sources are adequate as to quantity except during the summer months. In all cases the quality is questionable. Villages

this category. Almost four percent of the sample falls into this group.

Construction workers

Construction workers include masons, painters, glaziers, plumbers, tile setters and electricians. Of course, some of the electricians are working in servicing of electrical appliances rather than in construction. The plumber is usually also a tinker and sells electrical gadgets. More than thirty percent of the sample falls in to this category.

Transportation

The largest single sub-category of transportation workers is the auto driver. The next biggest group is porters. These porters do miscellaneous carrying jobs for persons and firms who find human labour power cheaper than mechanical transport or whose volume of deliveries is not sufficient to hire porters full time. Other sub-groups are longshoremen, motormen, conductors, and motor vehicle sales and service. Longshoremen (ballast) are a significant sub-group as befits such an important port and transit center as Detroit. The entire group is our fourth largest category constituting almost eight percent of the sample.

Miscellaneous

The miscellaneous occupational group represents over eighteen percent of the total sample, but is relatively insignificant when it is analyzed. Out of the eighteen percent, thirty percent were housewives, another thirty percent were retired or ill, and over twenty-six percent were unemployed.

5.2 Length of time at last job. Table IV

Respondents were asked how long they had worked at the job before their present one. Almost forty-two percent had never worked at another job while the modal group of those who had had other jobs was between one and twenty years. This seems to be high stability of employment.

4.5 **Length of time at present job, Table 79**

Here again stability of employment is evidenced by the fact that the modal group had been in the same job for more than twenty years, while three-quarters had been employed at their present position for five years or more.

4.6 **Basis of payment, Table 79**

For those who receive wage increases, sixty-nine percent received their payments monthly while a fifth were paid daily. The self-employed category was almost half (39·1).

4.7 **Number of hours worked per day, Table 80**

The mean number of working hours per day was nine and one-half. Concentrations were found at eight hours (33·1), ten hours (30·1) and twelve hours (17·1). The high number of working hours is influenced by the presence of self-employment in small businesses which cannot afford relief personnel.

4.8 **Number of days worked per week, Table 81**

A substantial majority of the sample worked the six-day week (80·1). But almost half as many worked seven days, (39·1). These are the customary hours of the occupation.

4.9 **Number of days worked in month previous to interview, Table 82**

To check the amount of underemployment, respondents were asked how many actual working days they had worked in the month prior to the interviews. Assuming that less than twenty days per month was underemployment, we find that, of those working, about one tenth fall in this category. The actual amount of unemployment was thirteen percent. Together, then, we see that almost a quarter of the sample were unemployed or underemployed in the month previous to the interviews.

* Cf., e.g., [illegible]. Comparisons have not yet been made on this item.

4.5 Number of months of work in past year prior to interview. Table 10

For a further check on underemployment and unemployment, respondents were asked the number of months worked in the year previous to the interview. Assuming that twelve months is full employment, we find only sixty-nine percent in this category. About six percent were unemployed or an estimated 6000 in the city. It should be pointed out that these figures are correct for heads of families and include no other persons.

4.6 Preferences of head of household for rural or urban work. Table 11

People were asked as to the type of work preferred based on location of occupation. There is no question but that he (she) prefers to work in urban employment, eighty percent so indicating. Only three percent definitely prefer rural work, while the remainder were undecided.

4.7 Attitude of head of household toward present job. Table 12

In an effort to find the occupational level of satisfaction, respondents were asked whether they liked their jobs or not. A meaningful surprising seventy-six percent indicated that they did like their present positions, while only nineteen percent were definite in their dislike.

4.8 Reasons of head of household for liking present job. Table 13

The project asked those who liked their jobs what their reasons were for their opinions. The two largest specific categories of answers were that they liked them for economic reasons (40 %), and because they thought of them as being good training (29 %). Classification into these categories was done by the project officer on the basis of the free response of the respondents.

became a member are out of working age as yet. Some insight into the psychology of the household heads is evidenced in the few number (4 %) who answered firmly that they wanted their eldest sons to choose their own jobs.

6.11 Incidence of village work by head of household for part of year. Table 10

Respondents were asked if they worked in the villages part of the year. Only one in twenty answered affirmatively. Since the sample is so small further analysis is unreliable. Results are presented, however, for whatever interest they may have in Tables 10, 11 and 12.

Summary

The classification scheme is crude, but is believed to give a fairer breakdown in the major categories than any existing system. Some of the categories are too broad, but further refinement was impossible with this size sample.

For a city its size, the division of labour is quite extensive. Beirut is a city of small businesses relying not a subsistence, but a features to this, it must be pointed out that many people have more than one job, for more than is usual in most cities.

As the division of labour is splintered, so also do many people operate on jacks-of-all-trades. For example, the tobacco-plumber-electrician-plasterer service-man is a combination which combines the skills of what would be decidedly separate occupations in many cities. One unfortunate result of this is the all too often low level of skill which results from mastering some of the services fully.

It will be remembered that respondents were drawn only from political factors. The proportions of occupations are therefore only for the city residents. They might conceivably be altered if those who commute to the city had been included in the study.

p. 19(2)

Table 27

Length of Time at Last Job

Period	Number	Percent
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

Table 28

Length of Time at Present Job

Period	Number	Percent
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

p. 433(b)

Table 82

Number of Days Worked in Month Previous to Interview

Days worked per month	Number	Percent
Total	1576	100.00
None	233	13.19
1 – 5	18	1.07
6 – 10	40	2.50
11 – 15	52	3.30
16 – 20	69	4.13
21 – 25	130	13.66
26 – 30	1047	69.47

[illegible] = .330
[illegible] = .021

$$\rho = m(e)$$

[redacted]

Table [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

P. 51(D)

Table 58

Incidence of Village Work by Head of Household for Part of the Year

Region	Number	Percent	...
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Worked in village	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Did not work in village	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

(Contd. on p. 63(a))

Table VII

...ccupations in Village for Part of Time

...pe of occupation	Number	Percent
...ivator	56	100.00
...ultural	36	37.50
...ehold	17	18.00
...ner source service	13	13.00
...ner source income		
...ion	4	4.00
...ce	15	15.00
...ce	1	1.00
...ness	0	0.00

[illegible]

[illegible]

Table [illegible]

Distance of Work on Own Land for Those Working in Village for Part of Year

	Number	Percent	
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	

[illegible]

Table [illegible]

Type of Dwelling

Type	Number	Percent	
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	

p. 53 (c)

to the genealogy, but there is no disagreement on their ultimate origin in the same town, often referred to as "our forbidden." On the basis of the number of generations accounted for in the story, it appears that the founder was probably born sometime late in the 18th century. Historical material is available which gives a clue to the reasons for the founding of the village and at the same time supports the estimate of the date suggested by the genealogy. The reign of the Amir Fakhr al-Din II (1590–1635) is known to have been a period in which many Syrian Christians sought refuge in Lebanon to escape Turkish persecution. It is reasonable to suppose that the founder of al-Mansūrī, a Greek Orthodox Christian, was one of them. The probable date of the establishment of the village suggests, further, the reason for the selection of a site which is far from ideal for agricultural purposes: the better-favored areas in Lebanon had already been occupied by other groups.

Once established, what manner of village was al-Mansūrī? Everything that can be learned about "the old days" indicates that it must have been typical of the traditional pattern of village life in the Middle East, which in turn fits the criteria of the "folk community," as understood by anthropologists in general.[1] Life in al-Mansūrī, then, prior to the last quarter of the 19th century when the great cultural changes began, was focused on four major themes:

1. *Devotion to the Land.* Agriculture was the economic base of the community, the occupation of all its members except for a few specialists who also were often part-time farmers.

2. *Religious orientation.* Religious attitudes permeated all aspects of life; religious behavior was integrated with economic and family behavior. The religious affiliation of the village was sharply defined.

3. *Predominance of kinship contacts* in the patterning and regulation of interpersonal affairs, for example in mutual aid arrangements. The kinship group was a locus of intense loyalty for its members, so much so that members of the same lineage were often preferred in marriage.

4. *Extreme localism of knowledge, interests, and loyalties.* This was reflected in the prevalence of intra-village feuds and in the clear preference for the marriage of an individual to a member of his or her own village rather than to an outsider. ("Village endogamy.")

In the case of al-Mansūrī, there were a few variations on this normal structure. On the economic side, first, a certain amount of fishing has always been done right from the village itself. Second, the necessity of importing wheat has always made some money income imperative. It was therefore common for village men to do wage labor in other communities in slack agricultural seasons. Storage diving was one such seasonal occupation, profitable but [illegible]

[1] [illegible], "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 46 (1940), pp. 199–210; "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution* (1948), pp. 389–402.

wide. The drastic decline in the market price of silk led to greatly reduced production with a consequently increased interest in other occupations. Meanwhile, the rebuilding program of the French Mandatory regime, coupled with the introduction of motor vehicles, reduced the physical isolation of the village, and the number of villagers in nonagricultural occupations away from the village was greatly augmented.

[illegible]

Consideration can now be given to the effects of these processes of change on the traditional culture as they were observed in 1953. To anticipate for a moment, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the effects of change have not been uniform throughout the entire village culture, some aspects of which have been more altered than others. In other words, there now are striking cultural disparities in the village, whereas before there was a high degree of consistency. The result is conflict in the minds and souls of the villagers. In what follows, we shall expand, in turn, upon the four basic criteria which were used in describing the traditional culture. The problem of conflict will be considered at the end, under the heading of Loneliness.

Economics. The most far-reaching changes in el-Nhamil, without any question, have been in the area of economic behavior. To comprehend this change, attention must be paid to age distribution and residence patterns. The population of the village in 1953 totalled 323: 158 males and 165 females. A relatively weak representation of persons in their 30's (born during and just after World War I) is to be noted. Formerly all members of the village regularly lived in it. In 1953 only 70.6 percent (168) of the people lived in it all year round, while 33.2 percent (68) regularly lived away (in Beirut or Tripoli for the most part), returning to el-Nhamil only during the summer and for various special occasions. Of the remainder, 12 persons commuted on a daily or weekly basis between the village and the city, and 16, though still considered to be members of the village, visited it only on rather rare occasions. This group of 16 comprised 13 women who had married complete outsiders and 3 other persons who lived and worked in other parts of the Middle East, mostly in Iraq.

The residence factor can also be looked at in terms of households. There were 87 independent households in el-Nhamil. In 23 of them all members were resident in the village all year round. In 16, no members were resident all year round; they returned as groups only in the summer. In 6 cases, the heads commuted on a daily or weekly basis while their wives and children lived in the village. In the remaining 42 cases, the personnel of each household was split; in general the head and his wife remained in the village while most of the children lived regularly in the city. In other words, a majority of the people, heavily weighted by the older age groups and those

who hold formal authority, are still predominantly village-oriented. However, the number of those living away most of the time is impressive, and it includes most of the younger heads of household. In the future, then, it appears probable that the number and proportion of those living away will increase. Yet, of the large number who live away most of the time, few if any have broken effective and affective ties with the village. This is a very important point, and more will be said about it later.

There are two reasons for the prevalence of residence away from the village: (1) education at a higher level than that provided by the two schools (one public, one private) in the village; and (2) urban occupations, qualification for most of which depends on at least a primary education. Education and occupational jobs thus go hand in hand, and the basic motivation rests in the very understandable desire to make a better living than that which farming in the area is likely to provide.

The people of al-Khanāṣir are very proud of their educational system, which they have created by diligent efforts and considerable sacrifice over a period of several decades. Nearly 100 percent literacy prevails, and in many cases it is bilingual. Forty-eight persons between the ages of 11 and 19 (25 of these between 15 and 19) were still receiving their education in 1959 — in the village schools, in boarding schools, and at the college level. Most of these are boys, but 11 girls are included. The majority of the college students attend the American University of Beirut, and there are several graduates of that institution in the population.

The segment of the population between the ages of 15 and 69 can be looked upon as the potential working force of the village. Thus, 332 people are involved, of which 171 are males and 161 are females. To arrive at the number of people who are gainfully employed outside the home, we must subtract the 48 students, the 100 females who were either housewives or girls "at home," and the 15 men who were clearly unemployed at the time of the study. The actual working force, in terms of earning capacity, therefore amounted to 148 people (111 men and 37 women).

Of these wage earners, 43 were working in the village and 59 away from it. Economically, then, the urban trend appears to be even more pronounced than the population by residence figures, above, suggests. It must be kept in mind, however, that the majority of heads of households, whatever their primary occupations, are also landowners and derive some income from the produce of their land even though most of them do not do the farm labor themselves.

The village occupations include 10 full-time farmers (mostly middle-aged men) who operate their own farms and also perform various tasks — such as plowing — for other landowners who are not farmers. Services of this kind are paid for in cash. There are 14 other men who work as hired hands for the farmers or for non-operator landowners. Then there are

[illegible] specialties as follows: weapon, 1; priest, 1; taxi driver, 1; barber, 1; storekeeper, 1; fisherman, 1; surveyor, 1; miner, 1; carpenter, 1; teacher 2. There are 4 small stores in the village. There are also two bakeries which are important social centers for the women. One of these is owned by the taxi driver, the other by one of the workers.

The city occupations include a variety of white-collar jobs (such as clerk, librarian, and government official), unskilled and skilled jobs, and the following specialties: Protestant preacher, 1; detective, 1; fireman, 1; soldier, 1; tailor, 1; seamstress, 1; waiter, 1; hospital attendant, 1; janitor, 1; surveyor, 1; merchant, 1; teacher, 17; medical nurse, 14. One man in the village had been a practicing physician but has now retired. The prevalence of school teaching is notable, and it will be remembered that the pattern for this specialty was established early in the process of culture change. Over two-thirds of the working women are literate (including student nurses). It was explained that nursing is a respected occupation and that since the women work in the shelter of a large institution, it is a safer position for them than many other city jobs are.

The factors of change in the economics of the village can be summarized as: (1) a drastic reduction in the number and proportion of agricultural workers; (2) a rapid and extensive development of non-village and non-urban occupations, of which there is a considerable variety; and (3) women working outside and away from home for the first time in the history of the village. The variety of the women's occupations is much more restricted than the men's. The majority of the women are under 30 years of age and appear to consider their jobs as preludes to marriage rather than as life-long careers.

Religion. Religion does not appear still to permeate the everyday life of the villagers. In those activities and problem areas which have been, generally speaking, strongly affected by modern rationalism and technology — to the prevention and cure of disease, for example, — rationalistic procedures seem to take precedence over ritualistic.

In addition to the village church, there are three saints' shrines in al-Khamil. Associated with each structure is a section of waqf land of which the priest is the custodian, and the produce of which contributes to his support. Each shrine is at some distance from the others and from the village proper, so that it is impossible to get to a shrine without deliberate intent and effort. Traditionally, the shrines are used primarily for the purpose of special prayers, offerings, and vows on behalf of those who are sick. It might be supposed that as the rationalistic treatment of disease increases, the intensity of the use of shrines would decrease. This is a subtle matter and really conclusive evidence on it could not be obtained. However, it was clear that the opinions of the villagers regarding the meaningfulness of the shrines are varied and conflicting. One remark was that the saints could not

increase the productivity per acre and also to expand the cultivated area per head.

In the Lebanon, however, with its many hillsides under intensive cultivation, there is a definite pressure on land resources. The limits of cultivation appear to have been reached, and a large part of the village population supplements its income by work in the towns, and by remittances from abroad. If the land tenure system in Syria were less oppressive, room might be found on the land for settlers from the Lebanon, but as things are, the standard of living and status of the Lebanese peasant is higher; compared with the Syrian peasant he is a free man, and there is no inducement to leave the Mountain for the underpopulated plains of central or northern Syria.

LAND TENURE

Corresponding to these different methods of farming, there are four different systems of land tenure.* In Lebanon individual small ownership is well established, and the pattern of village life, with its broad class of small peasant owners, few large farmers, and a growing class of landless labourers, resembles that of Europe.

In Syria, the greater part of the land is owned by city notables—the ruling class—and cultivated by small share-tenants. Though individual ownership exists in some districts, for instance the Beqa Valley and the oasis of Damascus, the most usual form of landownership in the plain districts of Syria is share-tenancy. The villagers bring their corn to the village threshing floor, and when the grain is threshed the landlord or his agent stands by and takes one-half of the grain. Towards this result he has contributed nothing; all labour, equipment, seed, livestock, have been supplied by the tenant, so that his share is rent purely for the use of the land. The landlord is almost always an absentee, a city notable who only visits the land to collect rent.

The share taken by the landlord varies from district to district, and also varies with the condition of the land. According to an inquiry made by the French authorities, the usual division of the crop for non-irrigated cereals is 40–50 per cent to the

* The information which follows is mainly based on A. Latron, *La Vie rurale en Syrie et au Liban* (Beirut, L'Institut Français de Damas, 1936). The brilliant and profound study by Jacques Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, is an indispensable authority which unfortunately was received only after going to press.

being reorganized into a three-year course. Some teachers and graduates of the normal schools have been encouraged to enter the second year in order to become teachers in the rural schools. The school has no land for practical work.

Students of all these sections take an examination given by the School at the end of their study. Graduates of the School of Arts and Crafts are in demand, and are employed by the army, wireless workshops, the railroads, and electrical plants.

[illegible]

The distinction between "unemployed" and "retired" among the older men is not at all easy to make. It depends, essentially, on the attitudes of the men themselves and their family. In the second place, among the younger men especially, the distinction between "village worker" and "unemployed" is not entirely clear. The "village worker" usually on other land [illegible] work or assistance to "village specialists." In most cases, it was not easy to tell, however, how much their work was. In the third place, it is quite possible that some of those in the "city worker" class are actually unemployed most of the time.

The class of "farmer" (*fellah*) is very distinct. A farmer is a man who not only owns his own property, but works it for the support of himself and his family. Most of the farmers in Mawjid also rent the agricultural property of fellow villagers who are not farmers. This is done, apparently, largely on a cash basis. The standard fee for a day's plowing, for example, was reported to be ten Lebanese pounds (about two dollars and a half).

It was said, "Before (i.e., before emigration and city jobs), we were all *fellahin*." Now there are only ten farmers, and all of them except one are middle aged or elderly men. The exception is a young man of twenty-eight, a member of lineage XX, who evidently intends to make farming a career. He has made a realistic appraisal of the very difficult agricultural conditions in the village itself, and has acted accordingly with considerable initiative. Shortly after World War II he bought some unused land on the southern rim of Wadi Ba'labba, just outside the Qarn, close to the present terminus of the irrigation channel which brings water from the River Dardara (see Figs. 1 and 2). Considerable blasting with dynamite was necessary in the preparation of terraces, and earth had to be transported to the site. But with irrigation water he has already been able to develop a very impressive banana orchard which presumably has brought quick profits (cf. Khan, 1948, p. 42), and he said that he plans to expand in the near future. It is significant that he had to go outside the village territory to accomplish his ends.

The nature of the "village specialist" class can better be understood when it is broken down into subcategories, with the number of persons involved in each, as follows:

[illegible]	1	[illegible]	2
[illegible]	1	[illegible]	1
[illegible]	2	[illegible]	2
[illegible]	1	[illegible]	2
[illegible]	2	[illegible]	2

Part-time jobs held by various men most of whom are included in the tabulation above are storekeeper (the priest), two bakery owners (a brother and a farmer), and a crop guard (again, traditionally a very important position). Two men, still living, were once shoemakers, and another was a mukhtar part-time. In the population as a whole there are at least six farmer tractors and five farmer owners

of a time can be placed. The whole thing is lowered into the oven, and the dishes are shaken off the board. After about a minute in the oven, bubbles appear on the surface of a dish, and then the whole thing puffs up until it looks like a large pincushion. It remains in the oven about a minute more and then is removed. As soon as a loaf begins to cool, it collapses into dish from again, only now the dish consists of two layers except around the edge.

In each bakery, the baker is the only hired professional. In the bakery in the village, the owner provides the baker with bread for his own consumption and pays him the equivalent of about a dollar and a half a day. In the other bakery, the baker and owner split the bread receipts (see below) of the bakery fifty-fifty, but there is no monetary transaction between them.

Every woman who uses the bakery sets aside about seven per cent of the loaves she makes, and these she "leaves for the oven." The owners' own bread supply is thus supplied them, and they are free to sell or otherwise dispose of what they do not use. The Muslim women, mentioned earlier, work in the oven on the same basis as the other women, but they regularly prepare more bread than they need themselves and sell the surplus at about twenty-five piastres (about seven cents) per rotl (the rotl is a traditional weight measure equivalent to about 1 lb. 3 oz.).

OLIVE PRESSES

The presses are privately owned but are available to all, the owner receiving a certain proportion of the oil which each individual presses. As social institutions they are, of course, far less important than the ovens and bakeries, for they are used for only a few weeks a year, during the olive harvest. However, as has already been suggested, the olive harvest is a period of intense cooperative activity in which social interaction, spurred on by hopes of a profitable crop, is very lively. The presses play an essential economic part in the proceedings and draw large groups of men together.

Most of the presses in the village are modern, machine-driven apparatuses requiring a minimum of manual assistance. There is, however, one old-style one in the stable of a house in the al-Wadiyya section. Some time before the fresh olives are ready to be pressed, the owner of the press begins to prepare the wooden beam and the stone weights. There is a heavy wooden beam one end of which is attached, hinge-fashion, to the ceiling, the other end weighted with three large stones (called "balls"). A bunch of fresh olives is placed under the weighted end of the beam which is raised by block and tackle and then dropped on the olives. The purpose is to reduce the olives to a mash which can then easily be transferred to a circular stone basin with a drain. On it a large, 6-ish stone wheel is set upright. The wheel is secured to a revolving beam one end of which is set into the ceiling. A subsidiary beam projects at right angles to the revolving one. To this a donkey is harnessed, and by walking round and round the basin, the donkey turns the wheel over the olive mash, pressing out the oil. This crude process involves considerable waste, hence

[illegible]

Farm Organization

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

4.5 Length of time in present job, Table 7A

4.5.1 Even against stability of employment is evidenced by the fact that the worker group had been in the same job for more than twenty years, while three-quarters had been employed at their present positions for five years or more.

4.6 Rates of payment, Table 7B

4.6.1 Five times who received wage increases, sixty-nine percent received their increases monthly, while a fifth were paid daily. The self-employed category was almost half (49%).

4.7 Number of hours worked per day, Table 8A

4.7.1 The mean number of working hours per day was nine and one-half. Concentrations were found at eight hours (20%), ten hours (30%) and twelve hours (17%). The high number of working hours is influenced by the presence of self-employment in small businesses which causes effort when personnel.

4.8 Number of days worked per week, Table 8B

4.8.1 A substantial majority of the people worked the six-day week (80%). But almost half as many worked seven days, (38%). These are the customary hours of the occupation.

4.9 Number of days worked in month previous to interview, Table 8C

4.9.1 To check the amount of underemployment, respondents were asked how many actual working days they had worked in the month prior to the interviews. Assuming that the twenty days per month was [illegible] employment, we find that, of those working, about one tenth fell in this category. The actual amount of unemployment was [illegible] percent. Together, then, we see that almost a quarter of the people were unemployed or underemployed in the month previous to the interviews.

* Cf., J. S. [illegible], "Employment level and job satisfaction", pp. 241 - 50.

P 11(A)

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

p. 49(c)

Table 92

Amount of Pay Per Week in Village
if there is Part of Year Work

Amount in Lebanese pounds	Number	Percent
Total	91	100.00
0 – 25	6	6.59
26 – 50	7	7.69
51 – 75	5	5.49
76 – 100	1	1.10
101 – 150	2	2.20
151 – 200	–	–
201 – 300	–	–
301 – 400	–	–
401 – 500	2	2.20
501 – 750	–	–
751 – 1000	–	–
1001 – 2000	–	–
2001 – 3000	–	–
Over 3000	–	–
None	9	9.89
No answer	59	64.84

$\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = 18.76
γ = 0.317

p. 35(a)

44:Matthews and Akrawi 8, G–3 (1945–1948)1949 ME Middle East
Lebanon MEI

Four schools, situated in Beirut, are directly connected with the Ministry. These are the School of Arts and Crafts which includes a section on agriculture, the Normal School for Men, the Normal School for Women, and the National Conservatory of Music. The Directorate of Antiquities and the Directorate of the National Library complete the list of the institutions directly connected with the Ministry of National Education.

Educational Finance

The support of public education comes almost entirely from the central budget of the government. Table 71 shows the growth of the educational budget in selected years of the last quarter of a century. This budget, which includes that of the Directorate of Antiquities, has ranged between 5.6 to 8.4 percent of the total budget of the state. The influence of wartime inflation can be seen from the almost sevenfold jump in the educational budget between 1941 and 1945, while in the corresponding period the number of schools increased from 267 to 308 and the enrollment from 21,056 to 30,113.

It was not possible to obtain the salary scale for public-school teachers. A scale set down by a government decree to serve for private and foreign schools fixes salaries at figures probably not very different from those paid in the public schools. The system of classifying teachers as instructors, assistant instructors, and teachers is almost identical with the public-school system. Instructors must be holders of university degrees, assistant instructors must have the *baccalauréat* or the Lebanese teaching certificate, and teachers must hold the Lebanese *brevet* or its equivalent. Monthly salaries for instructors range from £L75 to £L135 ($34 to $61), for assistant instructors from £L45 to £L85 ($20 to $39), and for teachers from £L35 to £L55 ($16 to $25). Salaries are paid for twelve months.

During World War II, cost-of-living allowances were added for government officials and teachers. These ranged from 250 percent for salaries that were £L40 a month or less, to 45 percent for the highest salaries paid by the state. In addition, married teachers received £L14 each for the wife and first child, and £L10 for each additional child up to five children.

A pension plan for government officials allows half the average salary for the last three years after thirty years of service. A person who has been in government service for thirty years and who has attained the age of fifty-five may ask to be retired or may be sent to retirement by the government after due investigation by a committee. Sixty-five is the latest age for retirement, though under special circumstances a person may be allowed to serve on a yearly basis up to the age of seventy.

6.3 Length of time at present job. Table 78

Here again stability of employment is evidenced by the fact that the modal group had been in the same job for more than twenty years, while three-quarters had been employed at their present position for five years or more.

6.4 Basis of payment. Table 79

For those who receive wage incomes, sixty-six percent received their payments monthly while a fifth were paid daily. The self-employed category was almost half (46 %).

6.5 Number of hours worked per day. Table 80

The mean number of working hours per day was nine and one-half. Concentrations were found at eight hours (25 %), ten hours (19%) and twelve hours (17 %). The high number of working hours is influenced by the amount of self-employment in small businesses which cannot afford relief personnel.

6.6 Number of days worked per week. Table 81

A substantial majority of the sample worked the six-day-week (66 %). But almost half as many worked seven days, (28 %). These are the customary hours of the occupation.

6.7 Number of days worked in month previous to interview. Table 82

To check the amount of underemployment, respondents were asked how many actual working days they had worked in the month prior to the interviews. Assuming that less than twenty days per month was underemployment, we find that, of those working, about one tenth fell in this category. The actual amount of unemployment was thirteen percent. Together, then, we see that almost a quarter of the sample were unemployed or underemployed in the month previous to the interviews.

* D. J. R. SUPER, [illegible] pp. 161 - 62.

Table 30

Number of Hours Worked per Day

Hours worked per day	Number	Percent
Total	1405	100.00
One	2	0.14
Two	–	–
Three	8	0.57
Four	15	1.07
Five	26	1.85
Six	140	9.97
Seven	84	5.98
Eight	356	25.34
Nine	105	7.55
Ten	217	15.44
Eleven	70	4.98
Twelve	241	17.15
Thirteen	15	1.07
Fourteen	44	3.13
Fifteen	40	2.85
Sixteen	28	1.99
Seventeen	4	0.28
More than seventeen	9	0.64

[illegible] = .000
[illegible] = .000

[illegible]

[illegible]

p. 51 (A)

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Table 81

Number of Days Worked per Week

Days worked per week	Number	Percent
Total	1435	100.00
One	6	0.42
Two	5	0.35
Three	15	1.04
Four	17	1.18
Five	46	3.21
Six	941	65.58
Seven	405	28.22

$\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = .020
σ = .803

p. 51 (B)

44:Matthews and Akrawi S,G-3 (1945-1949) 1949 ME Middle East
Lebanon ME1

875 Letters, Science, or Teaching, or an engineering diploma. He must spend one year on probation.

A primary-school inspector is chosen either from secondary-school instructors who have spent at least five years in service, or from assistant instructors of primary schools who have served for at least ten years.

Finally, secondary- and vocational-school inspectors are chosen from among the professors of higher institutions, or from secondary- or vocational-school instructors who have spent not less than ten years in service, or from primary inspectors who have spent not less than ten years in service and who have taken a higher degree.

466 Legislative Decree No. 212, of August 31, 1942, fixes the conditions of employment of private-school teachers. As already indicated, it classifies the teaching staff as instructors, assistant instructors, and teachers, and fixes the grades and salaries of each. Further, it specifies the principles of appointment, promotion, discipline, leaves of absence, and compensation upon dismissal. It fixes the teaching load for primary-school teachers at no less than thirty hours a week, for teachers of the upper primary or equivalent secondary classes at no less than twenty-four hours a week, and for upper secondary classes (*deuxième, première, philosophie et mathématique*) at no less than eighteen hours. It also specifies the cost-of-living allowances for teachers in private schools. These changed progressively with the rise of prices during the war.

871 Perhaps the most important educational legislation in Lebanon of recent years is Decree No. 7,000, of October 1, 1946, issued only a few days before the last member of the American Council Commission left Lebanon. It is concerned with the opening, running, and supervision of private schools and is based on a previous similar decree (No. 7,962, of May 1, 1931), though with a number of significant new features.

This decree defines a private school as any educational institution founded or administered by an individual, a society, or a mission. To open a school, an official permit must be secured in the form of a decree which is issued upon the recommendation of the Minister of National Education and Fine Arts. Only persons who have attained the age of eighteen and who hold an official school certificate may teach in a private school at any level. Only persons who hold at least the *Brevet Primaire Supérieur* or its equivalent may direct a primary school; and only those who hold at least a complete *baccalauréat* or a higher degree may direct a secondary school. These heads of schools must be at least twenty-one years of age.

An individual or a recognized association wishing to open a school must submit the name of the proposed principal, his qualifications, his

62: L. L. O. S-5 (1947-1950) 1950 Ml Middle East
Israel MFI
Lebanon MEI

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The members are for the most part employed persons not included in the General Federation of Jewish Labor ; 20 per cent. are independent workers.

The People's Sick Fund is designe to cover unorganised employees, independent workers and other person not covered by the Workers' Sick Fund. It is open to anyone wh applies and has no membership qualification other than a monthly arnings limit of £I.80 to £I.100 to restrict the scheme to those mostin need of protection. Families are covered as a unit on payment f a fee representing 3 to 4 per cent. of monthly income. The yearly bdget of the fund is approximately £I.100,000, of which about 95 per cnt. is covered by members' contributions. The fund now operatin i more than 40 settlements, being especially active in rural areas. Its rvices in the various settlements include practitioner care, pharmacie issuing free medicines, and facilities for minor operations and labostory examinations. It also provides hospitalisation and convalescet care for its members and has a sanatorium of its own.

An insurance fund for temporar workers was established in 1949 and now insures about 20,000 temporary, seasonal and probational workers for supplementary benefits. Financed from employee and employer contributions, this fund pvides cash sickness and vacation benefits and operates a provident fund. In addition, a building workers' insurance fund, established in 1945,now provides 18,000 construction workers with cash sickness and accident benefits, paid holidays, housing loans, a provident fund and life insrance.

A considerable number of provient funds are also maintained by private undertakings in Israel, mostof these being on a contributory basis. The majority of the funds epresent accumulated endowment schemes, but a few are pure insuranc or pension plans. Most of them also provide dismissal indemnities when employment is terminated before the age of retirement.

LEBANON

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Legislation related to social secrity in the Lebanon includes decrees fixing individual employer liability for industrial accident compensation and family allowances and a labor code which requires the employer to grant sick and maternity leaveand dismissal indemnities.

Workmen's Compensation

Legislative Decree No. 25 of May 1943 requires specified private and public undertakings in Leanon, including lumbering, inland

62: L. L. O. S-5 (1947-1950) 1950 Mi Middle East
Lebanon ME1

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transport, archaeological operations and all undertakings using power-driven machinery or explosives, to pay compensation to their employees injured in occupational accidents. Insurance of this liability with a commercial insurer is optional. The employer must pay the cost of medical, surgical, pharmaceutical and hospital treatment, of transport, and of prosthetic appliances.

A cash benefit equal to 75 per cent. of wages is payable by the employer in case of temporary incapacity. This is to begin after a three-day waiting period and to continue till recovery or certification of permanent incapacity. In the latter event and where incapacity is total, a lump sum equalling 1,800 days of wages below specified maxima is payable if the victim is under 35 years of age, 1,500 days of wages if between 35 and 50, and 1,200 days of wages if over 50. Reduced payments are provided in case of permanent partial incapacity, in accordance with a schedule in the law. A lump sum equal to 1,000 days of wages is shared among surviving dependants according to prescribed rules, in case of death, and a funeral grant of up to £L.100[1] is also payable. Survivors of foreign workers receive compensation only if resident in Lebanon at the time of the accident, except that this restriction does not apply to nationals of countries granting equality of treatment to Lebanese nationals.

Sickness and Dismissal Indemnities

The Labour Code adopted by the Lebanese Parliament on 23 September 1946 requires industrial and commercial employers to grant sick pay in case of non-occupational illness, as follows: employees with 2 to 4 years of service, 1 month at full pay and 1 month at half pay; with 4 to 6 years of service, 1½ months at full pay and 1½ months at half pay; with 6 to 10 years of service, 2 months at full pay and 2 months at half pay; and with 10 years or more of service, 2½ months at full pay and 2½ months at half pay. Such employers must also grant maternity leave to their female employees, for 40 days partly before and partly after confinement, at full pay.

Employees dismissed for reasons other than misconduct are entitled to a dismissal indemnity equal normally to one month's pay for each year of service, up to a maximum of 20 months of pay; where the service is less than one year, the indemnity equals half a month's pay. Voluntary retirement with an indemnity is permitted at the age of 60 or after 25 years' service in one establishment. An indemnity is also payable to a woman leaving employment on marriage and to the heirs of a

[1] The par value of the Lebanese pound is 0.457 of a U.S. dollar.

62: I. L. O. S-5 (1947-1950) 1950 MI Middle East
Lebanon ME}
Saudi Arabia MI}
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worker who dies. Indemnities are paid in instalments on terms laid down by arbitration boards with reference to the status of the employee and employer.

Family Allowances

Legislative Decree No. 29 of 12 May 1943 requires each industrial and commercial employer in Lebanon to pay a family allowance to all family heads whom he employs. The amount of the allowance increases with the number of dependants. It rises from £L. 10 monthly for one child up to £L. 35 for five or more children; £L. 10 are also payable in respect of a wife living at home.

SAUDI ARABIA

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There is no available information indicating the existence of social security legislation in Saudi Arabia.

SYRIA

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The Syrian Labour Code in Act No. 279 of 11 June 1946 establishes the liability of each employer to pay compensation in the event of employment injury, non-occupational sickness, confinement or dismissal.

Employment Injury

The employment injury provisions apply in general to all employees except agricultural workers not operating modern agricultural machinery; however, cash benefits are 50 per cent. smaller for employees of handicraft undertakings with four to nine workers and 80 per cent. smaller where such undertakings have only one to three workers. Compensation is payable by the employer for traumatic injuries and occupational diseases, the latter being defined in Order No. 2,459 of 22 November 1948. Insurance of his risk is optional for the employer.

Employers in Syria must provide first aid and pay all medical, pharmaceutical, hospital and transport expenses, except that a public hospital within 50 kilometres, if any, must provide victims with free hospital treatment. When incapacity lasts for more than three days, employers must also pay a cash temporary incapacity benefit equal to 50 per cent. of wages below specified maxima. This is payable from the date of the accident until recovery, death or certification of permanent incapacity.

vention of tuberculosis, assists in the hospitalization of needy cases and administers a sanatorium at Dahr el Baidek. The Armenian Charitable Society furnishes treatment facilities for the care of Armenian patients. The Young Women's Moslem Association was established for the promotion of education among Moslem women, and since 1948 it has maintained a training school for nurses in Beirut. The Mouassat Society, an organization of Moslem women interested in infant welfare work, finances a small maternity hospital in Beirut.

The medical schools of the American University of Beirut and the Université Saint-Joseph have affiliated medical care and preventive services. The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in America supports a medical mission in Tripoli. The Near East Foundation directed a general health and rural improvement program in the Anjar villages in the Bekaa valley from 1944 to 1951, when it retired from Lebanon. It also instituted an extensive malaria control project in the Anjar and the Amsilk swamp areas. The Karagheusian Corporation, in America, contributed substantially to the work of the Foundation in the Armenian villages, and provides for the maintenance of child welfare centers in Anjar and Beirut.

The Lebanese Public Health Association is prominent among the professional societies. It is concerned with the promotion of public health in Lebanon and with the dissemination of educational materials. The Lebanese Medical Association is likewise active, and publishes a journal for its membership.

Two industries maintain medical facilities for the benefit of their employees—the Iraq Petroleum Company, at Tripoli, and the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company, at Beirut and Sidon. The Iraq Petroleum Company also subsidizes a medical insurance scheme for the families of its employees. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees carries on public health programs in the various camps

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SYRIA MD1

refinery is running on imported crude oil at about ¼ quarter of its capacity. There exists an IPC refinery at Tripoli which treats over half a million tons of crude a year (10,000 barrels a day) for the needs of Syria and Lebanon which it cannot fully supply; accordingly, its extension has been under discussion. Construction has begun on a refinery for 7,000 barrels a day at Sidon for Mediterranean Refining Company (California Texas Corporation), but while the Syrian market is still too small to justify the erection of a refinery, the Syrian Government nevertheless wishes to have a refinery established in the country to meet its own needs, and negotiations to this end with IPC and with the World Bank have recently taken place.[1]

Under the Barcelona Convention of 1926 dues are not leviable on transit trade, but the two countries draw, under their agreements with the pipeline companies, a sizable revenue from petroleum apart from the indirect benefits caused by employment by the oil companies. At the time of writing the agreements between the two Governments and the two oil companies are under review but no precise details are available, though the two Governments began by demanding that they should receive jointly a half share of the saving which the companies made by using the pipelines instead of having to transport their oil to the Mediterranean by tanker. Even if this principle were accepted, the difficulty would remain of establishing a satisfactory formula for calculating the saving. The agreement with Tapline is believed to provide Lebanon with about £L4½ million a year. The oil companies bring foreign exchange into Syria and the Lebanon and the currency is surrendered to the Governments at the official rate but can thereafter be resold at the rate applying to the free market which may bring to the Governments a profit of a third. The problem is that Syria and Lebanon are, in fact, not oil-producing states and, although their needs and desires for foreign money may be as great as Iraq's, it is difficult to see how they can expect to obtain from petroleum the same revenue as do the states where it is produced.

Communications

In general, roads provide a cheaper and quicker means of transport than the railways which are mostly running at a loss. The railway lines are:

The Hejaz Railway. A narrow (3 ft 5 in.) gauge track runs from the centre of Damascus to Deraa (88 miles) and thence

[1] See *Petroleum Press Service*, February 1953, p. 53.

T: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

the distinction between "unemployed" and "retired" among the older men is not at all easy to make. It depends, essentially, on the attitudes of the men himself and his family. In the second place, among the younger men especially, the distinction between "village workers" and "unemployed" is not entirely clear. The "village workers" mostly are either hired farm hands or assistants to "village specialists." In most cases, it was not easy to tell, however, how steady their work was. In the third place, it is quite possible that some of those in the "city worker" class are actually unemployed most of the time.

The class of "farmer" (*fillaḥ*) is very distinct. A farmer is a man who not only owns his own property, but works it for the support of himself and his family. Most of the farmers in Murṣīf also tend the agricultural property of fellow villagers who are not farmers. This is done, apparently, largely on a cash basis. The standard fee for a day's plowing, for example, was reported to be ten Lebanese pounds (about two dollars and a half).

It was said, "Before (i.e., before emigration and city jobs), we were all *fillaḥīn*." Now there are only ten farmers, and all of them except one are middle aged or elderly men. The exception is a young man of twenty-eight, a member of lineage XX, who evidently intends to make farming a career. He has made a realistic appraisal of the very difficult agricultural conditions in the village itself, and has acted accordingly with considerable initiative. Shortly after World War II he bought some unused land on the southern rim of Wadi Ba'ishta, just outside the Qurṭi, close to the present terminus of the irrigation channel which brings water from the River Ibrahim (see Figs. 1 and 2). Considerable blasting with dynamite was necessary in the preparation of terraces, and earth had to be transported to the site. But with irrigation water he has already been able to develop a very impressive banana orchard which presumably has brought quick profits (cf. Keen, 1946, p. 82), and he said that he plans to expand in the near future. It is significant that he had to go outside the village territory to accomplish his ends.

The nature of the "village specialist" class can better be understood when it is broken down into subcategories, with the number of persons involved in each, as follows:

Mayor	1	Fisherman	3
Taxi driver	1	Surveyor	1
Barber	2	Mason	2
Priest	1	Carpenter	2
Storekeeper	8	Teacher	4

Part-time jobs held by various men most of whom are included in the tabulation above are: storekeeper (the priest), two bakery owners (a teacher and a farmer), and a crop guard (*naṭaw*, traditionally a very important position). Two men, still living, were once shoemakers, and another was a muleteer part-time. In the population as a whole there are at least six former teachers and five former muleteers

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

"The Americans" as the villagers call their relatives in the United States, are concentrated in and around Vicksburg, Mississippi. There are families, also, in Shreveport, Louisiana, and in Marshall, Texas. There are a few in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, and Australia. One returnee, in particular, spoke English with a noticeable Southern accent. The remarks of another returnee indicated an identification with the Southern whites as a caste as against the Negroes.

LAND OWNERSHIP, UNEMPLOYMENT, RETIREMENT

Marqus Jurjs al-Khouri, the founder of the village, divided the village territory into three equal sections, one for each of his sons. He did this by, as it were, trisecting the triangle at its apex (the eastern extremity of the village, now occupied by the houses). The three triangular strips running down to the sea which were thus created provided the land-property bases for the maximal lineages. To some extent, the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects this division, with Maximal Lineage B concentrated in the north, C in the south, and A in between (see Fig. 5). The corresponding pattern for the village territory as a whole, however, has long since been obliterated by sales and extra-maximal lineage inheritance. The land-holdings are not clustered by minimal lineage either. Most of the land in the village is held in individual private ownership (*mulk*), and nearly all the adult males own property in this manner. Along the shore there are some plots which are *mushaa* (communal) land to the maximal lineages. "They were never divided because they are worthless; the salt kills the plants." There are four large sections of *waqf* (land which has been put in trust). These will be discussed in the next chapter.

From what has been said before in this chapter, it can be deduced that most of the men do not derive all or even most of their income from the land they own. However, as far as could be determined, each landowner, even though he may be a white-collar worker in the city, maintains his plots (*qaa'a*), which are usually widely scattered over the village territory, with the assistance of a resident farmer or village worker.

Many of those of whom it was said "he does nothing" (unemployed) or "he no longer works" (retired) actually derive some income by this means, but probably very few in the village could entirely support themselves and their families without money from other sources as well. The young unemployed, as has been mentioned, are from a superficial perspective difficult to distinguish from village workers if they are unmarried and living with members of their family. There are a few cases of heads of households who clearly depend on the help of other members of the family in supporting it. We can say that a man has retired when he does nothing and when no hopes of employment are held. A large number of the men in their sixties and all those over seventy were in this class. Nevertheless, most of these retired men continued to putter about their terraces, pretty actively in some cases.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

at a time can be placed. The whole thing is inserted into the oven, and the disks are shaken off the board. After about a minute in the oven, bubbles appear on the surface of a disk, and then the whole thing puffs up until it looks like a large pin-cushion. It remains in the oven about a minute more and then is removed. As soon as a loaf begins to cool, it collapses into disk form again, only now the disk consists of two layers except around the edge.

In each bakery, the baker is the only hired professional. In the bakery in the *hara*, the owner provides the baker with bread for his own consumption and pays him the equivalent of about a dollar and a half a day. In the other bakery, the baker and owner split the bread receipts (see below) of the bakery fifty-fifty, but there is no monetary transaction between them.

Every woman who uses the bakery sets aside about seven per cent of the loaves she makes, and these she "leaves for the *furn*." The owners' own bread supply is thus supplied them, and they are free to sell or otherwise dispose of what they do not eat. The Mizeli women, mentioned earlier, work in the *furn* on the same basis as the other women, but they regularly prepare more bread than they need themselves and sell the surplus at about twenty-five piasters (about seven cents) per *rațl* (the *rațl* is a traditional weight measure equivalent to about 1 lb. 3 oz.).

OLIVE PRESSES

The presses are privately owned but are available to all, the owner receiving a certain proportion of the oil which each individual presses. As social institutions they are, of course, far less important than the stores and bakeries, for they are used for only a few weeks a year, during the olive harvest. However, as has already been suggested, the olive harvest is a period of intense cooperative activity in which social interaction, spurred on by hopes of a profitable crop, is very lively. The presses play an essential economic part in the proceedings and draw large groups of men together.

Most of the presses in the village are modern, machine-driven apparatuses requiring a minimum of manual assistance. There is, however, one old-style one in the stable of a house in the al-Wasṭiyya section. Stone bins hold the fresh olives. There is a heavy wooden beam one end of which is attached, hinge-fashion, to the ceiling, the other end weighted with three large stones (called "balls"). A batch of fresh olives is placed under the weighted end of the beam which is raised by block and tackle and then dropped on the olives. The purpose is to reduce the olives to a mush which can then easily be transferred to a circular stone basin with a drain. On it a large, thick stone wheel is set upright. The wheel is secured to a revolving beam one end of which is set into the ceiling. A subsidiary beam projects at right angles to the revolving one. To this a donkey is harnessed, and by walking around and around the basin, the donkey turns the wheel over the olive mush, pressing out the oil. This crude process involves considerable waste, hence

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A. Adjustment for Coverage

As noted above, Customs figures of imports and exports do not include personal effects of travelers and goods of nominal value. It has not been thought necessary to make any adjustment to account for these relatively small items. However, adjustments have been made with respect to the following:-

a. Re-exports: Re-exports in Lebanon are of two types: (i) those which have paid a duty upon entering the country and have thus been recorded as imports, the duty being refunded when the goods are re-exported (cf. Table 1) and (ii) those which have been re-exported directly from the Customs warehouses (cf. Table 2). For balance of payments purposes only re-exports in (i) have been added to the Customs export figures since they already appear as imports and it has been impossible to isolate them; those in (ii) have been considered as part of the transit trade.

b. Gold: Gold movements (bullion and coins) are included in Customs statistics and are often recorded at a fictitious value; as there is no import duty on gold, the government does little to enforce proper declaration and recording. In dealing with this problem, the value of gold has been deducted from foreign trade figures, its quantity by weight determined, and revaluation made on the basis of quarterly free market gold prices. The new estimated values have then been set aside for inclusion in the final tabulation under non-monetary gold movements.

c. It was discovered that foreign banknotes imported have been inadvertently recorded as merchandise imports. Their value in 1951 amounted to over 7.3 million Lebanese pounds (cf. Table 3). This item has been isolated from the merchandise figures for inclusion under capital movements.

d. Imported motion picture films are also included in merchandise imports, being given a fictitious value. As most films are not purchased, but enter the country on a rental basis, this item has also been isolated and excluded from trade returns (cf. Table 4).

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e. Concessions: The Lebanese Government has entered into special agreements with some foreign concessionnaires thereby allowing them to import certain commodities and

equipment free of duty. These companies may be conveniently divided into two categories according to their main center of interest and operation. 437 471

i. Some companies, like the Beirut Port Company, center their activities in Lebanon.

ii. Others are branches of foreign companies undertaking particular functions which are only a part of major operations abroad. Their local concession gives them some privileges of extraterritoriality; their activities are considered as taking place outside the country, as it were, in a free zone. The Iraq Petroleum Company is in this category.

It is probably because of this distinction between the two types of companies that their imports are recorded differently at the Customs. Whereas imports of companies in (i) are combined with general imports, imports of companies in (ii) are recorded separately. For balance of payments purposes, such a distinction is meaningful: imports by foreign companies in (ii) should be excluded as they do not constitute a drain on the country's foreign exchange resources. On the other hand, imports of companies under (i) should be assimilated to private imports, as these companies, although foreign, pay for their purchases abroad from local earnings. 437[2] 481 439

f. Imports of foreign embassies and missions, and imports of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, whether destined for consumption in Lebanon or for shipment to other countries, have also been left separate for the same reasons as for imports of concessionnaries under (ii) above.

g. It would have been good to isolate also government imports and to include them under "government expenditures". However, this proved an impossible task as ordinary government imports are usually made through private dealers and are entered as private imports in the Customs records. On the other hand, government imports of military equipment are not recorded at all at the Customs, and no estimates of their value could be obtained.

Supplementary adjustments have also been made to account for "unrecorded transactions". This expression is here used to

3. **Foreign Companies**

*457 Under this heading are included only the local disbursements of foreign companies operating in Lebanon whose 'center of interest' is abroad. These disbursements cover all expenditures for operation (salaries, rent, taxes etc.) maintenance and expansion, net of the royalties, if any, paid to the government. These royalties have already been accounted for (cf. p. 39).

[470] The Iraq Petroleum Company (IPC) and Tapline are the two main companies involved. Both are concessionaires and run pipelines through the Lebanese territory to the Mediterranean. It has been impossible to obtain information from either of them regarding their local expenditures. However, it is known that IPC has been importing very little capital for its operations in Lebanon. Most of its local currency needs have been covered by local sales of oil from its Tripoli Refinery. These sales are considered imports into Lebanon and are recorded as such at the Customs; they totalled LL. 10.1 million in 1951 and LL. 9.2 million in 1952 (cf. Table 8). In the absence of better estimates, these figures have been taken as representing IPC's total local expenditures.

Tapline is reported to have contributed directly or indirectly to the Lebanese economy, about LL. 17.6 million in 1952; of these LL. 4.5 million represented salaries and wages of Lebanese employees; the balance served to pay the part of the foreign personnel's salary needed for expenses in Lebanon, other operational and maintenance expenditures and royalties to the government. If the latter were excluded, other local expenditures of the company would be about LL. 14 million. The same amount can be assumed for 1951.

It has not been possible to estimate even approximately the expenditure of the other similar, but relatively less important companies, such as Radio Orient.

4. **Other Items**

a. On p. 8 it was said that most foreign films enter the country on a rental basis; an attempt was made by interviews to discover with local distributors and cinema owners total rents paid. The attempt had to be given up for lack of cooperation. It was, therefore, decided to disregard this item, and to assume that it is offset by the local expendi-

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)953 MI2 Lebanon MI2

Physical Description of Area.

361 The coastal plain in the Kasmie area is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea on the west and
182 the Lebanon range on the east. The climate is Mediterranean with dry summers, nearly all of the
184 rain falling between October and May. The soil is chiefly a heavy clay. Much of this coastal area
941 is suitable for irrigation. While some of the land is rocky and in the United States would not be used for farm land, nearly all land capable of cultivation has been brought under the plow. The steeper slopes are protected from serious erosion by rock wall terraces. The climate is favorable to the growth of temperate and sub-tropical crops. Citrus fruits, bananas, vegetables, and cereal crops are found in abundance.

361 The major markets for the products of the five villages are Beirut and Saida. All of the project
491 and coastal villages are linked to the Tyre-Saida-Beirut main coastal road by gravel surfaced roads
487 except for Loubya and Sakiehiyah, which are dependent upon trails. In no case is the dirt road more
494 than two miles from the main road. The traffic on this road is heavy and trucks and buses are frequently available for taking products to Saida or Beirut. These towns are 12 and 42 miles respectively distant from 'Adloun, the most southerly village.

Village Government.

622 The five villages included in the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project have a similar form of
623 local government. Each village has a mukhtar (mayor) who is elected in a more-or-less democratic
● 471 manner. In each village there is also a board of aldermen or village elders. This board is also
655 elected to office and is common of from two to six members. The mukhtar is generally the largest landowner or operator and one of the wealthiest men in the village. The aldermen as well are among the more well-to-do villagers. However, the concept of wealth is relative. Often the holdings owned by local villagers may be large in comparison with others in their own community, but small indeed when compared to the size of holdings in the village controlled by persons living outside the village. The common fellah does not enjoy representation by his peers in this area whether he has such aspirations is not known.

A number of the villages are wholly dependent upon one or several large non-resident land-owners, who own much of the agricultural lands farmed by the villagers. In these cases, the mukhtar acts only after consultation with these large landowners. 491 622

The mukhtar and the board of aldermen are elected for a period of four years. In case of the death or resignation of the mukhtar, the administrative officer of the Saida district (the qaimmaqam) is authorized to appoint one of the aldermen to fill the vacant position. A new election must be held within two months after the vacancy occurs. 622 623

The powers and obligations of the mukhtar include: acting as the representative of the government in the village; registering the newly born and deceased; apportioning the land tax among the holders of land; and, where land registration has not been completed, issuing certificates showing title to land for purposes of sale or mortgage. It is interesting to note, in conformance with Lebanese law, that when the police come to arrest a villager they are not permitted to enter a house unless accompanied by the mukhtar. 622 694

Table I has been prepared for the convenience of technicians working in the area. It shows the names of the mukhtars in the five affected villages as of September, 1952, and the number of persons on the board of aldermen. 622 623

These small villages have no income from taxes or property. What improvements the villagers desire must be achieved through mutual cooperation. This cooperation is reflected in their sharing the village threshing floor (beidar). In answer to the question, "What improvements have been financed (either in cash or in kind) by your village during the past five years?" none was reported. In the control area, the villagers in El-Ghaziyah and El-'Addousiyah contributed the maintenance of school buildings, and in En-Najjariyah voluntary village labor helped to build a new road from the dai'ah to the Saida-Beirut highway. 496

Where there are over two thousand inhabitants and a village income of over LL. 2,000 annual income, a municipality can be formed. The municipality takes care of locally financed projects such as street construction, water supply works, lighting, sanitation and sponsorship of public schools. Only in the control village of El-Ghaziyah does a municipality operate. As none of the five villages under discussion has the legal minimum of two thousand population, there are no municipalities in the demonstration area. 632

It was impossible to segregate the ownership and operation of the lands of the Kasmie Irrigation Project from other lands of the villages involved. The data presented, therefore, do not necessarily reflect conditions on the lands of that project. Since less than 1,000 hectares of the total of about 5,000 hectares in the eight villages covered in this survey are in the Irrigation Project it is unsafe to make assumptions regarding the latter from facts stated regarding the former. 423

Land holdings vary in size from an infinitesimal parcel of land of less than one dunum to a holding of 7,500 dunums. In the five villages a total of 482 separate parcels of land were reported (Table V). In many cases a single parcel is owned in common by a number of people who have an undivided share in that piece of land. This situation is usually due to inheritance. Common ownership by relatives results in reducing the actual size of holding that each particular household actually has to depend on for its livelihood. On the other hand, it results in a larger number of owners of land than the records show. The usual practice is to register the land in the name of the senior or major owner and then to list the other holders of undivided shares. In this study the information given was on the basis of the land registration records.

Although the total land area is owned by a large number of persons, the great majority of owners control a very small area of land, while a few individuals have considerable holdings. For these five villages, three out of 482 landowners hold 42 percent of the lands. It is also important to note that very small holdings predominate; 380 or nearly 80 percent of the 482 owners hold 25 dunums or less (6 acres) and account for only 18 percent of the total area. Landownership information by villages is shown in Table VI. 423 471

The percentage of the total land area falling in each class interval has been computed for each village (Table VII). These data were computed by multiplying the mid-value of the class interval by the frequency to determine the area of land in each class. From this figure the percentage of the village land in each class interval was derived. In these five villages, Saksakiyah has the lowest concentration of holdings over 200 dunums, 19 percent, and En-Naariyah the highest with 93 percent of the land being held in one large parcel.

Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 ME1 Lebanon ME1

TABLE V

Land Ownership Distribution

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(Five Kasmie Rural Improvement Project Villages)

Size of Holdings	Frequency	Mid-Value	Weight Mid-Value Times Frequency	Percentage of Area in each Class
Dunums	*Number*	*Dunums*	*Dunums*	*Percent*
25 and less	380	12.50	4750	18
26 — 50	43	37.50	1612	6
51 — 1000	38	75.00	2850	11
101 — 200	7	150.00	1050	4
201 — 500	10	350.00	3500	13
501 — 1000	2	750.00	1500	6
1001 and over	3	Actual land area used	11300[1]	42
Total	482	(Weighted Average) 55	26562	100

(1) This is the actual figure from the records and is not a statistical approximation as are the other figures in this column. The three largest holdings are 7,500 held by 'Adil 'Useiran of Saida, 2,500 by Mustafa Nahhuli of Beirut, and 1,300 by Emile Farran of Saida.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

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TABLE VI

Land Ownership Distribution

By Village

(Five Kasmie Rural Improvement Project Villages)

Name of De'ah	25 Dunums and Less	26-50 Dunums	51-100 Dunums	101-200 Dunums	200-500 Dunums	501-1000 Dunums	1001 Dunums and Over
	No.	*No.*	*No.*	*No.*	*No.*	*No.*	*No.*
Sarafand	300	0	2	0	2	2	0
Saksakiyah	25	14	9	0	1	0	0
Loubya	10	5	7	2	2	0	0
En-Nsaryah	15	4	0	0	0	0	1[1]
'Adloun	30	20	20	5	3	0	2[2]
Total	380	43	38	7	10	2	3

(1) This holding is 7,500 dunums, largely in this one village.
(2) These two holdings include 3,800 dunums.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEl Lebanon MEl

TABLE VII

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PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL LAND AREA OF EACH OF FIVE PROJECT VILLAGES AS DIVIDED IN CLASS INTERVAL

(KAIMIE RURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT)

NAME OF DEI'AH	25 DUNUMS AND LESS	26-50 DUNUMS	51-100 DUNUMS	101-200 DUNUMS	201-500 DUNUMS	501-1000 DUNUMS	1001 DUNUMS AND OVER	TOTAL
	Percent	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*	*Percent*
Sarafand	61	0	2	0	12	25	0	100
Saksakiyah	17	28	36	0	19	0	0	100
Loubya	7	10	29	16	38	0	0	100
En-Nsariyah	5	2	0	0	0	0	93	100
'Adloun	4	8	17	8	20	0	43	100
(Weighted) TOTAL	19	6	11	4	13	5	42	100

9: Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

Land Operation

Hasty conclusions should not be drawn from the tables on land ownership, or the fact that three persons own 42 percent of the land area in the project villages and reside in the cities of Beirut and Saida. A condemnation of the system as representative of the absentee-owner «Feudal Lord» pattern would not be completely justified. Under the absentee-ownership system typical in the Middle East, the large landowner resides in the city or abroad and the land is rented on a share basis. The owner provides virtually no capital or supervision.

In order to render valid conclusions about the area under discussion it is essential that not only the ownership pattern but also the system of operation be examined. Although the three largest landowners, owning 11,300 dunums of land in the five project villages, reside in Beirut or Saida, they directly operate 82 percent of their lands or all but 2,000 dunums. It can be concluded that these examples are not actually ones of absenteeism. Many others of the large landowners who reside outside the villages are within an hour's drive from their lands and take a personal interest in them. Owners often directly operate a considerable portion of their holdings by employing labor from the nearby villages. Therefore their lands often are not let on a share-crop basis. The landlord invests his energy, capital, and managerial ability in the land, and the work of field laborers is closely supervised. In light of the meager credit facilities in Lebanon, the landowner serves as a valuable source of investment capital.

From scattered interviews with peasants, it appears that they would consider 100 dunums of dry land or 20 to 30 dunums of irrigated land as a suitable farm unit. This might be considered as the «family-sized farm». Unfortunately, it was found impractical to obtain data on the ownership and operation of dry and irrigated land separately. It is therefore difficult to generalize about the ability of the existing holdings to support their predominantly agricultural population. It is, however, possible to conclude that few people own or operate holdings sufficient to secure them livelihood. In Sarafand where 150 dunums are irrigated, 350 persons operate farms of less than 25 dunums (6 acres). This is predominantly an area of dry farming and farmers work far less land than is needed for actual subsistence. Completion of the Kasmie Irrigation project will materially increase the irrigated area in this kharaj.

15: Tannous N,G-5 (no date) 1951 M1 Middle East M1
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most in their minds. Furthermore, they put the new land under cultivation through an understanding with the local tribal chief. He guarantees them "protection" of the crop in return for a portion of the produce. Nowhere does the peasant figure in this deal other than as a laborer or a sharecropper. Nowhere do we see signs of the emergence of that badly needed class of small, independent, cultivator-owners.

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The situation in Lebanon presents a glaring and enlightening contrast between two systems. In the mountain area, the heart of the country, a strong tradition of private ownership by small independent farmers prevails. In most cases, the family farm averages about 10 acres. The soil is scanty and the terrain difficult; but the people have their hearts in what they own. They have blasted the rocks and built extensive terraces to prevent erosion; they have made the mountainsides produce abundantly of olives, grapes, figs, and apples. On the narrow coastal strips they have grown luxuriant orchards of citrus and bananas. More significant than all of this, we observe that the village folk in this area enjoy much higher standards of living. This is clearly manifested in their diet, health, housing, and a literacy rate of some 90 percent.

True, they have other sources of income, especially from emigrants residing abroad. Yet the independence they have gained through ownership of the land has endowed them with the initiative and the possibility to seek these other sources and better their living conditions. Unlike the sharecropper, who is doomed to his status, the small independent owner is free to move up the ladder.

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Our argument in this respect gains support from the situation that prevails in the rest of Lebanon — in the Akkar plain of the north, in the Bika valley of the interior, and in the mountain area of the south. Here we witness the predominance of the same feudal-absentee-sharecropping system that exists in Syria and Iraq. Here also we witness the same conditions of deprivation, lack of development and low levels of living. Our argument gains further support from a consideration of living conditions in those village communities of northern Iraq, of some sections of Syria and Jordan, where the people are independent and own

25: Wanner S-5 (no date) 1948 MI Middle East
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crease the productivity per acre and also to expand the cultivated area per head.

In the Lebanon, however, with its steep hillsides under intensive cultivation, there is a definite pressure on land resources. The limits of intensification appear to have been reached, and a large part of the village population supplements its income by work in the towns, and by remittances from abroad. If the land tenure system in Syria were less oppressive, room might be found on the land for settlers from the Lebanon, but as things are, the standard of living and status of the Lebanese peasant is higher; compared with the Syrian peasant he is a free man, and there is no inducement to leave the Mountain for the underpopulated plains of central or northern Syria.

LAND TENURE

Corresponding to these different methods of farming, there are different systems of land tenure.[1] In Lebanon individual small ownership is well established, and the pattern of village life, with its broad class of small peasant owners, few large farmers, and a growing class of landless labourers, resembles that of Europe.

In Syria, the greater part of the land is owned by city notables—the ruling class—and cultivated by small share-tenants. Though individual ownership exists in some districts, for instance the Beqa Valley and the oasis of Damascus, the most usual form of landownership in the plain districts of Syria is share-tenancy. The villagers bring their corn to the village threshing floor, and when the grain is threshed the landlord or his agent stands by and takes one-half of the grain. Towards this result he has contributed nothing; all labour, equipment, seeds, livestock, have been supplied by the tenant, so that his share is rent purely for the use of the land. The landlord is almost always an absentee, a city notable who only visits the land to collect rent.

The share taken by the landlord varies from district to district, and also varies with the condition of the land. According to an inquiry made by the French authorities, the usual division of the crop for non-irrigated cereals is 40–50 per cent to the

[1] The information which follows is mainly based on A. Latron, *La Vie rurale en Syrie et au Liban* (Beirut, L'Institut Français de Damas, 1936). The brilliant and profound study by Jacques Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, is an indispensable authority which unfortunately was received only after going to press.

25: Warriner S-5 (x da/c) 1948 M1 Middle East
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S landlord, and 60–50 per cent to the peasant. The landlord's
427 only charge is taxes. If, as in some districts, the tenant provides labour only, and the landowner bears other costs, the landowner's share may rie to 80 per cent. For irrigated cereals, the landlord's duty is to provide water, and his share of the crop is then 60 per cent. Other irrigated crops are usually farmed by the landowner direct

The tenant has no protection against eviction because these tenancy agreements have no legal basis, and are not covered by the provisions of the Ottoman Land Code. The tenant may be evicted by the lardlord without notice, and no compensation is paid him for improvements made or for losses incurred when he is evicted.

S How much of the land is owned by large proprietors in Syria
471 is not exactly known. Roughly one-half of the grain sold in the market comes from large proprietors, and it is believed that about 60 per cent of the land is owned by them. In northern Syria, big landowners own 70–80 per cent of the land, and in the Damascus region 60–75 per cent. In the district of Hama, out of 114 villages, 110 belong to landlords, and 4 landowners between them own 86 villages. Generally there is a great desire on the part of the peasants for individual ownership, but it is only where there is some form of intensive cultivation that it can be successfully maintained. In the village of Kesruwan, for example, banana growing has brought prosperity to the peasants and enabled them to purchase land.

S Thus the custom of share-cropping reflects the instability of
471 grain growing in aril climates with uncertain rainfall and great
427 variations in yields. It is peasant indebtedness which supports
426 the large landowners. Two bad harvests in succession will mean that the peasants become so much indebted that they will actually reduce the area sown for lack of seed, and will therefore be obliged to sell to a money-lender or city merchant. The majority of the big Christian merchants in the town have become rural landowners in this way, particularly in Latakia and round Homs and Hama. In the Syrian plain districts, entire villages have passed into the hands of merchants through indebtedness.

S Most of these large landowners are city families, who take no
L interest whatsoever in actual methods of cultivation. Some,

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25: Warriner S-5 no date 1948 MI Middle East
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probably few, of the estates are the properties of old, wealthy families of Ottoman times, which still exist in Lebanon, such as the lands belonging to the families of Arslan, Jumblatt, Chehab, Khazen, but many of these have been broken up by the Moslem laws of inheritance. Other estates have originated from direct grants made by Turkish Sultans to influential politicians, as for example the two very large estates in the Beqa and the Litani valley. Others too were formed at the time of the general registration of property undertaken by the Ottoman Government when chiefs of tribes or villages registered tribal land in their names as their private property. Uncertainty about legal title to land gives the educated classes frequent opportunity for ousting peasant owners, and whole villages have come into the possession of rival groups of city notables, as a result of litigation among the villagers who have sought their assistance in establishing their title.

While the land-tenure system is thus a result of peasant poverty, it also perpetuates poverty by standing in the way of any long-term investment. The high percentage of fallow in Syria suggests a great waste of land resources, and there could certainly be some improvement in yields, even in dry land farming, if green crops were introduced more generally into the rotation. But the share-cropper has little incentive to improve the fertility of the land, since he has no certainty of tenure, and since the landlord will take 50 per cent of any increase. Since the landlords are not as a rule directly interested in farming, they do not themselves undertake long-term improvements in the land.

Three case studies illustrate the ways in which the land-tenure system hinders advance.[1]

One study relates to the large estate of Misherfe, near Homs in central Syria. This is 24,000 acres in extent and includes five villages, with 2,500 inhabitants. It is very extensively cultivated, only one-third of the area, 8,000 acres, being cropped each year. The land is divided into three parts, one with wheat, barley or *qatani* (mixed grain), one ploughed but not sown, and one left fallow. A small area, 200 acres only, is irrigated, though water supplies are sufficient to irrigate much larger areas.

[1] These studies, which were prepared for the M.E.S.C., are not at present available in print.

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LAND TENURE

Of the total 160 families in the village, 100 own some land and 60 own no land. The peasant owners are divided as follows

1. Rich farmers, owning about 10 hectares ..	5 families
2. Medium farmers, owning from 3 to 8 hectares	80 „
3. Poor farmers, owning between 1 and 3 hectares	15 „
4. Share-tenants	10 „
5. Labourers	50 „

As in Misherfe, two-thirds of the land is uncropped each year. The peasant divides the land into three plots, one sown with a crop, one ploughed but not sown, and one fallow. The wheat yield is slightly higher than the average for Syria, and amounts to 833 kilogrammes per hectare (6½ hundredweight per acre); barley yields are also slightly higher, being 8 hundredweight to the acre.

As a result of the more equal distribution of land, rather better yields, and more irrigation, the standard of living is better than in Misherfe. The first two classes, including half the families, can reach an adequate standard of consumption of food and other essentials, which is reckoned to be 25 kilogrammes of wheat per month, 1 kilogramme of meat per month (i.e. one sheep a year), 40 kilogrammes of olive oil and 20 kilogrammes of 'samn' per year, 4 tins of kerosene and a small quantity of clothing. The remainder of the village, about one-half of the total, that is the poor peasants, labourers, and share-tenants, are unable to reach this standard and live in great poverty, in one-roomed huts. The majority of these cultivators are heavily indebted, and the burden of indebtedness has doubled during the war years, because debts are usually incurred in gold.

The third study relates to Kfer Sa'ab in the north Lebanon, a hill village of small owner-cultivators. Of the total area of 200 hectares, about 30 are owned by the sheikh of the village. The total number of families is 150 (1,200 people), of which 120 own land and 30 are landless. A few peasant owners are rich with 5 hectares of land; 60 are medium owners with 1·5 to 2·5 hectares of land, and 25 own 0·5 to 1·5. Here cultivation is much more intensive than in Syria, and half the land is irrigated.

[Ashrafie, near Damascus -- Analyst]

29:Dunn S-4 (1952)1952 MI Middle East
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COTTON IN LEBANON

There are said to be five cotton gins in the country, all owned by textile mills. Several are saw gins, including one new one. 248

No one expects cotton acreage to climb appreciably, even though cotton normally returns more money to the farmer than other general crops, particularly in years of high prices. Government agricultural officials and technical assistance people agree that farmers are simply more interested in other crops and the country as a whole considers food crops more important.

The consensus is that the crop may expand by a few thousand bales if the price is favorable.

COTTON TEXTILES

The cotton spinning industry has about 70,000 spindles, of which 54,000 were operating in early 1952. The weaving industry reports 989 power looms, about 300 hand looms, and a number of small knitting mills operating at capacity. The spindles and most of the power looms are located in six mills which are privately owned by Lebanese industrialists. Most of these spinning mills were built in the late thirties. Some installed second-hand equipment though the majority bought new equipment from Germany, France, United Kingdom, and Japan. Spinning capacity has remained fairly stable during the past few years but knitting and weaving capacity has expanded considerably. 288 [471]

Until the dissolution of the customs union with Syria in 1950, the industries of the two countries were complementary. Lebanon sold from 50 to 60 per cent of its yarn to Syria and bought cloth. The imposition of duties by Syria and the expansion of the Syrian spinning industry virtually stopped this trade. The Lebanese now want to install more looms to balance their mills and consume the output of yarns. Expansion of the cotton textile industry is expected to be along these lines. [648 439]

At present the cotton textile industry is protected by import duties which average about 30 per cent ad valorem. There are complaints by some local industrialists that this is not adequate. Others maintain that relatively low wages and comparatively high machine efficiency enable them not only to operate successfully in the domestic market but also to compete to a limited extent on the foreign market. These two opinions, reported by the American Vice Consul in Beirut who has studied the industry, likely reflect the range of efficiency. [651]

Cotton yarn exports in 1951 totaled 680 tons in counts from 12s to 40s. This went primarily to Rumania, Pakistan, Cyprus, Aden, Egypt, and Belgium. In the same year the country exported 1,137 tons of cotton cloth, mostly coarse gray goods to Italy, Sudan, Iraq, and other neighboring countries. Imports of piece goods at 1,500 tons were almost equal to exports. Imports for the most part were dyed and printed goods in the specialty lines. 439

Normally Lebanese mills use about 80 per cent Syrian cotton and the balance local and Egyptian. The sources in 1951 were: Syrian, 60 per cent; Lebanese, 20 per cent; Egyptian, 10 per cent; and American, 10 per cent.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
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interfered with operations, which were resumed in 1947. The Company gave up its concession in August, 1951.[32]

In 1954 it was reported in Damascus that the annual internal consumption of petroleum was about 350,000 tons and that the Government was negotiating with Tapline and I.P.C. to build two refineries near Damascus, the cost of which was to be deducted from the Government's revenue from the two companies.

So far Syria has failed to discover oil in her territory, but the Tapline and I.P.C. pipelines have become important sources of income to the Government and the cause of constant friction between it and the oil companies. From 1947 to 1952 the increase in the income from pipelines was considerable, but the local agitation for higher royalties has been continuous and, in the spirit of the prevailing practice in the area, a demand for a 50 per cent profit-sharing arrangement is constantly being echoed.

Lebanon

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Lebanon signed an agreement with I.P.C. in 1931 under the same conditions as the other countries. The first pipeline ran through her territory for only seventeen miles. The northern branch of the line terminated at Tripoli where a farm of fifteen 93,000-barrel tanks was built. The loading fee at Tripoli was 2 pennies per ton.

In 1947 Lebanon signed the agreement with Tapline mentioned above, and that same year I.P.C. agreed to pay Lebanon transit fees amounting to £45,000 annually. A new agreement with I.P.C. was signed in 1952, raising the transit fees to about £450,000 annually. A new agreement was also signed with Tapline in 1952; it provided for a basic increase in transit fees, for $3 per ton up to 200,000 tons for petroleum products consumed in the country; an increase in the loading fee at Sidon; and annual contributions of $21,000 for the maintenance of the public highways used by the Company's vehicles and $17,000 to the municipalities of Beirut and Sidon in consideration of services.[33]

[32] A. H. Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon* (London, 1946), 155; Longrigg, *Oil in the Middle East*, 91-93.

[33] United Nations Department of Economic Affairs, *Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East 1951-52*, 59, henceforth cited U. N. *Review* or

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East
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The Chamber of Deputies refused to ratify the agreement and unanimously adopted a resolution demanding that the Government undertake immediate negotiations with all oil companies for the revision of oil agreements.[34] The companies refused to respond to the demands of the Government. At the end of December 1953 the Justice Ministry informed Premier Abdallah al Yafi that it was impossible to take any legal action against Tapline and I.P.C. to oblige them to discuss the question of an increase in royalties.

Attempts were made to present a united front of Syria, Lebanon and Jordan in their demands for higher royalties, but apparently with little success. At the end of May 1954 it was reported from Beirut that the Syrian and Lebanese Governments had agreed to send a joint note to the companies asking for an increase in the royalties, but up to the beginning of 1955 no new agreements had been signed.[35]

REFINERIES

In 1940 the French High Commissioner for Syria and Lebanon built an emergency refinery at Tripoli under an agreement with the Iraq Petroleum Company that he was to own and operate during the war emergency but that was to be turned over to I.P.C. at the end of hostilities for the crude oil which the Company was to supply. The transfer was made on January 1, 1946. Three years later the refinery's quarter of a million barrel capacity was doubled.[36]

A second refinery in Lebanon, the Mediterranean Refinery, was inaugurated in February 1955. It is located at Sidon, built at a cost of about $20 million, and has a capacity of about 6,000 barrels daily. It is owned by the Mediterranean Refining Company which is in turn owned by the partners of Aramco.

Summary and year; *Le Commerce du Levant*, May 21, 1952; *The New York Times*, May 16, 1952; Longrigg, *Oil in the Middle East*, 243; *The Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 19, 1952. Direct payments by I.P.C. and Tapline in 1952 amounted to £15,500,000; local expenditure by Tapline was £17,600,000 and by I.P.C. about £10,000,000. U. N., *Economic Developments, 1945 to 1954*, 168.

[34] The magnitude of the flow of oil through the terminals of I.P.C. and Tapline in Lebanon is illustrated by the 1953-54 figures. The total for both terminals in 1953 was 22,519,831 tons; in 1954, 22,905,708 tons. In the latter year Saudi Arabian oil amounted to 15,694,761 tons, and Iraqi oil to 7,210,947 tons. *Le Commerce du Levant-Beyrouth Express*, Mar. 14, 1955.

[35] *Mideast Mirror* (Cairo), 19, May 22, 1954.

[36] U. S. Senate, *International Petroleum Cartel*, 97.

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 MI Middle East MI
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This refinery was to supply Lebanon with the major part of its benzine and kerosene requirements.

EXPLORATION

In March 1938 I.P.C. was granted a license covering the area of Jebel Terbol; the outbreak of the war prevented any operations. In May 1947 the Lebanon Petroleum Company (a subsidiary of Petroleum Concessions Ltd.) began drilling operations, but it later abandoned its license. In January 1954 it was reported from Beirut that oil experts who had been prospecting for oil in Lebanon for a number of years had come to the conclusion that there was no possibility of finding rich oil deposits in the country.[37]

Conclusion

Although so far no oil has been discovered in the above four countries of the eastern Mediterranean, they are nevertheless part of the general Middle East oil pattern since they serve as the transport areas and terminal sites of the oil produced, or at least a considerable portion of it, in the rich oil-bearing countries of the Persian Gulf. Despite the fact that I.P.C. surrendered the exploration concessions which it held in Israel, Jordan, Lebanon and Syria, none of these states has given up hope of discovering oil in its territories. The most vigorous and determined efforts were made in Israel, and the latest reports are encouraging.

Israel also played an important role as the site of the second largest refinery in the Middle East, the Consolidated Refinery in Haifa, which not only met all the needs of local consumption and exported refined petroleum products in huge quantities, but which was also an important factor in the prosecution of World War II. The refinery at Tripoli was an emergency war measure and of very small capacity, but was helpful in meeting local demands. Lebanon is well on her way to supply home needs from the refineries on her territory.

Because all the four countries were mandates under the two Great Powers which had major interests in I.P.C., they received no payments for the rights and privileges granted the Company

[37] *MENA* (Cairo), 20, Jan. 30, 1954.

67: United Nations S-5 (1945-1954) 1955 ME Middle East ...
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Chapter 6

LEBANON

Developments to the End of the Second World War

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Lebanon's high economic level, compared with other Middle Eastern countries, is largely attributable to certain factors which helped to improve economic and social conditions, 1/ from early modern times. A relatively greater degree of security in Lebanon attracted European merchants, who provided an expanding market for Lebanese raw silk; it also brought in missionaries and educators, who established modern schools. In the second half of the nineteenth century, large-scale emigration began. It is estimated that between 1860 and 1900, some 120,000 persons emigrated from Lebanon and Syria - an average of 3,000 a year, of whom over half were from Lebanon. In 1900-14, the yearly average rose to 15,000. 2/ A large number of these emigrants returned, bringing back with them capital and skills. There was also a small capital inflow from Europe, which was invested in railways, ports and other public utilities, as well as in banks. By 1900, Beirut had become the main distributing centre for Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, northern Iraq and southern Anatolia. Another important economic item was the export of raw silk.

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During the First World War, Lebanon, which had become a food importer, experienced a large-scale famine. In addition, its silk industry was disorganized, the mulberry trees being cut down for fuel, and its transit trade was disrupted. In the inter-war period, silk suffered further, from the competition of more efficient producers and of rayon, and gradually ceased to play an important part in the economy. A still harder blow was the decline in emigration, following restrictions imposed in most countries of immigration. After reaching a peak of 16,000 in 1923, emigration from Lebanon and Syria fell off rapidly to an annual average of 2,000 in the nineteen-thirties, of whom slightly over half came from Lebanon.

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434 1/ Net national income in 1950 was estimated at 1,000 million Lebanese pounds (see table 43), giving a per capita figure of LL 800 per annum. (Some confirmation of this figure is provided by a survey in North Lebanon which showed that in 1953 per capita income in a group of villages was LL 627. This figure does not include rent, since practically all families own their own houses (Salah M. Sawaya, Household Income and Expenditure in Al Kura, unpublished thesis, American University, Beirut, 1955)). Converted at the average free market rate (in 1950 one United States dollar equalled 3.47 Lebanese pounds), which considerably undervalues the purchasing power of the Lebanese pound, this gives a per capita income of $230, a figure well above that prevailing in the region. Some two thirds of the Lebanese population is literate, and over 40 per cent is urban, proportions which are well above the regional level.

2/ S.B. Himadeh (editor), The Economic Organization of Syria (Beirut, 1936), page 16.

67: United Nations S-5 (1949-1954) 1959 Mid Middle East
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Most of the expansion described above has been carried out by private initiative but, in addition to providing irrigation, the State has assisted agriculture in many ways. Of these the most important has been the provision of credit. The Société du Crédit agricole et industriel, founded in 1938 by the Banque de Syrie et du Liban at the request of the Government, has, in recent years, advanced loans totalling LL 6 to 7 million per annum, the greater part of which is guaranteed by the Government. In 1954, the Government established an Agricultural and Industrial Bank, with a capital of LL 30 million; it is hoped that this bank will be able to meet a larger proportion of Lebanon's agricultural credit requirements. 1/ Another service has been the distribution of imported seed wheat to farmers; in 1953, 100 tons were distributed and the 1954/55 programme provided for 1,550 tons, at a cost of LL 450,000, as well as chemical fertilizers, at a cost of LL 800,000. 2/ Other projects undertaken by the Government include grain storage and citrus packing facilities, which are being established with United States aid, and experimental stations set up with the aid of the United States and French Governments. In 1953, the investment needs of agriculture over the following five years were put at LL 125 million, of which LL 50 million were for irrigation, LL 35 million for credit, LL 5 million for the mechanization of cereals cultivation, LL 10 million for the building of silos for grain and LL 25 million for transport and for processing industries. 3/ Some of this investment - for example, mechanization and investment in transport and industry - is being carried out by private enterprise and a considerable part of the balance by the Government (see below).

Industry

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In the immediate post-war years, Lebanese industry was favoured by the scarcity of imported consumer goods, but this advantage was offset by the great shortage of raw materials and the difficulty of renewing equipment or obtaining spare parts; moreover, military orders, which had absorbed a large fraction of industrial output, dwindled to insignificant proportions. In the course of 1946 and 1947, foreign competition increased sharply; this was met by a considerable rise in investment, especially in the food processing and textile industries, and a renewal of equipment. The increase in productive capacity resulted in greater output in 1948 and 1949. In 1950, many Lebanese industries were severely hit by the ending of the customs union with Syria. Industry in general, however, was aided by the war in Korea, which reduced foreign competition, and subsequently by greater sales in the domestic market, facilitated by increased tariff

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1/ Agricultural indebtedness is believed to total between LL 30 and LL 60 million the bulk of which was obtained from money-lenders and small private banks at a rate of interest around 20 per cent. "Proceedings of the Agricultural Credit Conference", Beirut, 12-14 October 1953.

2/ Lebanese Delegation to Fourth Regional Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Beirut, 13-16 September 1954. "Adjustement des politiques alimentaires et agricoles".

3/ Foumd Saadé, op. cit.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

the distinction between "unemployed" and "retired" among the older men is not at all easy to make. It depends, essentially, on the attitudes of the man himself and his family. In the second place, among the younger men especially, the distinction between "village worker" and "unemployed" is not entirely clear. The "village workers" mostly are either hired farm hands or assistants to "village specialists." In most cases, it was not easy to tell, however, how steady their work was. In the third place, it is quite possible that some of those in the "city worker" class are actually unemployed most of the time.

The class of "farmer" (*fillaḥ*) is very distinct. A farmer is a man who not only owns his own property, but works it for the support of himself and his family. Most of the farmers in Munqif also tend the agricultural property of fellow villagers who are not farmers. This is done, apparently, largely on a cash basis. The standard fee for a day's plowing, for example, was reported to be ten Lebanese pounds (about two dollars and a half).

It was said, "Before (i.e., before emigration and city jobs), we were all *fillaḥīn*." Now there are only ten farmers, and all of them except one are middle aged or elderly men. The exception is a young man of twenty-eight, a member of lineage XX, who evidently intends to make farming a career. He has made a realistic appraisal of the very difficult agricultural conditions in the village itself, and has acted accordingly with considerable initiative. Shortly after World War II he bought some unused land on the southern rim of Wadi Ba'ishta, just outside the Qurzi, close to the present terminus of the irrigation channel which brings water from the River Ibrahim (see Figs. 1 and 2). Considerable blasting with dynamite was necessary in the preparation of terraces, and earth had to be transported to the site. But with irrigation water he has already been able to develop a very impressive banana orchard which presumably has brought quick profits (cf. Keen, 1946, p. 82), and he said that he plans to expand in the near future. It is significant that he had to go outside the village territory to accomplish his ends.

The nature of the "village specialist" class can better be understood when it is broken down into subcategories, with the number of persons involved in each, as follows:

Mayor	1	Fisherman	3
Taxi driver	1	Surveyor	1
Barber	2	Mason	2
Priest	1	Carpenter	2
Storekeeper	8	Teacher	4

Part-time jobs held by various men most of whom are included in the tabulation above are: storekeeper (the priest), two bakery owners (a teacher and a farmer), and a crop guard (*naṭūr*, traditionally a very important position). Two men, still living, were once shoemakers, and another was a muleteer part-time. In the population as a whole there are at least six former teachers and five former nurse-

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1947? MEI Lebanon MEI

are numerous and varied. A large number of these are related to the religious life of the community. In addition to the regular weekly holiday and other general holidays of the Christians or Moslems, there are several community festivals held in honor of particular patron saints. Each of these festivals is an occasion for people of several villages to get together and celebrate, sometimes for two or three days at a time. They visit, trade, compete in games, compose folk poetry, participate in religious chanting or group singing, and dance the well-known folk dance, the *dabki*.

In a similar manner the people celebrate the harvesting of some of their crops. Also in the *sahra* they have a well-developed recreational institution: an evening get-together at one of the homes to visit, play games, or listen to a story being read or told. At the time of a wedding or a funeral, practically the whole community, old and young, halts its routine activities and participates in the affair. Here again the group manifests its solidarity and takes a new hold on life by expanding its happiness in the first case, and by lightening the burden of its sorrows in the second.

The village community of Lebanon is thus essentially a co-operative unit: in its family organization, in its traditions of neighborliness, in its religious institutions and social life, in its educational efforts. Co-operation, in one degree or another, is also involved in many agricultural activities such as the threshing of grain, the sharing of draft animals, and the assigning of water rights.

One can readily see in this a promising and secure foundation on which to establish a successful organization of agricultural co-operatives according to modern principles and techniques. In fact, a beginning has already been made along this line. In 1944 the Lebanese Government passed a decree providing for the establishment of a co-operative council, whose function is to guide and supervise the projected movement. The decree also covers various essential details of organization, obligations and rights of members, audit and inspection, and voting procedure.

The successful co-operative experiment of Abadiyeh village, in the mountains above Beirut, provides a striking demonstration of the manner in which such a developmental scheme can

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

be successfully grafted upon the traditional community spirit and yield fruit. This society was started by a rural leader of the country, a native of the village, under the auspices of the American University of Beirut and the Near East Foundation of New York. It has been functioning continuously and successfully for more than ten years, a modern co-operative enterprise flourishing on the foundations of the traditional mutual aid of the village community.

Emphasis has been made upon two great needs in Lebanese agriculture — extension of credit at reasonable rates for productive purposes, and efficient marketing of produce. In both respects the Abadiyeh people have been amply rewarded. Over 300 of them belong to the society, representing, as heads of families, the great majority of the total population. The bulk of the surplus of grapes, the major crop of the village, amounting to over 1,000 tons, is marketed through the co-operative. With efficient packing and guaranteed grading, it brings higher prices in Beirut markets than others less carefully prepared. Loans to members have steadily increased. The farmers have been educated to borrow only for productive purposes, at a low rate of interest, and to pay back on time. They have also learned how to apply some of the profits to public services. Three or four other villages have already followed the example of Abadiyeh.

If given the encouragement and guidance that is initially necessary, the co-operative will find an unusually fertile soil for rapid growth in the rural society of Lebanon. Not only the problems of credit and marketing, but also those of increased crop production, livestock improvement, and procurement of supplies could be solved to a large extent by this form of organization. More important still, the co-operative society could develop ultimately into the integrating and dynamic center of village life.

III

Some fifty years ago, significant changes began to take place in the life of the Lebanese rural community. The main factors involved have been large-scale emigration to foreign countries; rapid development of elementary and higher education, mostly under the influence of Western agencies; expanded trade and

59; Allen et al S-3 (1952-53) 1953 MI Middle East
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II. LEBANON

(Visited 1 - 15 December 1952)

1. The total area of Le anon is about 4,300 square miles, the population being estimated in 1940 at one and-a quarter million, of whom a high proportion live in the principal towns. For many years there has been considerable migration to foreign countries, and it is said that as many Lebanese live abroad as are to be found in their native land. 131 162 167

2. Lebanon is mainly a fruit-growing agricultural country, but pipelines from Middle East oil fields are being laid across the country to connect with newly constructed installations and harbours on the coast. In due course this development may influence the economy of the country. 241 315

3. Great hopes of agricultural expansion - to be accompanied, it is claimed, by schemes of rural community developments - are based upon the Litani Dam and irrigation project. At the time of our visit this project was under discussion between the Government and the United States Technical Cooperation Administration (Point IV), but matters had not advanced sufficiently to justify our attempting to follow in detail the intentions with regard to community welfare centres. 241 433 185

4. The agency of the Lebanese Government responsible for social affairs has only recently (1951) been raised to the status of Ministry. Still more recently, there had been a change of government and the new Minister of Social Affairs also held two other portfolios. The Director-General of the Department whom I met had not been continuously in office over the past years. No reply had been returned by the relevant Department to the Secretary-General's request (at the end of 1951) for information on community welfare centres. Background information was difficult to obtain. A decree which would have permitted the provision of multi-purpose community centres and enabled government support to be given in cash or by way of services, had been promulgated in 1951 (Appendix I). The decree had not, however, been put into operation. The initiative in instituting or developing such multi-purpose activities as we had the opportunity of seeing at Chtaura, Anjar and Jibrail had come mainly from voluntary agencies. 647 185

5. We visited the Chtaura Demonstration Centre and Anjar project on the 4th and 12th of December. The purpose of the original centre was to provide for Armenian refugees from World War I and in the earlier stages both the Near East Foundation and the Howard Karagheusian Commemorative Corporation shared responsibilities for financing and management of settlements in this area. More recently, the Near East Foundation decided to concentrate on activities in Syria and Greece and brought its work at Chtaura to a close. Mr. Feldmahn of the Near East Foundation, who had had a long experience between the wars in community organization in Bulgaria before coming to Chtaura, then transferred to the Karagheusian Corporation. With his wife, he now supervises the various activities in a group of villages located in the Bekaa Valley between Beirut and Damascus. These activities include control of malaria, recreational programmes, organization of marketing, provision of seedlings and plants, poultry breeding, milk co-operatives and educational projects. 361 185

6. At the time of our visit an illustrated lecture by an American veterinary expert (Point IV) was in progress. The co-operative milk marketing scheme appeared to be successful and to make a useful contribution to the milk supply of Beirut. The housing provided for the settlers and the general appearance of the village at Anjar were satisfactory. That of the Arab village of Medjel-Anjar some distance away was less so. In a former disused school house there was a primitive maternity and child 234 474 600

LEBANON MEI

312 744 *Concerning the Embankments of Water Conduits and Aqueducts for a Public Drinking Water Supply*

Article 25 to 29 set forth the prescribed width and other specifications for embankments along drinking water conduits and aqueducts.

The width of such aqueducts shall be stipulated by decree of the head of the government. The setting out of plantations or construction work along these conduits is prohibited, and the administration may order the felling of trees already growing there and the demolition or change of any previously existing structures within such areas.

Waterworks Construction Associations

312 474 656 Upon the initiative of the interested parties or of the head of the government, hydraulic associations may be formed for the purpose of building works for agricultural improvement, flood control, the repair, maintenance and cleaning of water courses, land drainage, reclamation and levelling and the construction of embankments or irrigation works.

Requests addressed to the head of the government must contain all pertinent information as to the area involved, the purpose, the projects and the type of concession intended.

If such a request, upon being reviewed by the Minister of Public Works, is deemed worthy of approval, the local landowners shall be called to a meeting by the head of the government. The meeting shall proceed to the selection of a chairman, and the minutes of the meeting, including the names of the persons attending, shall be kept. The heads of municipalities, administrators of public property and the director of land service for the public domain may also attend such meetings.

If the formation of such an association is voted by simple majority, the project, with complete details as to the nature of the association, its operation, its contemplated program of work and estimates of expenditures and contributions of each person involved shall be submitted to the head of the government who shall order a 30-day investigation of the matter, during which time any person or persons who have not joined the contemplated association may offer to convey their land, against payment of an indemnity, to

the association organized. 312 474 656

Within this period and after the Minister of Public Works has advised in favor thereof, the head of the government shall issue a decree stating that such an association has been established. This decree shall set forth its aims, the projected construction works and the method of defraying expenses by dividing them up among members of the association.

An annual budget shall be submitted for approval to the head of the government who is authorized to set or change the total tax sums to be set aside for this purpose.

Disputes over the operation of the association shall be heard by the administrative tribunals.

Plans and methods of execution of all construction works must be submitted to the Public Works Service which will exercise technical supervision.

The head of the government may grant non-interest bearing loans and subsidies to the association, on terms which he will prescribe, for a period of no longer than 30 years.

Articles 48 to 53 govern the rules of procedure of such associations, particularly their administrative organs (assembly, syndicate, director and staff), their procedure for their election and their term of office.

The general assembly, as written in the constitution, may also dissolve the association by a simple majority vote, provided such action is approved by the head of the government in an official decree.

The head of the government may, in case of mismanagement, place in the hands of one person full power over the director and the association, and he may also send representatives to all meetings or assemblies.

Jurisdiction and Penalties

Articles 57 to 60 prescribe jurisdiction and penalties. 312 681

It is stipulated that infractions of this decree shall be reported in the form of a deposition by officers of the

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

444 candies, each kind in a large glass jar; bottles of *'araq*, sweet summer drink extracts, and denatured alcohol (for preheating Primus stoves and lanterns); writing paper, pens, pencils, and ink; hairpins, combs, toothpaste, and soap; flashlights and batteries—all of these on shelves set against the walls. We can generalize by saying that the stores provide the villagers with all their purchased food except bread and with small items of everyday use. Conspicuously lacking are clothes, furniture, and all household utensils except the pottery drinking jars which are carried by some of the stores. All other larger items are bought directly from Jbayl or Beirut.

One person said that he made it a practice to patronize all the stores in order not to slight any of the proprietors. How common this practice is the writer does not know. Since the stores are so close together, patronization on the basis of proximity is not likely to be a factor in the determination of particular clienteles.

477 One would expect that the stores would be in keen competition, and, certainly, commercial competition is nothing new or foreign to Lebanon. But among the village stores there appeared to be little if any competition, and some assistance between proprietors was observed. One informant explained the situation in this way:

> Well, they *are* in competition, but you see [and here he seemed quite at a loss for words. He started again:] There is a saying in Arabic *Likull 'insaan rizqahu*. It means: "Every person has his fortune." Well, you know, it really means everyone will receive his due. You see, one helps the other because later the other will help the one. But it is more than mutual help; when X helps Y, they may not want to do it, but they do it anyway because they do not want people to think that they are enemies or jealous of each other.

577 621 476 The saying which was used by this informant is a positive expression, similar in connotation to the lilies of the field passage in the Sermon on the Mount, of the fatalism which is commonly attributed, with some justification, to the Arabs. We might elucidate its full meaning by paraphrasing it as follows: "You will get your just reward in whatever you are doing if you behave justly." In this case, behaving justly involves the kind of mutual help within an in-group (the village) which is essential to its solidarity. But also, in a wider sense, it is the writer's opinion that among the Arabs, competition for its own sake is not a *generalized* behavioral value, though they do come close to this in their social and cultural group rivalries. Furthermore, none of the four proprietors concerned in this matter is dependent solely on his store for his income. Each is a landowner and maintains his property for agricultural purposes.

444 617 Turning, now, to the function of the stores as meeting places for the men, we are reminded of the interesting notion, set forth by Kohn (1936, p. 70), that in the Mediterranean area generally, the center of personal and social life is the open, public place—forum, agora, coffee house, and open shop.

[265] In Munṣif, there is no coffee house and the stores to some extent take the

A number of the villages are wholly dependent upon one or several large non-resident landowners, who own much of the agricultural lands farmed by the villagers. In these cases, the mukhtar acts only after consultation with these large landowners. 491 622

The mukhtar and the board of aldermen are elected for a period of four years. In case of the death or resignation of the mukhtar, the administrative officer of the Saida district (the qaimmaqam) is authorized to appoint one of the aldermen to fill the vacant position. A new election must be held within two months after the vacancy occurs. 622 623

The powers and obligations of the mukhtar include: acting as the representative of the government in the village; registering the newly born and deceased; apportioning the land tax among the holders of land; and, where land registration has not been completed, issuing certificates showing title to land for purposes of sale or mortgage. It is interesting to note, in conformance with Lebanese law, that when the police come to arrest a villager they are not permitted to enter a house unless accompanied by the mukhtar. 622 694

Table I has been prepared for the convenience of technicians working in the area. It shows the names of the mukhtars in the five affected villages as of September, 1952, and the number of persons on the board of aldermen. 622 623

These small villages have no income from taxes or property. What improvements the villagers desire must be achieved through mutual cooperation. This cooperation is reflected in their sharing the village threshing floor (beidar). In answer to the question, "What improvements have been financed (either in cash or in kind) by your village during the past five years?" none was reported. In the control area, the villagers in El-Ghaziyah and El-'Addousiyah contributed the maintenance of school buildings, and in En-Najjariyah voluntary village labor helped to build a new road from the dei'ah to the Saida-Beirut highway. 476

Where there are over two thousand inhabitants and a village income of over L.L. 2,000 annual income, a municipality can be formed. The municipality takes care of locally financed projects such as street construction, water supply works, lighting, sanitation and sponsorship of public schools. Only in the control village of El-Ghaziyah does a municipality operate. As none of the five villages under discussion has the legal minimum of two thousand population, there are no municipalities in the demonstration area. 632

Farm Organization

The isolated farmhouse, typical of agriculture in the United States, is rarely seen in Lebanon. 361
In the five project villages nearly all farmers live in the dei'ah or built-up area. Their wooden plows, harnesses, and other farm equipment are stored each day in their houses in the dei'ah. Often a stable is connected to or is part of the living quarters to take care of the family cow or other livestock. The concentration of dwellings in one area in the Middle East often results in a considerable expenditure of time in walking to fields located sometimes two to five miles from the village. In the project villages the land lies in a narrow strip. Farms at the far ends require an hour or more to reach by walking.

The share-tenant or small landowner has a cow or two which he depends on for draft and 231
milk, a simple wooden plow, and a few other simple hand tools. These comprise his capital equip- 592
ment. The field work is shared by all the members of the family, although in this shee'ah moslem 462
area there is a fairly rigid division of labor between the sexes. Plowing is a man's work, while rarely will a man be seen carrying water from the village fountain.

In the project area no evidence is seen of tractors, harrows, mechanical threshers, or other 407
mechanized farm equipment except on one or two large farms operated by non-resident owners. 365
None of the project villages has electric power. Farm organization is based upon an intensive use 464
of labor rather than capital. Low wage rates and an ample supply of laborers combine to make 465
the use of labor more advantageous than mechanization. In 1952 the prevailing rate for farm laborers was LL. 3 (about 85 cents) for men and half that for women per 12 to 15 hour day.

Most of the project villages have a plot of land called the beidar where the villagers, often 423
working in common, thresh their grain. Here the wheat or other seed crop is placed after it is 476
brought from the fields. For month after month in the summer, one finds the oxen pulling behind 241
them a mauraj, a flat board the underside of which is dotted with protruding stones or jagged pieces of metal. The farmer's wife or a small boy rides on this and with a stick directs the oxen over a layer of grain. In this way the kernels of grain are loosened and the straw is cut fine for fodder. In 241
order to separate the kernels of grain from the chaff, the farmer tosses the mixed grain and chaff

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

444 candies, each kind in a large glass jar; bottles of *'araq*, sweet summer drink extracts, and denatured alcohol (for preheating Primus stoves and lanterns); writing paper, pens, pencils, and ink; hairpins, combs, toothpaste, and soap; flashlights and batteries—all of these on shelves set against the walls. We can generalize by saying that the stores provide the villagers with all their purchased food except bread and with small items of everyday use. Conspicuously lacking are clothes, furniture, and all household utensils except the pottery drinking jars which are carried by some of the stores. All other larger items are bought directly from Jbayl or Beirut.

One person said that he made it a practice to patronize all the stores in order not to slight any of the proprietors. How common this practice is the writer does not know. Since the stores are so close together, patronization on the basis of proximity is not likely to be a factor in the determination of particular clienteles.

477 One would expect that the stores would be in keen competition, and, certainly, commercial competition is nothing new or foreign to Lebanon. But among the village stores there appeared to be little if any competition, and some assistance between proprietors was observed. One informant explained the situation in this way:

> Well, they *are* in competition, but you see [and here he seemed quite at a loss for words. He started again:] There is a saying in Arabic *Likull ʾinsaan rizquhu*. It means: "Every person has his fortune." Well, you know, it really means everyone will receive his due. You see, one helps the other because later the other will help the one. But it is more than mutual help; when X helps Y, they may not want to do it, but they do it anyway because they do not want people to think that they are enemies or jealous of each other.

577 The saying which was used by this informant is a positive expression, similar
621 in connotation to the lilies of the field passage in the Sermon on the Mount, of
476 the fatalism which is commonly attributed, with some justification, to the Arabs. We might elucidate its full meaning by paraphrasing it as follows: "You will get your just reward in whatever you are doing if you behave justly." In this case, behaving justly involves the kind of mutual help within an in-group (the village) which is essential to its solidarity. But also, in a wider sense, it is the writer's opinion that among the Arabs, competition for its own sake is not a *generalized* behavioral value, though they do come close to this in their social and cultural group rivalries. Furthermore, none of the four proprietors concerned in this matter is dependent solely on his store for his income. Each is a landowner and maintains his property for agricultural purposes.

444 Turning, now, to the function of the stores as meeting places for the men,
617 we are reminded of the interesting notion, set forth by Kohn (1936, p. 70), that in the Mediterranean area generally, the center of personal and social life is the
[265] open, public place—forum, agora, coffee house, and open shop.

In Munşif, there is no coffee house and the stores to some extent take the

1: Epstein S-3 (no date) 1946 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Thoumin, like other investigators, finds it hard to give exact figures of emigration from Syria and the Lebanon, and therefore chooses to give his estimates in percentages by countries, as follows: 167

United States and Canada	35 per cent.
South America	35 „ „
Egypt	10 „ „
Other countries	20 „ „

The emigrants who left Syria and the Lebanon between 1920 and 1930 settled as follows:

South America	50 per cent.
Africa (excluding Egypt)...	15 „ „
Egypt	10 „ „
North America	10 „ „
Other countries	15 „ „

If the figures given by Widmer and the Reports to the League of Nations quoted above are adapted to the statistical tables of Thoumin, it follows that about 146,000 Syrian and Lebanese are living in North America, about the same number in South America, and about 41,000 in Egypt. The remaining 83,000 are distributed in the other parts of the world.

Although the students mentioned above have never dealt with the question of Lebanese immigration with the necessary completeness, but mostly regarded it, particularly after the first world war, as part of the general emigration from the area of the French Mandate, nevertheless both Widner and Thoumin stressed the fact that the Lebanon was and has remained the chief centre of migration for the reasons explained by them, particularly by Thoumin. Dr. A. Ruppin* deals explicitly with the distribution of emigration from Syria and the Lebanon by countries and communities. Basing himself on official figures, Ruppin reaches the conclusion that up to 1915, 100,000 people had emigrated from the Autonomous Sanjak of the Lebanon.

What has been said above makes it possible to conclude with reasonable certainty that the majority of the emigrants from Syria and the Lebanon during the period of emigration came from the area which is now included within the boundaries of the Lebanese Republic.

Professor M. Jerusalem† estimates the total number of emigrants from the Lebanon as 250,000, and reckons that 130,000 to 140,000 were Maronites.

The influence of the emigration from the Lebanon on the population can be learnt from Thoumin, who points out that at least a third of the inhabitants of every Lebanese village have travelled abroad. In his journeys through the Lebanon the author found that in every Christian family he met, at least one member had emigrated during the preceding twenty years. The Lebanese who returned to their home lands are a 167 484

* Dr. A. Ruppin, *Syrien als Wirtschaftsgebiet*, 2nd ed., Berlin, 1920, p. 22.

† M. Jerusalem, *The Maronites*, Jerusalem, 1942, p. 24 (typed memo.).

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

a particularly unfavored district in the physical sense—more favored districts had already been occupied by others.

We have seen that the village territory was subsequently divided into three equal parts, each of which came in time to be dominated by a particular lineage, each descended from a son of the founder. The main house cluster was said to have been first located somewhat below the church, in a recess. This location made the community completely invisible from the coastal highway, and this was described by one informant as a necessary defensive measure. He added that he had heard that in the old days, when men went down to Ḥilwi to work their fields, they went in armed groups to protect themselves against marauding bands of Muslims. This was presumably during the century and more of virtual anarchy which followed the reign of Fakhr ad-Din II. As the village grew in population, the house cluster was extended up and along the crest of the ridge, lineage A occupying the upper part, lineage C the lower part. Lineage B members lived mostly at ʾarqbi, surrounding the shrine of Mar Mukhail, and only very recently moved entirely into the eastern and upper portions of the main house cluster.

We have seen that at present the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects the clustering of the houses by maximal lineage. Some of the exceptions to this patterning, especially in the highest part of the village, are due to very recent purchases of land and new construction. Those in the center, however, were explained by one informant as follows: "Maybe a hundred years ago many people were very poor. They sold their land to people in 'Amshiit. Then later some others bought it again. We don't know who they all were. People went to America to make money and then they came back."

There is at hand what might well be external evidence of this episode. Churchill (1853, vol. 1, pp. 72–73), writes of the spectacular rise of one Michael Toobea, a Maronite from 'Amshiit, "Making his native village of Amsheet the centre of his operations, he conceived a system which soon brought him into intimate relations with the entire neighboring population—that of making advances of money on the silk crops. . . . Toobea has become an extensive landed proprietor, and as a landlord his character is unimpeachable."

Until about seventy-five years ago, Munṣif was a very nearly self-sufficient and self-contained community. We can assume that a good proportion of its wheat always had to be imported. As a matter of fact, Ḥilwi used to serve as a point of entry for imported goods which were brought to it by boat, this mode of transportation being cheaper, safer, and easier than overland transport. It was also, apparently, a regular practice for a number of men to do seasonal wage labor in other districts. One specialty of this type, which was hazardous but profitable, was sponge-diving.

But these activities do not seem to have essentially lessened the village's cultural isolation. It was common in those days, according to one informant, to en-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

counter adults who had been to Beirut or Tripoli not more than once or twice in their entire lives. As another informant said, "Everyone was *fillah*"—meaning, in effect, that everyone was either a farmer or had some part-time or full-time specialty which was directly concerned with rural subsistence. One person guessed that at any given time no more than ten men, and no women, in the village could read and write.

As the population of the village increased and the generations passed, the three original lineages became segmented into sub-lineages. This was evidently a gradual process; the three original lineages did not all become completely subdivided at the same time. Eventually, the three original lineages lost nearly all their significance as in-groups since this function had been taken over by the new, smaller lineages. It has been noted before that while the name of the original lineage now identified as Maximal Lineage A is no longer used by any of the minimal lineages derived from it, the names of Maximal Lineages B and C are preserved as names of two minimal lineages. It may be that a more accurate view of this matter, of which the villagers were aware but could not explain, is as follows: The kin group now identifiable as A became completely subdivided into smaller lineages, and its name was thus obliterated. B and C, however, were never completely subdivided, possibly because of their smaller size. Thus, although several new lineages did develop from or split off from the original B and C, remnants of these latter continued on, retaining the original name. This interpretation, if valid, might explain why Minimal Lineages XII and XVI, which bear the names of B and C, show a greater diversity of patrilines than their fellow minimal lineages. In the view of the Munşifiin in 1952, however, lineages XII and XVI are regarded in no different light from the other *'ayli*.

At some time around 1880 the outside world began to force itself upon the circumscribed life of the village, in not one way, but several ways. First, American Protestant missionaries brought mass education, with its prospects of prestigeful and possibly lucrative employment, within reach of everyone in the village. Then, America became known as the land where one could go for a few years to work, make more money than one could possibly earn in the village, and then return to the village to live an easier, more comfortable life. Emigration, at first and for a long time conceived of only as a temporary expedient, began about 1890. And, finally, Western manufactured articles began to be imported.

By 1914 profound changes had been wrought in the village. Many of its members had gone to America, some of them never to return. A decline in the price of silk had led many to replace their mulberries with olives, but the financial loss in this respect was overbalanced by the financial gain of money made in America, or sent from America. While the houses of the emigrants stood empty and began to fall into ruins, more and more new houses, with tile roofs glowing proudly in the sun, were being built. Native villagers had taken over the school founded by the missionaries, and others had established their own. Literacy and

475 On the basis of the above, total earnings from foreign travel (i.e. summer resort, schools, hospitals and tourism) can be estimated, therefore, at L.L. 35.0 million in 1951 and L.L. 47.6 million in 1952.

II. Expenditure on foreign travel

475 484 There is no information at all about Lebanese travellers who go abroad for business, pleasure, study or health reasons, nor about their total expenditures. An attempt was made to arrive at rough estimates by interviewing returning travellers upon their disembarkation in Beirut, about their expenditures while abroad [1]. The results achieved were unsatisfactory as few of the people approached responded well and as the period covered was very short (less than 3 months) and could not be taken as representative. However, under present conditions direct interviews are the only possible ways of obtaining information and should be relied upon in the future. Returns would be greatly improved if the interviews are generalized, systematized and extended over a whole year period.

In the meantime, it was decided to try to estimate expenditures from the data on departures and arrivals of Lebanese travellers. Such data is available quarterly (cf. Table 23). It was assumed that the number of Lebanese persons abroad at the beginning of 1951 was x; then the number at the end of the first quarter of the same year was $x + D1 - A1$, where D1 denotes the departures and Al the arrivals; thus the average number of persons abroad during the quarter was the average between the two numbers at the beginning and at the end of the quarter, namely $\frac{2x + D1 - A1}{2}$ or $x + \frac{D1 - A1}{2}$. If the same argument were followed for the succeeding quarters, the fourth quarter would have an average of $x + \frac{2D1 + 2D2 + 2D3 + D4 - (2A1 + 2A2 + 2A3 + A4)}{2}$

and the fourth quarter of the second year

$$x + \frac{2D1 + 2D2 \ldots + 2D7 + D8 - (2A1 + 2A2 \ldots + A8)}{2}$$

For each of these quarters, the number of man days spent abroad would be the average given above multiplied by 91 (one-fourth of a year). Thus the total man days spent abroad would be the sum of all the averages given above multiplied into 91; this sum can

1 See Appendix IV for the type of questions asked.

8tFei and Klaf S-4 (1951-52)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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be presented symbolically in the following form:

$$91\left(8x+\sum_{1}^{8}(8-r+0.5)\,Dr.-\sum_{1}^{8}(8-s+0.5)\,As\right) \quad \text{I}$$

This represents in fact the total number man days spent by Lebanese abroad; the number of Lebanese who were abroad during the period under consideration is:

$$x+\sum_{1}^{8}Dr \quad \text{II};$$

consequently the average number of days spent abroad is the quotient of I and II. The result would be in the form

$$91\,\frac{(8x+L)}{x+M} \quad \text{III}$$

where x is unknown and where L and M can be easily computed from the data on departures and arrivals. When applied to the information available for Lebanese travel abroad, and assuming that x is between 2000 and 3000, (which is a fair assumption considering the yearly difference between arrivals and departures) the above expression varies from 54 to 73. This would give an average number of days spent abroad per person of 64. Assuming that each person spends on the average LL. 20 a day,[1] total expenditures of Lebanese abroad were LL. 12.7 million in 1951 and LL. 20.2 million in 1952.

To this should be added expenditures of Lebanese students which are easier to come by. The number of these students, excluding Government scholars whose expenditures are included under "Government" (cf. p. 37), was established at 613 in 1951, of which 52 in the U.S. and the rest mainly in Western Europe, and at 754 in 1952 of which 147 in the U.S It is estimated that a student spends an average of $ 2,000 a year in the U.S. and about LL. 3,000 elsewhere. On the basis of these estimates, total students' expenditures abroad were LL. 2.0 million in 1951 and LL. 2.9 million in 1952.

Total expenditures on foreign travel were, therefore, LL. 14.7 million in 1951 and LL. 23.1 million in 1952.

III. Conclusion

A comparison of earnings and expenditures, as computed above, would indicate a net credit on foreign travel account of LL. 20.3 million in 1951 and LL. 24.5 million in 1952.

1 Estimates based on the rough answers of returning travellers.

The figures thus obtained did not show, of course, the type of accommodation used, i.e., whether the travel was made by first, second or tourist class. Had the survey on returning travellers been completed (cf. p. 28) it would have been possible to use the results obtained as a basis for grouping the passengers into "classes". Under the circumstances the best alternative was to interview various travel agencies about the accommodations normally booked by their customers. From these interviews it has been possible to establish the following rough pattern:

i) Lebanese emigrants, because of their usually limited resources, travel tourist class. They normally book a "through-fare" which includes food, transportation and stop-overs on the way.

ii) Businessmen and tourists in general travel first class to Europe, but second class and sometimes third class to further destinations.

iii) Students usually travel either second or tourist class.

Based on the above pattern, fares schedules have been prepared, one applying to emigrants, another to travellers to Europe and a third to all other travellers. The appropriate fares were then applied to the given number of travellers in each category; this indicated total expenditures on passenger fares of LL. 6.5 million in both 1951 and 1952 (cf. Table 24).

The same procedure was followed with regard to travellers by air. However, as the totals obtained (LL. 4.4 million in 1951 and LL. 4.3 million in 1952) included payments made to the two Lebanese airlines, they had to be properly corrected. With that in view, the Lebanese airlines were requested to supply, *inter alia*, information on the number of Lebanese nationals who travelled on their lines[1]. Only one of these companies answered, and for want of a better estimate, it has been

[1] Here the criterion of nationality rather than that of residence was taken as a basis, as it would have been impossible for the airlines to differentiate between foreign residents and foreign non-residents.

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Table 23

Lebanese Departing & Arriving Through the Port of Beirut and the International Airport

Year		Arrivals	Departures	
			Emigrants	Others
1951:	1st quarter	2,190	1,093	2,479
	2nd quarter	3,846	991	2,332
	3rd quarter	3,399	612	3,398
	4th quarter	2,006	1,381	3,349
	TOTAL	11,441	4,077	11,558
1952:	1st quarter	2,009	980	2,490
	2nd quarter	3,503	460	3,294
	3rd quarter	3,795	376	4,030
	4th quarter	2,717	929	5,992
	TOTAL	12,114	2,725	15,806
1953:	1st quarter	2,560	627	3,592
	2nd quarter	5,198	462	4,156

Source: Ministère de l'Economie Nationale. Service de Statistique Générale. Bulletins Statistiques Trimestriels, Beirut, 1951, 1952, 1953.

126 trated individuals had to face the
167 issue and put up with the stringent situation, in accordance with the dictates of the village culture. When America was "discovered," an outlet, an escape was provided, and many a frustrated individual took up the newly offered chance.

Extent of Emigration

167 *Emigration to foreign countries:*
● 494 Prior to 1880, not a single individual had ever emigrated from the village to the outside, either within the country or to a foreign country. Bishmizzeen constituted the world of the village group. Even mobility was highly restricted. Visits to neighboring villages were very infrequent. A few used to take occasional trips to the town of Tripoli, and still a fewer number had been to Beirut. Occasionally some adventurous souls would take a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or a cattle trading trip to Egypt. One of the old village songs, aiming at the praise of a husband's valor, begins with the following line: "Your husband, oh beautiful one, has gone to Damascus and come back, alone." Damascus is about 100 miles from Bishmizzeen.

169 In 1884 the first young man from Bishmizzeen emigrated to a foreign country. Others followed, and the number increased, year after year, first to the U. S. A., then to the four corners of the world. The following table (III) shows the geographical distribution of the Bishmizzeen emigrants.

P.66 (A)

erate punishment by concealing the death of unregistered infants distort from the validity of the meager data available. Local pediatricians believe that the mortality rate in children up to 2 years of age averages from 25 to 30 per cent for the country as a whole. It ranges from 10 to 15 per cent, or more, in Beirut proper to from 30 to 45 per cent in Tripoli, Sidon and the towns of South Lebanon, the standards of living are uniformly low, and the mortality in children under 2 years of age probably reaches 50 to 70 per cent. Intestinal diseases are foremost among the causes of death in infancy and early childhood.

Social Economy

The economy of Lebanon is based upon agriculture, but the country is in a more favorable position than the neighboring Arab states, in that the national income is augmented by an increasing tourist traffic and by remittances to their families from emigrants living abroad. Although the coastal plain and the Bekaa valley support a variety of crops, a large part of the territory is mountainous and unsuitable for cultivation. The coastal region is cultivated intensively, with a series of narrow terraces extending along the seaward slopes of the Lebanon range up to an elevation of about 3,000 feet. Little more than 20 per cent of the total land area is now under production, while less than one fifth of that is irrigated. Considerable disparity exists between recent estimates of the amount of arable land, but all agree that it can be increased materially by a greater utilization of the available water resources and by improved methods of cultivation. Programs have already been initiated for the further development of irrigation facilities, notably in the southern Bekaa, and in the 'Akkar plain, a triangular sector between the coast and the northern frontier with Syria. The tradition of private ownership is strong in the mountainous districts of the north, and most of the land is cultivated by independent FARMERS.

Slight expense of income were developed, however. Although the breakup of the Ottoman Empire and the creation of tariff barriers to the economic states handicapped Lebanon's transit trade, Beirut continued to be an important distributing center. In this it was helped by the enlargement of its harbor and by the construction of a good network of roads. These improvements, together with the development of public utilities and hotels, attracted to Lebanon an increasing number of middle Eastern tourists.

In agriculture, the most important development was the expansion in the acreage planted to olive and fruit trees, and the improvement in quality. The tariff protection gradually accorded after 1924 also stimulated industry. At the outbreak of the Second World War, some 20,000 persons were employed in factories and small workshops, including craftsmen engaged in such traditional seasonal occupations as silk reeling. 2/

During the Second World War, the large-scale expenditure of Allied troops raised incomes and prices, 3/ and the reduction of imports further stimulated industrial production. This increase was achieved with existing equipment, since no machinery could be imported.

Another result of the war was the improvement of commodities. The forced savings due to inflation and the shift to profits took the form of fresh and sterling balances held by Lebanese individuals and institutions.

Post-War Period, 1945 to 1954

Since 1945, the national income of Lebanon has increased considerably, and available data indicate a rise in consumption. The dissolution in 1950 of the customs union 1/ with Syria, which had constituted Lebanon's most important market, caused a setback, compensated in recent years, it appears, by the over-all growth.

Emigration, which had almost ceased during the war years, increased in the post-war period. In recent years it has averaged over 3,000 per annum, 2/ compared with an annual natural increase of about 15,000. Emigration was, however, offset by an influx of over 100,000 Palestinian Arab refugees in 1948 and 1949. The maintenance of these refugees by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees has largely shielded the Lebanese economy from their impact, though many have found employment in the country while a few [illegible] have established [illegible] businesses.

1/ The number of industrial establishments rose from 400 in 1930 to 900 in 1939, according to Khalil el Hamdy, "Min el Nisfu Ila el Alaf", in Mahajjarat in Lubna (Beirut, 1955).

2/ From 1941 to 1954 inclusive, Allied expenditure in Lebanon and Syria totalled £75 million (sterling). From 1939 to 1945 inclusive, Lebanon and Syria had a surplus of £27 million Lebanese-Syrian pounds on current account. The wholesale price index in Beirut rose from 100 in June 1939 to a peak of 1,203 in January 1945.

3/ See chapter 7.

1/ Emigration in 1951 totalled 4,277, in 1952 it was 2,795 and in 1953 it was 3,343 (Le Commerce du Levant, 9 October 1954, Beirut). A significant proportion of emigrants went to the Persian Gulf area.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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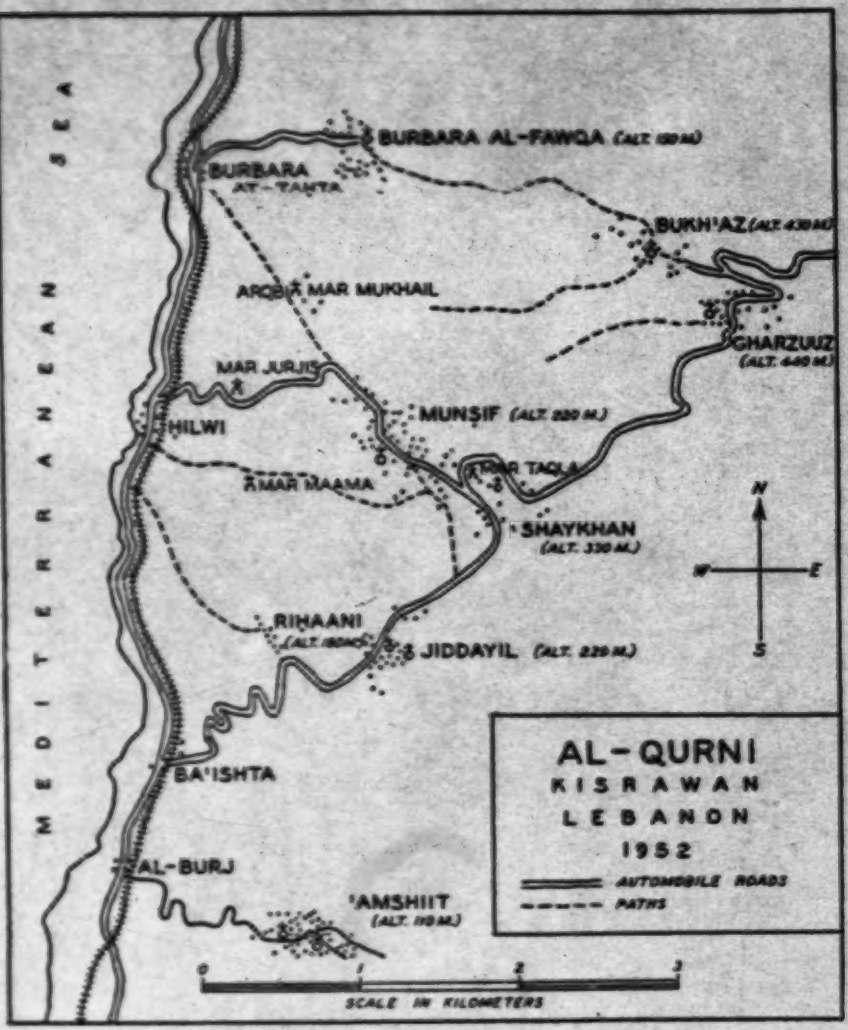

FIG. 2. AL-QURNI

312 only one yields potable water—hence the name of the hamlet, which means "sweet."

137 The sparse natural flora of al-Qurni is an excellent example of garrigue which is widely distributed around the Mediterranean in districts which feature thin soils and calcareous outcrops. Comparing garrigue to the relatively more lush vegetation typical of the French Provence, Fisher says:

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Munṣif is by far the largest, being at least twice as large as Jiddayil which is the second in size.

Al-Qurnı̄ is a unit because its inhabitants consider it to be one. Within it, the individual villages regard themselves as independent, and the people even recognize minor cultural differences. For example, it was said that the phoneme *as* is pronounced slightly differently in Burbara, Munṣif, and Jiddayil; that the people of one of the villages always marry people from the other villages rather than their own; that the women of one of the villages are more quarrelsome than those of another; and so on. Yet, in relation to the outside, al-Qurnı̄ is a unit. Why? It is not because of sheer proximity, although of course this helps. The reason is that, with minor exceptions concentrated in Jiddayil, al-Qurnı̄ is exclusively Greek Orthodox in religion and is completely surrounded, in depth, by Maronite (technically Roman Catholic) villages. In 1921, Kisrawan had a resident population of 41,004, plus an emigrant population of 14,290. Of the residents, 34,395 were Maronites, 2,659 were Mitwaali (Shi'a Muslims), and 1,010 were Greek Orthodox (all figures from Himadeh, 1936, pp. 410–11). Virtually all of the last must have been counted in al-Qurnı̄.

It has not been possible to go very far into this study without encountering the phenomenon of units of loyalty and identification. Since this topic will occupy an increasingly important position as we proceed, nothing more will be said about it at this point, except this: Beyond, and except for, kinship and local connections, sectarian affiliation in the Middle East is the strongest bond which can unite a group of people and the most impenetrable barrier which can separate one group from another.

FROM BEIRUT TO MUNṢIF

Placed in its physical and cultural context, let us now turn to the village of al-Munṣif itself. It might be asked why a community of farmers should settle in such an unfavorable environment in the first place. A tentative answer to this question will be presented in the chapter, "The Patterns of Culture Change." It might also be asked why, once established, such a community should grow greatly in size and continue to function even through periods of great economic difficulty. This is an easy question to ask. The remainder of this work is, essentially, an attempt to answer it.

Let us, now, in imagination, go to Munṣif by automobile from Beirut. The trip will take perhaps an hour and a quarter.

Between Beirut and the mouth of the Dog River the road is lined, for the most part, with banana and citrus plantations, and lush stands of tall reeds. Beyond the river, however, the citrus plantations cease, but the banana plantations continue. We notice that water is brought to them in open cement conduits. On the upper slopes to our right, we pass innumerable small villages and their olive and fig orchards.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Finally, we come to the town of Jbayl whose population was estimated in 1932 to be 5000, (Himadeh, 1936, p. 9). It is now probably considerably more. It is surrounded by banana plantations and is currently enjoying a period of prosperity and growth largely because of the recently installed irrigation system. The highway runs right through the commercial center of the town, and though we must be careful to avoid collision with heavily laden donkeys, sheep, fowl, men, honking taxis, trucks and buses, we are aware that the street is lined with small shops of all kinds. On our left we pass the local courthouse, a neat modernistic structure from which the national flag flies, and around which stand or sit a few members of the national gendarmerie, in khaki uniforms, with rifles slung over their shoulders. If our eyes are sharp, we will notice also, a small sign which reads "Fouilles de Byblos," with an arrow pointing towards the sea. And in this direction we can hardly fail to miss seeing the cavernous vault which is all that remains of the upper levels of a castle built by the Crusaders. If we have prepared ourselves properly, we will know that this ruin is surrounded by others of much greater age which attest to the fact that the bustle through which we are passing is but the current phase in the life of one of the oldest continuously inhabited sites in the world. Later we will learn that Jbayl is the primary marketing center of Munṣif.

Shortly after leaving Jbayl, we pass the unpaved road which leads to the large village of 'Amshiit built on a small rise in the land at some distance from the highway. We must deduce its identity from our map, for there is, as usual, no sign. After the rather sharp turn near al-Burj, the road dips downward and our view to the north is suddenly blocked completely by the ridge to which some reference has already been made. The ridge appears to plunge, at a moderately steep angle, directly into the sea, but we notice that the highway continues on around it. We, however, turn sharply to the right on a side road which we can see winds up the ridge. We stop, athwart the railroad tracks, to allow a man, whose head is swathed in a *kuffiyah* and crowned by an *agal*, to drive his herd of fat-tailed sheep across the road. He pays no particular attention to us, for he is a stranger here himself, though he has probably come this way for years. However, after we have wound our way upwards for a few minutes we pass a group of men who are lounging in the shade of a carob tree, eating lunch. They stare hard and fixedly at us, and one of them gets to his feet to have a better look. Our major ascent is finished when we reach the crest of the ridge, and we find on each side of the road the neat terraces of figs and olives which belong to Jiddayil. Soon the houses close in tightly, but briefly, on both sides. As we pass through, a rooster flaps across the road, just missing our wheels. A few human figures step out of doorways to see who is coming and stand staring at us. Off to the right of the straight road from Jiddayil to Shaykhan we see smoke pouring from the open top of a limekiln. To the left, still at some distance, we see, at last, the houses of Munṣif, ranging in color from white to tawny to grey. They are perched, seemingly on top

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361 of each other, along the flank of a crest which descends noticeably in the direction
● 487 of the sea whose far horizon rises high in the western sky.

Shaykhan seems deserted as we drive through it, and then go down into Munṣif.
361 At first, olive terraces rise above us on the right and fall away below us on the
609 left, but almost immediately they are replaced by houses. We stop in what appears to be the middle of the village, where an old car is parked and human activity is apparent. In the next half minute or so, a group of small barefooted boys, dressed in shorts, gathers, and they eye us intently as they talk among themselves in low tones. Across the road, an old man in a long striped gown leans on a heavy cane. While he stands looking at us, he is joined by a young man in a sport shirt and neatly pressed European-style trousers. Other figures appear, but no one moves, and everyone keeps his distance. Two women walk close by the car, peering into it as best they can without upsetting the large wicker trays which they carry on their heads. They do not stop, however, and disappear into a windowless building nearby. The loud chatter which has been coming from this building dies down suddenly to a murmur, and more people appear. Their faces seem expressionless except that they manage to convey a feeling of withdrawn, yet unabashed, curiosity. No one steps forward.

As we get out of our car, someone picks up a stone and hurls it at a large dog which has been barking savagely at us. It runs off, yelping. We approach the young man in European clothes and address him haltingly in Arabic, asking the whereabouts of one whose name we have been given. Almost before he has finished his reply, spoken in good English, the one we seek himself appears. We introduce ourselves, and he leads us to his house, elaborately inquiring after our
[574] health. Seated under his roof, we are offered cigarettes and small candies, soon his wife brings us coffee, and we experience for the first time the warm hospitality for which the people of Munṣif are famous.

We have arrived and can begin our study.

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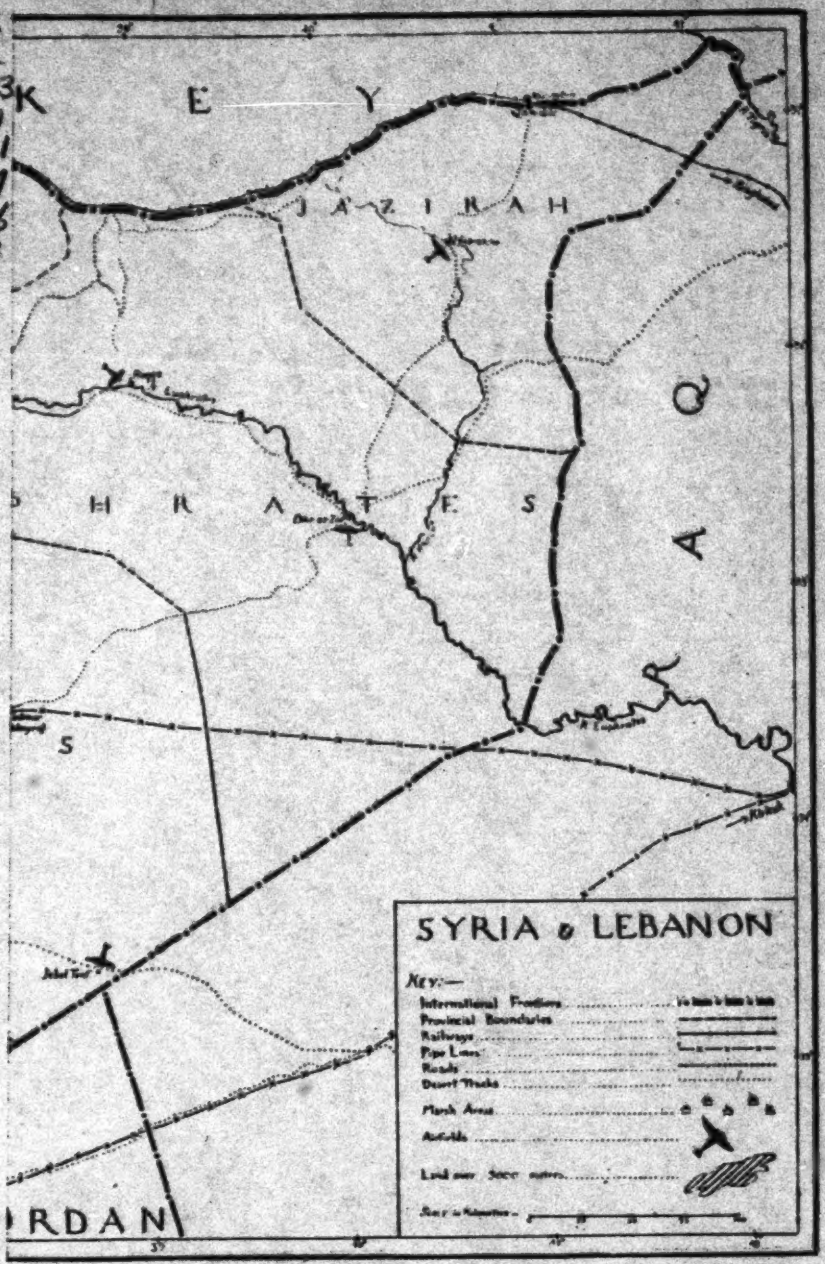
T U R K
HATAY
A L E P P O
E U P H
HAMA
LATAKIA
H O M S
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
D A M A S C U S
JEBEL DRUZE
TRANSJORDA

END MAP (A)


E Y
J A Z I R A H
H R A T E S
A Q
S
RDAN
SYRIA & LEBANON
KEY:—
International Frontiers
Provincial Boundaries
Railways
Pipe Lines
Roads
Desert Tracks
Marsh Areas
Airfields

END MAP (B)

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LEBANON MEI
SYRIA MDI

S L 496

into Jordan. There is a branch line from Deraa to Suwaida, but another branch, to Haifa, is out of use.

Damas-Hama et Prolongements. (*a*) From Beirut to Damascus there is a narrow-gauge track running for 91 miles via Rayaq; rack and pinion are used to traverse the mountains, and this slow haul is now employed for freight only. (*b*) From Rayaq to Aleppo there is a 4 ft 8 in. gauge track for 270 miles which passes through Homs and Hama. (*c*) The stretch of the Cairo–Turkey line from Ras an-Naqura on the Lebano–Israel border to Beirut is out of commission but the section of 64 miles in standard gauge from Beirut to Tripoli and Homs is used.

Syrian state Railways. This is the part (164 miles) of the Turkey–Mosul line that runs inside Syrian territory.

S L 491

Roads

Main arterial roads in Lebanon are considered adequate, but the network of secondary and feeder roads is poor. In Syria the road system is generally inadequate, and only the asphalted roads are usable for heavy traffic throughout the year. The following figures give some indication of the position:

Syria, 1951	Miles	Lebanon, 1949	Miles
1st class, asphalted	2,917	Surfaced	1,811
2nd class, macadamized	1,268	Unimproved	414
Tracks	5,218		

(Sources: *Statesman's Year-Book, 1953*; US Dept. of Commerce.)

S 494

There are over 11,000 vehicles registered in Syria. Trans-desert passenger and goods services to Iraq are in regular use and goods are also moved, including refrigerated vegetables, to Kuwait and Dahran. The authorities are restricting the registration of new lorries to the estimated needs of the countries, but more vehicles are required, particularly diesel lorries for long hauls of heavy loads.

S L 509

Aerodromes. The new airport of Beirut (Khaldeh) receives the Comet, and is beginning to rival Cairo as a gateway to the East, and that of Damascus (Mezzeh) has long been in use by Constellations. Many international airlines stage at Khaldeh or Mezzeh; the approach to Khaldeh is better and, with between twenty and thirty aircraft a day, it has since 1951 outstripped Mezzeh, which has five to ten aircraft a day. For some years plans have been under consideration for moving the Damascus airport to the east of the city. There are two private Lebanese airlines. A national airline in Syria was a financial failure and was taken over by the army. Smaller airfields exist near Tripoli,

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132 (Fisher, 1950, p. 50). From May through October, there is no precipitation at all, except at the beginning and the end of the period.

Along the coast, up to about 1500 feet at least, freezing temperatures in winter are of very rare occurrence, but snow covers the higher slopes continuously during the winter. Patches of it on the summits even defy the broiling sun of August.

At Beirut the average summer temperature is 82°F., and it is frequently oppressively humid (Fisher, 1950, p. 42). In al-Qurni, as in Beirut, there is no snow in winter, but the district is somewhat cooler and less humid than the city in summer.

133 312 Lebanon, as a whole, is obviously a well-watered country, but its geological structure has led to an over-abundance of water in some districts and a dearth of it in others. Mt. Lebanon consists, essentially, of two thick layers of Jurassic and Cretaceous limestone, interspersed with a layer of sands and clays. Rain water and snow-melt either run off directly or sink through permeable upper strata to emerge as springs at lower levels, especially at between 3000 and 5000 feet, where their downward seepage is blocked by impermeable strata below (Fisher, 1950, p. 374). The abundance of spring water in high mountain fastnesses is the primary reason for Lebanon's having been so popular as a refuge area for sect groups escaping from persecution.

The drainage system of the country is clearly seen on the map of Lebanon (Fig. 1). The eastern slopes are drained by the large rivers, Litani and Orontes. The western slopes are drained by a series of small rivers whose courses drop from 5000 to 4000 feet to sea level in distances rarely exceeding fifteen miles. The erosion pattern is what one might expect. The small rivers have cut very steep, high banks, nothing less than deep gorges in many cases. Culturally, this is important for at least three reasons: The gorges have made north-south travel very difficult. It has been impossible to use river water for extensive irrigation except, in very recent years, near the mouths of the rivers. The spectacular scenery has added inspiration to the love of the Lebanese for their country, and it attracts many foreign tourists every summer. Water erosion has also created innumerable caves (used both by Stone Age man and latter-day troglodites), a large natural bridge, and at least one horrendous underground river (reputed to be the original River Styx) which has not yet been fully explored.

Although the lower slopes are not, as a whole, entirely devoid of springs, and although what bottomland there is is fully exploited, there are districts which have no springs, no local streams, and no alluvial soil. One such district is al-Qurni. 491 [497] This district is located about halfway between the large urban centers of Beirut and Tripoli, and the main highway and only railroad between these cities pass through it. This route has been used ever since the advent of man in the area, but the present paved highway dates from about 1920, while the railroad was built by the British army in 1942. Also of very recent date are the automobile roads within the district. The road from Ba'shita to Gharzuuz is paved, and has been

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

in existence about fifteen years. The road from Shaykhan through Munṣif to Ḥilwi has been built since 1945, and the segment between the shrine of Mar Jurjis and Ḥilwi is not yet paved. The road which connects Lower and Upper Burbara is usable but definitely still under construction. The villagers are very conscious of the fact that their road system is a new phenomenon and that it is as yet incomplete. The automobile roads more or less follow the line of old paths many of which are still used. Although the paving of these is generally too rough for any sort of wheeled vehicle, it is essential for any kind of travel in the muddy rainy season.

It would be a great mistake to deduce from the map (Fig. 2) that the plan of these villages (or of any Lebanese villages) is derived from the roads which pass through them. Middle Eastern villages in general are house-clusters, sometimes approaching the southwestern pueblo in degree of compactness. One finds one's way from house to house by a maze of twisting paths, which become alleyways in the larger towns. The only suggestion of physical planning is the frequent occurrence of an open space, *saḥa*, where the small shops and the church or mosque tend to be concentrated (Tannous, 1944, p. 528). In the minds of their respective inhabitants, the plan of the Lebanese village is very different from its counterpart in North America, in which the village green, the courthouse square, or Main Street are definitely centers. The new roads in al-Qurnı are recent impositions on the traditional culture. The one which longitudinally bisects Munṣif follows, in part, an old path, but a number of old buildings had to be torn down to make room for it.

We have already seen that al-Qurnı has no ground water resources. All the water which is used in the district is winter rain water which is collected, Bermuda style, from the roofs of the houses and stored in large, semi-subterranean cisterns of which there are a great number. The physical poverty of the district (cf. Thoumin, 1936, p. 129) is due to its geological structure which Fisher has described:

> Your village lies in a limestone area (middle Cretaceous) underlain by a thin bed of impermeable Cretaceous sands, clays and lignite, with Jurassic limestone lower still. A fault at Tartij [East of al-Qurnı] has exposed a small amount of the impermeable layer, so that there is a *chance* that very deep wells sunk at el Munṣif might reach this horizon. On the whole, though, I am not very sanguine, as I have found round Jounieh and Maameltein [South of Jbayl] the fact that intensive cultivation stops when these particular outcrops are reached. Also, there is a break (at Tartij) with the main anticline of the mountains, so large springs are ruled out. The sudden change from a point N. of Jounieh from intensive garden cultivation to a sterile garrigue corresponds with the beginning of the limestone-marl outcrops. (W. B. Fisher, Personal Communication, Nov. 13, 1952.)

Before proceeding to a discussion of the flora and fauna of the district, it should be mentioned that at Ḥilwi there *are* two springs. Both, however, are small, and

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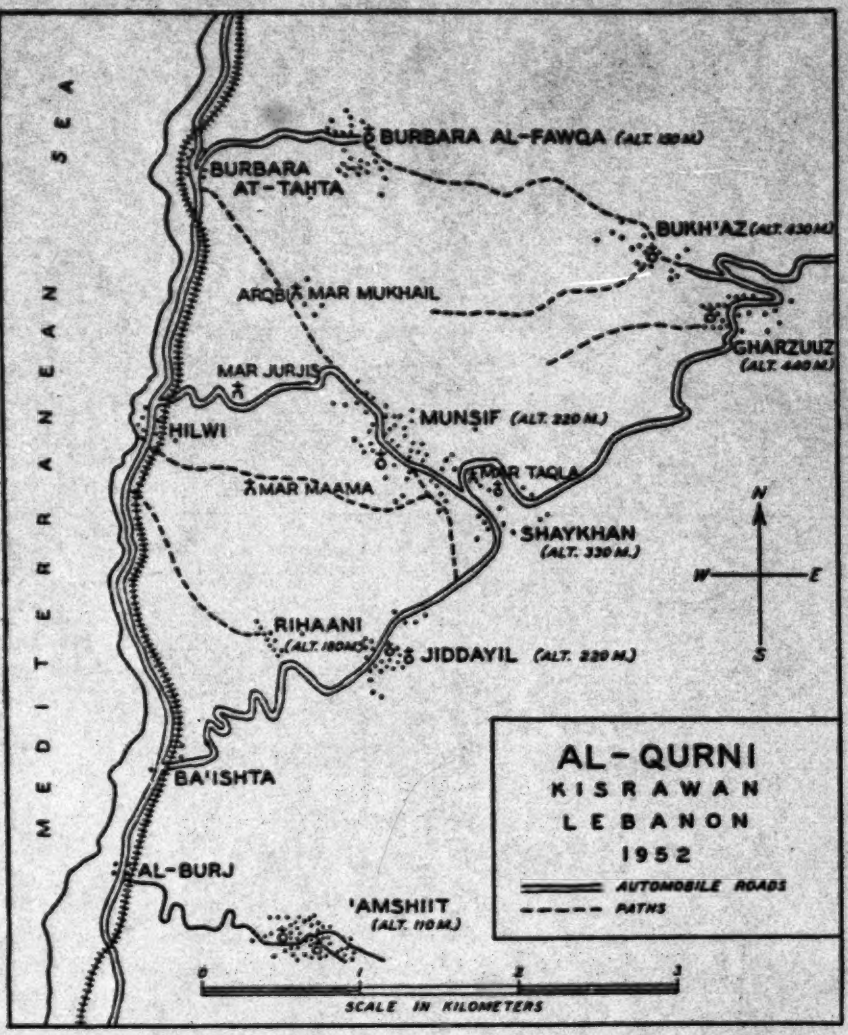

FIG. 2. AL-QURNI

312 only one yields potable water—hence the name of the hamlet, which means "sweet."

137 The sparse natural flora of al-Qurni is an excellent example of garrigue which is widely distributed around the Mediterranean in districts which feature thin soils and calcareous outcrops. Comparing garrigue to the relatively more lush vegetation typical of the French Provence, Fisher says:

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Munṣif is by far the largest, being at least twice as large as Jiddayil which is the second in size.

Al-Qurnī is a unit because its inhabitants consider it to be one. Within it, the individual villages regard themselves as independent, and the people even recognize minor cultural differences. For example, it was said that the phoneme *aa* is pronounced slightly differently in Burbara, Munṣif, and Jiddayil; that the people of one of the villages always marry people from the other villages rather than their own; that the women of one of the villages are more quarrelsome than those of another; and so on. Yet, in relation to the outside, al-Qurnī is a unit. Why? It is not because of sheer proximity, although of course this helps. The reason is that, with minor exceptions concentrated in Jiddayil, al-Qurnī is exclusively Greek Orthodox in religion and is completely surrounded, in depth, by Maronite (technically Roman Catholic) villages. In 1921, Kisrawan had a resident population of 41,004, plus an emigrant population of 14,290. Of the residents, 34,395 were Maronites, 2,659 were Mitwaali (Shii'a Muslims), and 1,010 were Greek Orthodox (all figures from Himadeh, 1936, pp. 410–11). Virtually all of the last must have been counted in al-Qurnī.

It has not been possible to go very far into this study without encountering the phenomenon of units of loyalty and identification. Since this topic will occupy an increasingly important position as we proceed, nothing more will be said about it at this point, except this: Beyond, and except for, kinship and local connections, sectarian affiliation in the Middle East is the strongest bond which can unite a group of people and the most impenetrable barrier which can separate one group from another.

FROM BEIRUT TO MUNṢIF

Placed in its physical and cultural context, let us now turn to the village of al-Munṣif itself. It might be asked why a community of farmers should settle in such an unfavorable environment in the first place. A tentative answer to this question will be presented in the chapter, "The Patterns of Culture Change." It might also be asked why, once established, such a community should grow greatly in size and continue to function even through periods of great economic difficulty. This is an easy question to ask. The remainder of this work is, essentially, an attempt to answer it.

Let us, now, in imagination, go to Munṣif by automobile from Beirut. The trip will take perhaps an hour and a quarter.

Between Beirut and the mouth of the Dog River the road is lined, for the most part, with banana and citrus plantations, and lush stands of tall reeds. Beyond the river, however, the citrus plantations cease, but the banana plantations continue. We notice that water is brought to them in open cement conduits. On the upper slopes to our right, we pass innumerable small villages and their olive and fig orchards.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEl Lebanon MEl

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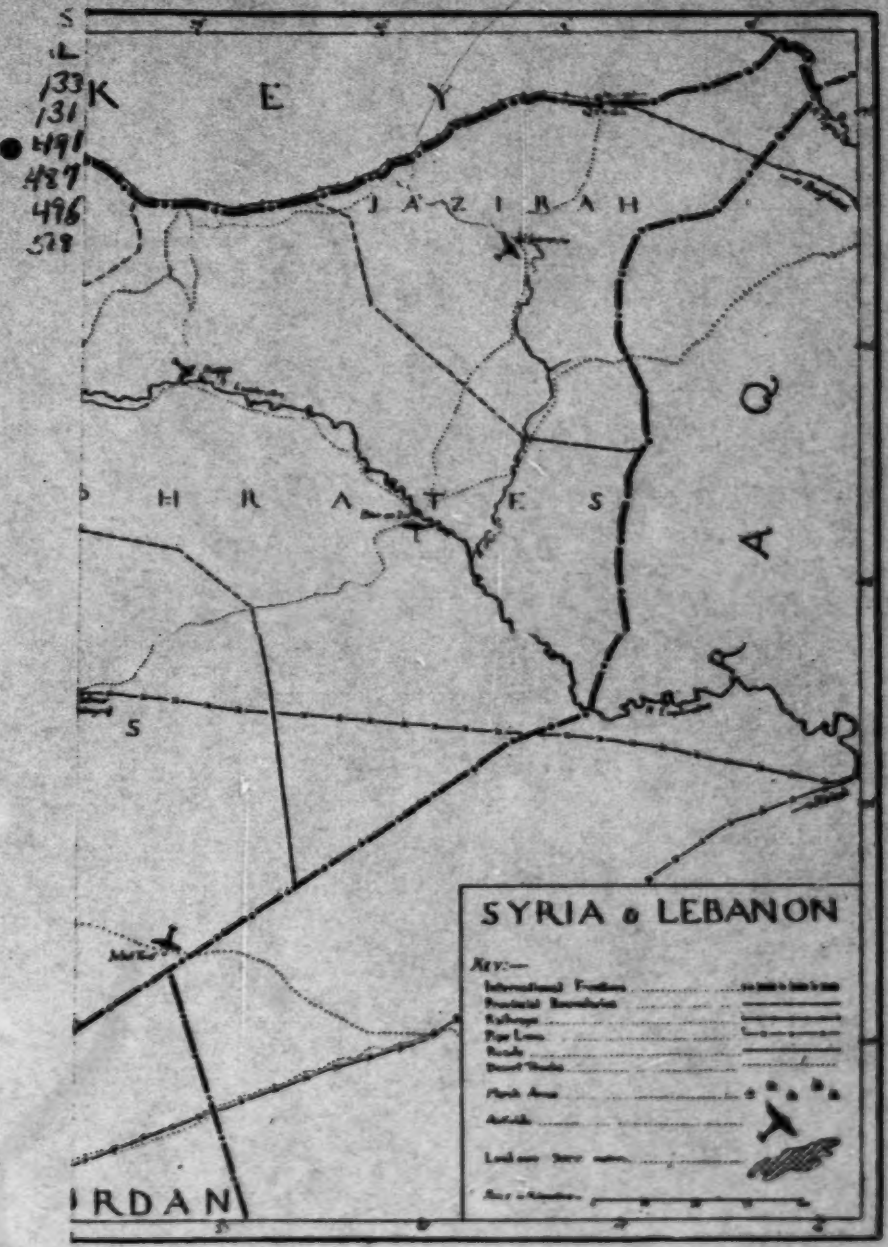
T U R K
HATAY
A L E P P O
E U P H
HAMA
H O M S
D A M A S C U S
JEBEL DRUZE
TRANSJORDA

END MAP (A)



ENO MAP (B)

CONSERVATISM AND CHANGE IN A LEBANESE VILLAGE

John Gulick

THE COASTAL HIGHWAY which connects Beirut and Tripoli winds between the crashing surf of the Mediterranean and the sharply rising slopes of Mount Lebanon. At one point in the journey northward along this road, the traveler may notice before him a ridge which, from the distance, seems to block his way. If, instead of continuing toward Tripoli, the traveler turns off the main highway at the foot of this ridge and winds his way up the gravel road which climbs its face to the crest, he will find himself at the southern, seaward tip of a roughly semicircular ring of six small villages. At the center of this ring is a seventh village considerably larger than the others. This village is al-Munaif.

Topographically, the area which is occupied by the seven villages consists [illegible] that the shape of the area is roughly triangular. The ridges are separated by deep, dry wadis; in addition there are other minor crests and gullies, so that the over-all terrain is rough and broken. The land itself is notable for the prevalence of limestone outcrops. The natural flora conforms to the type known as "garrigue," which features low, bushy scrub oak and a variety of small, thorny, aromatic plants. It is a landscape which could not inspire very much confidence in the hearts of ordinary farmers; even to Lebanese farmers, whose fortitude and resourcefulness are justly famous, it has presented a serious challenge.

But the challenge does not end with land features as such. An even more serious problem is the lack of ground water. There are, indeed, two springs very close to the shore, but both are small and one is brackish. All the water used in the area is winter rain water drained off the roofs of the houses and stored in large underground cisterns, of which there are a very large number. This supply must provide for all the needs of the inhabitants for the entire year. The amount which can be devoted to watering plants is, therefore, extremely limited, and irrigation, in the sense generally applied to the term is impossible under present circumstances.

◆ JOHN GULICK is an anthropologist on the staff of the Department of Sociology at Adelphi College. This article is a brief report of a community study which he made in Lebanon from January to July, 1952, under the direction of the Department of Anthropology of Harvard University. He is the author of "The Lebanese Village: An Introduction," *American Anthropologist*, vol. 55 (August 1953), which deals with certain technical aspects of Lebanese village social structure.

ent farmers. Large holdings, owned by absentee landlords and worked according to the share-tenancy system, predominate, however, in the Bekaa valley, in the 'Akkar plain and in the province of South Lebanon.

A diversity of crops is grown in different parts of the country. The subtropical climate of the coastal plain permits the cultivation of citrus fruits and bananas, while olives, grapes, apricots and other fruits flourish on the terraced mountain slopes. Cereals and legumes are the chief crops of the Bekaa, but cotton, tobacco and numerous types of vegetables are also produced. Large numbers of goats, as well as sheep, cattle and other livestock, are raised, primarily as food or draft animals. Sericulture is carried on in many mountain villages, but the competition of artificial silks has contributed to its decline within recent years.

The government encourages the expansion of agriculture through the promotion of co-operative credit and marketing facilities. There are no experimental farms or research stations, but instruction in modern methods of farming is provided by the agricultural division of the government's vocational school in Beirut and by the American University.

The mineral resources of the region are negligible. Small deposits of lignite, located in the hills above Beirut and Tripoli, are worked intermittently. Salt is also extracted in evaporating beds along the coast north of Beirut. The development of modern industry received some impetus during the war years 1941-45, but is handicapped by the scarcity of raw materials and the limitations of the internal market. Numerous small plants exist for the processing of consumer goods, including the manufacture of textiles, cement, soaps, distilled liquors, leather goods, cigarettes, olive oil and various foodstuffs. The Iraq Petroleum Company has recently established a refinery at Tripoli, the terminus of its pipeline from the oil fields in the Kirkuk region. The chief exports are olives and olive oil, textiles, silk, fruits and petroleum products.

p. 112(5)

Communications are excellent in the coastal districts, but some parts of the interior are inaccessible, especially during the winter months, when snow accumulates on the mountain ridges. Good roads stretch north and south along the coast and in the Bekaa, but the lateral connections are restricted by the nature of the terrain and the shortage of suitable natural passes across the mountains. Trunk highways skirt the coast and extend from Beirut to Damascus, linking Lebanon and Syria. Beirut is also united with Damascus by a railway through Rayak, while a line from Rayak through Homs joins the Istanbul-Baghdad railway at Aleppo. Tripoli is linked with the latter system by a branch from Homs. A coastal railroad, extending from Tripoli to Haifa, was constructed by the British military forces during World War II, and the Lebanese portion is still in operation. Beirut, the principal modern port, handles a large volume of transit traffic for Syria, Jordan, Iraq and other parts of the Middle East. Tripoli is a port of secondary significance, except as an oil-shipping center. The ancient port of Sidon has recently been developed as the terminus of the trans-Arabian pipeline, serving as a Mediterranean port for the shipment of oil from the Saudi Arabian fields of the Arabian American Oil Company. The distances between local points are too short for the promotion of internal air services, but Beirut is an important junction for international airlines serving Europe and the Near and the Far East.

Food and Nutrition

The nutritional standards of the people differ according to the prosperity and the familiarity with food values of the individual families, but they are reasonably high in most parts of the country. Bread, and a coarse-grained cereal known as burghul, which are usually prepared from wheat but sometimes from barley or millet, are staple foods in both urban and rural areas. Rice is popular among all groups of the population. Liberal amounts of milk are consumed

p. 493(A)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

still rise with the sun, although they go to bed after dark. On the whole, there is no specific horological time for meals. However, the village schools operate on a definite time schedule, and this affects quite a large proportion of the resident population—the teachers and their families, the children, and their mothers who prepare their lunches. Of course, those who are, or have been, working in the city, are quite thoroughly conditioned to clock-schedules. A good deal of apparently unnecessary reference to and synchronization of watches was observed in the village. On the whole, however, it can be said that future plans which involve exact hours are made and fulfilled in a casual manner. Perhaps a valid generalization would be that the average individual regards his watch as a symbol of prosperity, an instrument, on occasion, of practical value, and an interesting toy—all in about equal measure.

Combs, toilet soap, safety and straight razors, shaving lotion, etc. (all of European or American manufacture) are universally distributed. Some people have and use toothbrushes. The women do not appear to use cosmetics to any great extent.

A variety of containers have already been described, but several more must be added. The rectangular five-gallon gasoline can, with its top cut out and fitted with a wooden handle, is widely used for carrying water, cement and other bulk materials. Various sizes of coiled baskets, cylindrical with large handles over the top, are used for carrying food. Large, flat wicker trays are used for carrying such things as bread and laundry and for the display of vegetables in the stores. Formerly, silk worm cocoons were set out on them.

Carpenter's and mason's tools—hammers, saws, planes, levels, drills, screwdrivers, chisels, and trowels—appear to be the same in form as they are in the West. Probably most of the items now used are western-made, but most of the forms are very old in the Middle East.

Agricultural tools are conservative and of very ancient form. There are no horses in the village (the Arabs use them for riding rather than for traction), and the ox is the chief draft animal. The plow consists of a wooden shaft (in several segments) to which a round iron spike is set at an agle. The thresher is a heavy sledge into whose bottom sharp volcanic stones (from the Akkar) are set. (See Thesmin, 1956, pp. 134-36, for illustrations.) Grain is winnowed by tossing it up into the air with a rather crude fork made entirely of wood. Small saws and hand-clippers (the only recent foreign element in the toolkit) are used for pruning. The last item is an iron spade, which is, if possible, manipulated by two or three men. One man grasps the handle and shaft in the usual manner, and, in effect, pushes the spade. One or two other men pull the spade by means of cords attached to the shaft just above the shoulders of the blade.

The traditional means of communication were donkeys, horses, and human backs and legs, traveling over rough stone paths. To this, can be added a recent-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

used as fuel in the city. In the village, brushwood is collected for fuel in addition to the importation of kerosene.

Animal manure is not used extensively as plant fertiliner because it is scarce. Recently this meager supply has been supplemented by British-made chemical fertiliners. Night soil is not used at all.

Animal husbandry is very limited. Each farmer has a yoke of oxen for traction and some have a few cows for milk. There are one or two donkeys in the village. Two farmers keep bees. The hives are formed in the large water jars (*jarra*) described earlier. Several of these, each split horizontally across the middle, are set in a row. The bees enter and go out by the narrow open neck. The honey is removed by separating the two halves of the jar, and half the honey is left for the bees. Some fowl are kept in the village, primarily for their eggs. Dogs are kept by some householders, and cats by more, for guarding and mousing, respectively. They are not treated as pets, or objects of affection.

It is the lack of water which so seriously limits agricultural productivity in the village. The possibility of drilling successful wells, even with modern equipment, is, as was noted in the first chapter, very remote. Irrigation lines, which affect the coastal strip lower than forty meters above sea level, have been extended almost to Be'ishta from the River Ibrahiim to the south, and to the village of Madfuun, just north of Burbara, from the River Jawz. The Qurni has the misfortune of being halfway between these rivers, at the end of the line in both directions. It is also unfortunate in that since its coastline is more precipitous than surrounding areas, it has a smaller area of potentially irrigable land than the surrounding areas. Nevertheless, it would be of great help to the village if irrigation water could be brought to it.

CONCLUSION

This chapter can fittingly be closed with a series of quotations which summarize, high-light, or give wider perspective to some of the points which have been made. They do not require any comment except that of drawing the reader's attention to their dates, especially those of the last three.

> 1. It is probable . . . that it was on the slopes of the originally forest-clad mountains of ancient Phoenicia that rain agriculture began. (Lowdermilk, 1944, p. 413.)
>
> 2. The effort of the Lebanese has made this country capable of nourishing a relatively dense population. There are few mountainous regions so little favored by nature from which man has drawn such a great agricultural return. (Thoumin, 1936, p. 126; translation mine.)
>
> 3. The Syrian peasant is more like a miner than a farmer. (Himadeh, 1936, p. 92.)
>
> 4. Elsewhere man has cultivated the land: in the Lebanon he has made it. Elsewhere the harvest is the produce: here it is the soil. Man collects and carries to

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

terial means, which is still used a great deal—shouting from one section of the village to another. The horse and the donkey have given way to the automobile, the bus, the truck, and the paved roads which they require. Two automobiles are stationed in the village, and a number of them are owned by villagers who live in the city. Those in the village are at least fifteen years old. One of the owners operates a regular (about three times a day) taxi service to Jbayl. The Beirut-Tripoli buses regularly stop at Ḥilwi, but the railroad trains never do. No one in the village owns a truck, but it is not difficult to hire one from Jbayl if necessary.

In terms of message communication, there are two new elements in the village. One is the public telephone at Ḥilwi. This does not seem to play a very important part in the life of the community. It is simply one apparatus in the network of telephones which the French Mandatory Government installed along the main highways. The other is the radio. There is one at Ḥilwi and one in the village proper, both in private houses. A third, portable one was purchased during the period of study. There would doubtless be more if it were not necessary to run them on batteries. However, the villagers keep up to date on the news very efficiently. Every day several people go to and return from Jbayl in whose shops radios blare away constantly.

In the field of communication, foreign influence has been of profound importance.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

SUBSISTENCE

RESIDENCE PATTERNS

TURNING again to Table 1, it will be observed that the people of the village are classified not only according to lineage and household but also according to residence, of which five types are distinguished and briefly defined on the table itself. This section will deal with all of them except the emigrant group, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Unquestionably, the outstanding demographic fact about al-Munṣif today is the large proportion of its citizens who are absent from it most of the year, living and working in Beirut or Tripoli. This trend was preceded by that of mass emigration, but the active phase of the latter is now largely over, owing to the restrictive immigration quotas put into effect by several countries since 1920. Table 1 indicates the way in which each household is affected by the trend to the city. It will be observed that of the 87 households: 22 are wholly resident; 16 are wholly summer; 8 have heads who commute while the main body of the household is resident; 41 are split. Of the 41 split households: 39 have the head and others resident; 2 have the head and others in summer only.

From this and the population totals, it is clear that in terms of numbers, residence in the village all year around is still the predominant pattern. Of the total personnel only 18 per cent of the households are "summerers" (the villagers sometimes refer to them as *ṣayfiyyi*) only. The urban trend is, nevertheless, far more marked than it was in Bishmizzîin about 1939 when 13.5 per cent of the total population held jobs or went to school away from the village nine months of the year (Tannous, 1942, p. 67). Tannous refers to this as "temporary emigration," and says that it is a "unique phenomenon which has recently occurred in the village" due to the development of modern means of transportation. Février (1950, p. 277) says that in Ras al-Matn, a large village north and inland from Beirut, many are absent during the winter. Fisher (in a personal communication) remarks that low-altitude villages around Juni appeared to be largely deserted in wintertime in 1951. Thoumin (1936, p. 189) says that in general automobilism has increased the circulation of the population, especially in the direction of the city. We can safely say that urbanism has been an increasing tendency since the 1920's, but we cannot say how the situation in Munsif compares to that in other villages.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621 369 who worked in the city over where they would send their children to school, back in the village or in the city.

Another young adult was completely explicit in his expression of preference for the material and mechanical conveniences of city life which are not available 461 in the village. The scorn for manual labor on the part of Western-educated Arabs 556 has been noted by other students, and is clearly in evidence. In Beirut, for example, 302 Arabs of the most modest means employ a housemaid if they possibly can. This "effendi-complex" is symbolized by many men by a practice whose resemblance in both form and meaning to a proverbial Chinese one is really quite striking—the nails of the little fingers are allowed to grow conspicuously long. This practice is not followed by everyone, but it is very common.

NATIONALISM AND XENOPHOBIA

186 The rise of nationalism in the Middle East, especially since 1918, is a much written upon topic, full details of which cannot and need not be given here. But we are concerned with the way in which the rise of nationalism has affected the Lebanese village in general, Munṣif in particular. Tannous sums the matter up in the following words:

> Perh. ps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. *National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon* [our italics]. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. *Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities* [our italics]. (Tannous, 1949, p. 162.)

The penetration of nationalistic sentiments into villages such as Munṣif would, of course, have been impossible without modern techniques of communication, particularly the press and radio. Rapid surface transportation also has drastically [494] reduced the number and extent of isolated communities. And nationalism itself is a consequence of, and a reaction to, the culture contact situation. (Cf. Schorger, 1952a, p. 31.)

As has been pointed out, the public school curriculum includes regular exhortations in the interests of patriotism, national pride and unity. Small national flags are frequently seen displayed in such unconventional places as automobiles and buses. The national emblem (a cedar tree with triangular foliage and a thick, short trunk) is often seen, in Munṣif and elsewhere, scrawled on walls. It is by no means true, however, that national loyalty has replaced local loyalties in the manner, for example, of modern Japanese villages (cf. Embree, 1939, p. 302). In terms of the in-group analysis in this chapter, the nation has become, for the individual villager, the fifth in the series of in-groups which engage his feelings of loyalty and identification.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

THE PRESENT

George Haddad has recently summarized in some detail the changes which have occurred in Lebanon (and Syria) in the past half century. His emphasis is on material and institutional changes: "Syria and Lebanon have known a real revolution in transport in the last 30 years with the appearance of automobiles (3 in 1914, about 12,000 in 1945). . . . In less than half a century, the urban centers of Syria and Lebanon have changed from medieval towns to modern cities." (Haddad, 1950, pp. 140, 146.)

It is unfortunate that Haddad does not deal at all with the problems, psychological and otherwise, which these revolutionary changes have created. Implicitly, however, he recognizes that change has not directly affected all aspects of life in equal measure: "The traits for which the Syrian Arab and the oriental in general has been known: sense of honor, strict morals, manliness, courage, loyalty, hospitality, reverence of old age, strength of family ties, have not changed much" (*ibid.*, pp. 186–87.) Gibb has phrased the matter somewhat differently: "But in the Near East the changes have not been homogeneous; they have often followed from a violent breach in the continuity of economic and intellectual life and the interference of an external system; they have seldom and only exceptionally embraced even a majority of the population; *and therefore old and new have frequently gone on existing, and still go on existing side by side* [our italics]." (Gibb, 1942a, p. 35.) Let us see how these generalizations can be applied to Munṣif.

MATERIAL CHANGES

As we observed, Westernization in clothes has been very noticeable, though not complete. In this respect, Munṣif appears to be more acculturated than the Egyptian community partially reported upon recently by Lichtenstadter (1952, p. 382), in which the people wear traditional clothes in the village and at all times except when in a wholly acculturative situation such as, for example, working in a modern office. Those Munṣifiin who have adopted Western clothes wear them at all times. In the younger people who are city workers, there is even a tendency to look down on those who wear all or part of the traditional costume because of its connotation of peasant status. But their tendency to reject *both* traditional and European headgear, also noted in Palestine by Patai (1947, p. 22), can be taken as a symbol of the culture conflict which they are undergoing. Also very noticeable is the Westernization of household and personal equipment—furniture, cooking utensils, wristwatches, flashlights, and so on.

These types of material acculturation seem to have taken place under the following conditions:

1. The change does not involve excessive expense.
2. The change is clearly conducive to greater comfort and convenience.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Physical Description of Area.

361 The coastal plain in the Kasmie area is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea on the west and
132 the Lebanon range on the east. The climate is Mediterranean with dry summers, nearly all of the
134 rain falling between October and May. The soil is chiefly a heavy clay. Much of this coastal area
941 is suitable for irrigation. While some of the land is rocky and in the United States would not be used for farm land, nearly all land capable of cultivation has been brought under the plow. The steeper slopes are protected from serious erosion by rock wall terraces. The climate is favorable to the growth of temperate and sub-tropical crops. Citrus fruits, bananas, vegetables, and cereal crops are found in abundance.

361 The major markets for the products of the five villages are Beirut and Saida. All of the project
491 and control villagrs are linked to the Tyre-Saida-Beirut main coastal road by gravel surfaced roads
487 except for Loubya and Saksakiyah, which are dependent upon trails. In no case is the dei'ah more
494 than two miles from the main road. The traffic on this road is heavy and trucks and buses are frequently available for taking products to Saida or Beirut. These towns are 12 and 42 miles respectively distant from 'Adloun, the most southerly village.

Village Government.

622 The five villages included in the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project have a similar form of
623 local government. Each village has a mukhtar (mayor) who is elected in a more-or-less democratic
471 manner. In each village there is also a board of aldermen or village elders. This board is also
556 elected to office and it consists of from two to six members. The mukhtar is generally the largest landowner or operator and one of the wealthiest men in the village. The aldermen as well are among the more well-to-do villagers. However, the concept of wealth is relative. Often the holdings owned by local villagers may be large in comparison with others in their own community, but small indeed when compared to the size of holdings in the village controlled by persons living outside the village. The common fellah does not enjoy representation by his peers in this area whether he has such aspirations is not known.

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For information on the topography, climate, agriculture, mineral wealth, railways, settlement pattern, productive capacity of the economy, and trade of the Levant coastland, see M1 Middle East, cat. 116, 21: Fisher, pp. 371-414.]

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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refinery is running on imported crude oil at about a quarter of its capacity. There exists an IPC refinery at Tripoli which treats over half a million tons of crude a year (10,000 barrels a day) for the needs of Syria and Lebanon which it cannot fully supply; accordingly, its extension has been under discussion. Construction has begun on a refinery for 7,000 barrels a day at Sidon for Mediterranean Refining Company (California Texas Corporation), but while the Syrian market is still too small to justify the erection of a refinery, the Syrian Government nevertheless wishes to have a refinery established in the country to meet its own needs, and negotiations to this end with IPC and with the World Bank have recently taken place.[1]

Under the Barcelona Convention of 1921 dues are not leviable on transit trade, but the two countries draw, under their agreements with the pipeline companies, a sizable revenue from petroleum apart from the indirect benefits caused by employment by the oil companies. At the time of writing the agreements between the two Governments and the two oil companies are under review but no precise details are available, though the two Governments began by demanding that they should receive jointly a half share of the saving which the companies made by using the pipelines instead of having to transport their oil to the Mediterranean by tanker. Even if this principle were accepted, the difficulty would remain of establishing a satisfactory formula for calculating the saving. The agreement with Tapline is believed to provide Lebanon with about £L4½ million a year. The oil companies bring foreign exchange into Syria and the Lebanon and the currency is surrendered to the Governments at the official rate but can thereafter be resold at the rate applying to the free market which may bring to the Governments a profit of a third. The problem is that Syria and Lebanon are, in fact, not oil-producing states and, although their needs and desires for foreign money may be as great as Iraq's, it is difficult to see how they can expect to obtain from petroleum the same revenue as do the states where it is produced.

Communications

In general, roads provide a cheaper and quicker means of transport than the railways which are mostly running at a loss. The railway lines are:

The Hejaz Railway. A narrow (3 ft 5 in.) gauge track runs from the centre of Damascus to Deraa (88 miles) and thence

[1] See *Petroleum Press Service*, February 1953, p. 58.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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into Jordan. There is a branch line from Deraa to Suwaida, but another branch, to Haifa, is out of use.

Damas-Hama et Prolongements. (*a*) From Beirut to Damascus there is a narrow-gauge track running for 91 miles via Rayaq; rack and pinion are used to traverse the mountains, and this slow haul is now employed for freight only. (*b*) From Rayaq to Aleppo there is a 4 ft 8 in. gauge track for 270 miles which passes through Homs and Hama. (*c*) The stretch of the Cairo–Turkey line from Ras an-Naqura on the Lebano–Israel border to Beirut is out of commission but the section of 64 miles in standard gauge from Beirut to Tripoli and Homs is used.

Syrian state Railways. This is the part (164 miles) of the Turkey–Mosul line that runs inside Syrian territory.

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Roads

Main arterial roads in Lebanon are considered adequate, but the network of secondary and feeder roads is poor. In Syria the road system is generally inadequate, and only the asphalted roads are usable for heavy trafic throughout the year. The following figures give some indication of the position:

Syria, 1951	Miles	Lebanon, 1949	Miles
1st class, asphalted	2,917	Surfaced	1,811
2nd class, macadamized	1,268	Unimproved	414
Tracks	5,218		

(Sources: *Statesman's Year-Book*, 1953; US Dept. of Commerce.)

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There are over 11,000 vehicles registered in Syria. Trans-desert passenger and goods services to Iraq are in regular use and goods are also moved, including refrigerated vegetables, to Kuwait and Dahran. The authorities are restricting the registration of new lorries to the estimated needs of the countries, but more vehicles are required, particularly diesel lorries for long hauls of heavy loads.

S L 509

Aerodromes. The new airport of Beirut (Khaldeh) receives the Comet, and is beginning to rival Cairo as a gateway to the East, and that of Damascus (Mezzeh) has long been in use by Constellations. Many international airlines stage at Khaldeh or Mezzeh; the approach to Khaldeh is better and, with between twenty and thirty aircraft a day it has since 1951 outstripped Mezzeh, which has five to ten aircraft a day. For some years plans have been under consideration for moving the Damascus airport to the east of the city. There are two private Lebanese airlines. A national airline in Syria was a financial failure and was taken over by the army. Smaller airfields exist near Tripoli,

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

(Fisher, 1950, p. 50). From May through October, there is no precipitation at all, except at the beginning and the end of the period.

Along the coast, up to about 1500 feet at least, freezing temperatures in winter are of very rare occurrence, but snow covers the higher slopes continuously during the winter. Patches of it on the summits even defy the broiling sun of August.

At Beirut the average summer temperature is 82°F., and it is frequently oppressively humid (Fisher, 1950, p. 42). In al-Qurni, as in Beirut, there is no snow in winter, but the district is somewhat cooler and less humid than the city in summer.

Lebanon, as a whole, is obviously a well-watered country, but its geological structure has led to an over-abundance of water in some districts and a dearth of it in others. Mt. Lebanon consists, essentially, of two thick layers of Jurassic and Cretaceous limestone, interspersed with a layer of sands and clays. Rain water and snow-melt either run off directly or sink through permeable upper strata to emerge as springs at lower levels, especially at between 3000 and 5000 feet, where their downward seepage is blocked by impermeable strata below (Fisher, 1950, p. 374). The abundance of spring water in high mountain fastnesses is the primary reason for Lebanon's having been so popular as a refuge area for sect groups escaping from persecution.

The drainage system of the country is clearly seen on the map of Lebanon (Fig. 1). The eastern slopes are drained by the large rivers, Litani and Orontes. The western slopes are drained by a series of small rivers whose courses drop from 5000 to 4000 feet to sea level in distances rarely exceeding fifteen miles. The erosion pattern is what one might expect. The small rivers have cut very steep, high banks, nothing less than deep gorges in many cases. Culturally, this is important for at least three reasons: The gorges have made north-south travel very difficult. It has been impossible to use river water for extensive irrigation except, in very recent years, near the mouths of the rivers. The spectacular scenery has added inspiration to the love of the Lebanese for their country, and it attracts many foreign tourists every summer. Water erosion has also created innumerable caves (used both by Stone Age man and latter-day troglodites), a large natural bridge, and at least one horrendous underground river (reputed to be the original River Styx) which has not yet been fully explored.

Although the lower slopes are not, as a whole, entirely devoid of springs, and although what bottomland there is is fully exploited, there are districts which have no springs, no local streams, and no alluvial soil. One such district is al-Qurni. This district is located about halfway between the large urban centers of Beirut and Tripoli, and the main highway and only railroad between these cities pass through it. This route has been used ever since the advent of man in the area, but the present paved highway dates from about 1920, while the railroad was built by the British army in 1942. Also of very recent date are the automobile roads within the district. The road from Be'ishta to Ghazzeir is paved, and has been

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TRANSJORDA

END MAP (0)

CARTE DU LIBAN

NORD

KAA

MONT LIBAN
LIBEK

LIBAN SUD

Communications are excellent in the coastal districts, but some parts of the interior are inaccessible, especially during the winter months, when snow accumulates on the mountain ridges. Good roads stretch north and south along the coast and in the Bekaa, but the lateral connections are restricted by the nature of the terrain and the shortage of suitable natural passes across the mountains. Trunk highways skirt the coast and extend from Beirut to Damascus, linking Lebanon and Syria. Beirut is also united with Damascus by a railway through Rayak, while a line from Rayak through Homs joins the Istanbul-Baghdad railway at Aleppo. Tripoli is linked with the latter system by a branch from Homs. A coastal railroad, extending from Tripoli to Haifa, was constructed by the British military forces during World War II, and the Lebanese portion is still in operation. Beirut, the principal modern port, handles a large volume of transit traffic for Syria, Jordan, Iraq and other parts of the Middle East. Tripoli is a port of secondary significance, except as an oil-shipping center. The ancient port of Sidon has recently been developed as the terminus of the trans-Arabian pipeline, serving as a Mediterranean port for the shipment of oil from the Saudi Arabian fields of the Arabian American Oil Company. The distances between local points are too short for the promotion of internal air services, but Beirut is an important junction for international airlines serving Europe and the Near and the Far East.

Food and Nutrition

The nutritional standards of the people differ according to the prosperity and the familiarity with food values of the individual families, but they are reasonably high in most parts of the country. Breads and a coarse-grained cereal known as *burghul*, which are usually prepared from wheat but sometimes from barley or millet, are staple foods in both urban and rural areas. Rice is popular among all groups of the population. Liberal amounts of milk are consumed

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954-M1 Middl... East
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near Aleppo, and at Rayaq and there are many emergency landing fields.

Sea Ports. Since 1950 Beirut has handled over 2 million tonnage of ships a year; an increase of about a quarter of a million over the pre-war figures. The port has a free zone through which goods are shipped to Syria, Iraq, and Jordan. But the Syrian Government hopes to divert some of the transit trade from Beirut and has, with the assistance of a loan of $6 million from Saudi Arabia, formed a company to develop Latakia in order to handle about a million tons of goods a year (in 1952 431,393 tons were handled). Work on the extension of the port was begun by a Yugoslav firm in April 1953. Tripoli, Sidon, and Banias are ports handling the oil from the pipelines[1] and are little used for other purposes.

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Wireless and Telephones. An automatic telephone exchange system covers most of Syria and an automatic exchange is planned for Beirut. Telephone links with Europe and America are available through Beirut and normal cable facilities exist. The Syrian state broadcasting authority has two large transmitters and broadcasts in Arabic, French, English, and Hebrew. Near Beirut there is a station which broadcasts in Arabic, French, and English.

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The 'Common Interests'

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Under the Mandate, Syria and Lebanon formed an economic and customs union, the Higher Council of Common Interests, under the direct control of France, which administered customs and excise and controlled concessionary companies, antiquities, and some other services. On 1 January 1944 the control was transferred to the Syrian and Lebanese Governments. The currencies were linked and interchangeable, and both the Syrian and Lebanese pounds were largely backed by French francs based on a rate of 8·83 to the pound sterling (then worth $4·03). In order to maintain a good profit on the exchange brought in by oil companies the Lebanese and Syrian pounds were not devalued in 1949 to follow sterling. Exchange was controlled by one department for both countries and the note issue is in the hands of the French Banque de Syrie et du Liban.

But these links were incompatible with the differences that developed in the economic policies of the two countries when they became independent. Syria, in normal years, has a large exportable surplus of agricultural products and little transit trade, whereas the debtor trade balance of Lebanon is com-

[1] See Appendix IV, p. 570 below.

TRANSPORTATION AND INSURANCE

[457] 1. Transportation:-

This includes freight charges, passenger fares and port earnings.

•[505 509] (1) Freight: Lebanon has virtually no merchant fleet and, therefore, practically no income from sea freight. It has two airlines which handle both passengers and freight, but income from the latter could not be ascertained; however, as it is known to be relatively small, it could be disregarded without serious effect.

Payments for freight have already been accounted for in the import estimates which are given CIF (cf. p. 11-12).

(2) Passenger fares:

a. The debit side of this item includes what "residents" in Lebanon pay for foreign carriers engaged in international transportation, whether by sea, air or land. Unfortunately available figures of arrivals into, and departures from Lebanon cover only Lebanese nationals travelling by air and sea, and it has been impossible to correct these figures to include all residents as well as travellers by land (cf. Table 22).

As the published government figures lump together all sea and air travellers going through Beirut, it has been necessary to go back to the original abstracts to obtain the necessary breakdowns as to the countries of origin and destination and as to the mode of travel (i.e., whether by air or sea). Moreover as the abstract grouped under "other countries" a considerable number of travellers, it was necessary to make a sample study of the individual records from which the abstracts are compiled to arrive at a rough breakdown of these "other countries".

Communications are excellent in the coastal districts, but some parts of the interior are inaccessible, especially during the winter months, when snow accumulates on the mountain ridges. Good roads stretch north and south along the coast and in the Bekaa, but the lateral connections are restricted by the nature of the terrain and the shortage of suitable natural passes across the mountains. Trunk highways skirt the coast and extend from Beirut to Damascus, linking Lebanon and Syria. Beirut is also united with Damascus by a railway through Rayak, while a line from Rayak through Homs joins the Istanbul-Baghdad railway at Aleppo. Tripoli is linked with the latter system by a branch from Homs. A coastal railroad, extending from Tripoli to Haifa, was constructed by the British military forces during World War II, and the Lebanese portion is still in operation. Beirut, the principal modern port, handles a large volume of transit traffic for Syria, Jordan, Iraq and other parts of the Middle East. Tripoli is a port of secondary significance, except as an oil-shipping center. The ancient port of Sidon has recently been developed as the terminus of the trans-Arabian pipeline, serving as a Mediterranean port for the shipment of oil from the Saudi Arabian fields of the Arabian American Oil Company. The distances between local points are too short for the promotion of internal air services, but Beirut is an important junction for international airlines serving Europe and the Near and the Far East.

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T U R K
HAMA
H O M S
TRANSJORDA

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LEBANON Map

END MAP (B)

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into Jordan. There is a branch line from Deraa to Suwaida, but another branch, to Haifa, is out of use.

Damas-Hama et Prolongements. (*a*) From Beirut to Damascus there is a narrow-gauge track running for 91 miles via Rayaq; rack and pinion are used to traverse the mountains, and this slow haul is now employed for freight only. (*b*) From Rayaq to Aleppo there is a 4 ft 8 in. gauge track for 270 miles which passes through Homs and Hama. (*c*) The stretch of the Cairo-Turkey line from Ras an-Naqura on the Lebanon-Israel border to Beirut is out of commission but the section of 64 miles in standard gauge from Beirut to Tripoli and Homs is used.

Syrian state Railways. This is the part (164 miles) of the Turkey-Mosul line that runs inside Syrian territory.

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Roads

Main arterial roads in Lebanon are considered adequate, but the network of secondary and feeder roads is poor. In Syria the road system is generally inadequate, and only the asphalted roads are usable for heavy traffic throughout the year. The following figures give some indication of the position:

Syria, 1951	Miles	Lebanon, 1949	Miles
... class, asphalted	1,871	Surfaced	1,811
... class, macadamized	1,788	Unimproved	674
Tracks	3,018		

(Statesman's Year-Book, 1952; US Dept. of Commerce.)

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There are over 11,000 vehicles registered in Syria. Trans-desert passenger and goods services to Iraq are in regular use and goods are also moved, including refrigerated vegetables, to Kuwait and Dahran. The authorities are restricting the registration of new lorries to the estimated needs of the country, but more vehicles are required, particularly diesel lorries for long hauls of heavy loads.

S L 507

Aerodromes. The new airport of Beirut (Khaldeh) receives the Comets, and is beginning to rival Cairo as a gateway to the Levant, and that of Damascus (Mezzeh) has long been in use by Constellations. Many international airlines stage at Khaldeh or Mezzeh; the approach to Khaldeh is better and, with between twenty and thirty aircraft a day, it has since 1951 outstripped Mezzeh, which has five to ten aircraft a day. For some years plans have been under consideration for moving the Damascus airport to the east of the city. There are two private Lebanese airlines. A national airline in Syria was a financial failure and was taken over by the army. Smaller airfields exist near Tripoli,

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near Aleppo, and at Rayaq and there are many emergency landing fields.

Sea Ports. Since 1950 Beirut has handled over 2 million tonnage of ships a year; an increase of about a quarter of a million over the pre-war figures. The port has a free zone through which goods are shipped to Syria, Iraq, and Jordan. But the Syrian Government hopes to divert some of the transit trade from Beirut and has, with the assistance of a loan of $6 million from Saudi Arabia, formed a company to develop Lattakia in order to handle about a million tons of goods a year (in 1950 431,583 tons were handled). Work on the extension of the port was begun by a Yugoslav firm in April 1955. Tripoli, Sidon, and Banias are ports handling the oil from the pipelines and are little used for other purposes.

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Wireless and Telephones. An automatic telephone exchange system covers most of Syria and an automatic exchange is planned for Beirut. Telephone links with Europe and America are available through Beirut and normal cable facilities exist. The Syrian state broadcasting authority has two large transmitters and broadcasts in Arabic, French, English, and Hebrew. Near Beirut there is a station which broadcasts in Arabic, French, and English.

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The 'Common Interests'

Under the Mandate, Syria and Lebanon formed an economic and customs union, the Higher Council of Common Interests, under the direct control of France, which administered customs and excise and controlled concessionary companies, antiquities, and some other services. On 1 January 1944 the control was transferred to the Syrian and Lebanese Governments. The currencies were linked and interchangeable, and both the Syrian and Lebanese pounds were largely backed by French francs based on a rate of 6·85 to the pound sterling (then worth $4·03). In order to maintain a good parity on the exchange brought in by oil companies the Lebanese and Syrian pounds were not devalued in 1949 to follow sterling. Exchange was controlled by one department for both countries and the note issue is in the hands of the French Banque de Syrie et du Liban.

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But these links were incompatible with the differences that developed in the economic policies of the two countries when they became independent. Syria, in normal years, has a large exportable surplus of agricultural products and little transit trade, whereas the debtor trade balance of Lebanon is com-

* See Appendix IV, p. 570 below.

TRANSPORTATION AND INSURANCE

[457] 1. Transportation:-

This includes freight charges, passenger fares and port services.

[505 509] (1) Freight: Lebanon has virtually no merchant fleet and, therefore, practically no income from sea freight. It has two airlines which handle both passengers and freight, but income from the latter could not be ascertained; however, as it is known to be relatively small, it could be disregarded without serious effect.

Payments for freight have already been accounted for in the import estimates which are given CIF (cf. p. 11-12).

(2) Passenger fares:

a. The debit side of this item includes what "residents" in Lebanon pay for foreign carriers engaged in international transportation, whether by sea, air or land. Unfortunately available figures of arrivals into, and departures from Lebanon cover only Lebanese nationals travelling by air and sea, and it has been impossible to correct these figures to include all residents as well as travellers by land (cf. Table 28).

As the published government figures lump together all sea and air travellers going through Beirut, it has been necessary to go back to the original abstracts to obtain the necessary breakdowns as to the countries of origin and destination and as to the mode of travel (i.e., whether by air or sea). Moreover as the abstract grouped under "other countries" a considerable number of travellers, it was necessary to make a sample study of the individual records from which the abstracts are compiled to arrive at a rough breakdown of these "other countries".

Communications are excellent in the coastal districts, but some parts of the interior are inaccessible, especially during the winter months, when snow accumulates on the mountain ridges. Good roads stretch north and south along the coast and in the Bekaa, but the lateral connections are restricted by the nature of the terrain and the shortage of suitable natural passes across the mountains. Trunk highways skirt the coast and extend from Beirut to Damascus, linking Lebanon and Syria. Beirut is also linked with Damascus by a railway through Rayak, while a line from Rayak through Homs joins the Istanbul-Baghdad railway at Aleppo. Tripoli is linked with the latter system by a branch from Homs. A coastal railroad, extending from Tripoli to Haifa, was constructed by the British military forces during World War II, and the Lebanese portion is still in operation. Beirut, the principal modern port, handles a large volume of transit traffic for Syria, Jordan, Iraq and other parts of the Middle East. Tripoli is a port of secondary significance, except as an oil-shipping center. The ancient port of Sidon has recently been developed as the terminus of the trans-Arabian pipeline, serving as a Mediterranean port for the shipment of oil from the Saudi Arabian fields of the Arabian American Oil Company. The distances between local points are too short for the promotion of internal air services, but Beirut is an important junction for international airlines serving Europe and the Near and the Far East.

Food and Nutrition

The nutritional standards of the people differ according to the prosperity and the familiarity with local values of the individual families, but they are reasonably high in most parts of the country. Bread, and a coarse-grained cereal known as *burghul*, which are usually prepared from wheat but sometimes from barley or millet, are staple foods in both urban and rural areas. Rice is popular among all groups of the population. Liberal amounts of milk are consumed

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to maintain their Lebanese citizenship abroad are Christians, the overwhelming majority of whom are Maronites.

(c) The natural increase among the non-Christian population of the Lebanon, and particularly of the Shi'ah and the Druzes, is more than twice as great as that of the Christian population. These facts can serve as a key to explain various developments, the influence of which may be decisive in shaping the social character and political line of the Lebanon.

Any person reviewing the demographic problems of the Lebanon cannot but observe a number of factors common to the Christian population of the Lebanon and the Yishuv (the Jewish community) in Palestine. The natural increase of the Christians in the Lebanon is roughly equal to that of the Yishuv in Palestine.*

Against this, however, the Yishuv in Palestine has incomparably more potential reserve in the way of immigration from abroad than that which is available to the Lebanese Christians through the return of emigrants. And just as the chief concern of Zionism in Palestine is the creation of possibilities for the absorption of fresh immigrants from abroad, so the Christians of the Lebanon are faced first and foremost with the problem of preventing emigration from the country, and, in consequence, the creation of opportunities for absorbing emigrants who do return and who can return to their homeland, given suitable absorptive conditions. In addition, attention is devoted to the creation of opportunities for absorbing Christians who require a refuge.

The absence of dynamic economic resources in the Lebanon which could increase and expand the sources of livelihood for a progressive population has led to a steady emigration from the country since the middle of the last century. This process has chiefly affected the Christians whose requirements are more developed and whose living standards are higher than those of their Druze and Moslem neighbours; it has created a serious social and political problem which, taken together with their lower rate of natural increase, places the future of the Lebanese Christians in permanent danger.

Robert Widmer described the economic reasons for a migration from the Lebanon in the following passage:†

> "Lebanon is over-populated. As has been stated, the density of population is about 93 people to a square kilometre. In view of the topography of the country, its rocky mountains and its thin soil, its scarcity of mineral wealth, and its undeveloped industries, the land cannot support all its people. Consequently it is to be expected that some of them have to emigrate, leaving many dependents on their remittances."

As long as emigration was temporary, it was in many ways advantageous. To the general broadening of outlook resulting from contact with more advanced countries were added the material benefits of an increase in the country's capital (brought in by returning emigrants), an eco-

* Fourteen per-mille among the Christians of the Lebanon as against fifteen per-mille among the Jews of Palestine.

† S. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 14.

The living patterns of the common residents generally resemble to the wife and non-working children living in the village for about three months in the summer. Heads of households and working children commute, usually by day and, of course, spend their vacations of two to four weeks in the village. This pattern is familiar to Americans who are afflicted with, in Lebanon, however, it is a money-saving device as well as an escape from the summer discomforts of the city. City living is definitely more expensive than village living. This has evidently always been true, but the situation has been greatly aggravated since 1939. In Beirut, food prices increased about five hundred per cent between 1940 and 1950, other commodities about four hundred per cent, causing severe hardship especially among the lower and middle classes (Gordon, 1950, pp. 101-02). This fact accounts for the occurrence of eight households in which the children and usually the wives live in the village all year around, while the husbands commute, usually returning to the village only on weekends.

When we look at Table 1 from the point of view of sources of income, we can deduce that the trend to urbanism is definitely increased or connected with urbanism in terms of residence only. Twenty-six (virtually 30 per cent) of the heads of household have city jobs and presumably support their families primarily thereby. In addition, a large number of unmarried young adults have city jobs. As we shall see shortly, the village is preponderantly dependent upon urban, rather than rural, sources of income. In this connection, we may cite Jaber who classifies Palestine, Lebanon, Syria, and western Turkey as an area in which less than 10 per cent of the population are dependent upon agriculture (Jaber, 1944, p. 341).

Twenty-five individuals are listed as "absent." Of these seventeen are women who have married outsiders and are living away from the village, returning only for occasional visits. Most of them are living in Lebanon. The remainder, eight persons, are living outside of Lebanon, mostly in England. They maintain contact with the village and are still legal residents of it.

The urban trend is more marked in Ellen than it is in the village proper, partly because Ellen is better located from the point of view of rapid communication with the outside. Ellen's population is as follows: residents, 30; commuters, 11; absent, 1; emigrated, 2; total 44. Three of its eleven households is wholly urban, and three of them are wholly summer.

CONCLUSIONS

A detailed study and discussion of Table 1 will bring out many of the important facts concerning the occupations of the villagers. Let us first consider the series of totals. The number of males for seventy-four of families who have gainful or purposeful employment outside the home, 171 to 44. The discrepancy in the ratio which these figures suggest is corrected by the fact that 110 females are housewives or "at home." The total of 74 heads of household does not tally with

VILLAGE LIFE VERSUS CITY LIFE

It should be apparent by now that the village as an institution is a significant focus of loyalty and identification for everyone in it regardless of age. This unity of sentiment is not, however, matched by unity of opinion as to which is better, living in the village or living in the city. On this three different points of view were expressed. (1) regret at the passing of the "good old days," coupled with complete resignation to the present situation; (2) regret at the passing of the "good old days" coupled with the desire to revitalize village life, by bringing in irrigation; (3) unequivocal preference for the material advantages and comforts of city life, without, however, much spiritual satisfaction in it. By adhering to any one of these views, the average Mangalli necessarily finds himself afflicted with nostalgia, frustration, or both.

Illustrative of the first point of view is the following quotation from the remarks of a middle-aged resident. The occasion was a moment when the investigator had stopped to talk about an enormous mound of small stones, one of many in the village.

> Our grandfathers worked very hard. They took the stones from the ground and put them here, as they could plant. Now people do not work hard. Our grandfathers worked hard, and they lived well. Here we are poor. They were not rich, but they were strong and well.

The second point of view was expressed by another middle-aged man as follows:

> Most of these young people now don't want to work the way their grandfathers did. They want to go to Beirut and make a few easy pounds. And when they get a job there, what happens? It costs so much to live there that they are not any better off than they would be here.
>
> I would like to see these young people settle down here on the land again. Most people here don't want to make a lot of money. All they really want is enough to make enough so they will not be hungry and without clothes. That is why we need to bring water to the village. The many who live on the land here are because the land is so poor, because it needs water.

One can read into this statement the problem which many of the young people face, educational aspirations leading away from village life and its satisfactions even and beyond the problem of adequate financial return.

The third point of view was revealed, in significantly ambivalent form, by a young adult who had received the highest type of education. He once remarked: "I think those of us who live in Beirut appreciate the ways of the village more than those who live in the village all the time." But he immediately added that there was very little to do in the village, and for a person of his interests and ambitions, this was certainly the truth. He went on to voice the concern of many young fellows

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[For data on housing, occupations, income, expenditure, and similar data that may reflect on the standard of living in the city of Beirut, see entire source, category 116.]

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In neither country is there an officer caste or a strong military tradition, though the present Syrian regime is trying to create one.

Social Survey

The ruling class in both countries is drawn from wealthy families; titles do not exist and the 'old' rich families, whose position and wealth come from land, mix freely with the 'new' rich families, whose money comes from commerce. There is no stigma in engaging in trade and even members of the upper class are merchants. A middle class of functionaries and employees has been growing up since 1918 in the three main cities. Their flats, between the splendour of the rich quarter and the huddle of the *suq*, are being built in quantities and their new, middle-class way of life is based on European standards. The mass of the people are artisans and labourers. The urban artisan approaches the middle class and the rural labourer approaches the hard life of the nomad; for the farm labourer the standard of living is generally low.

The Press

The press of both countries is important but no one paper or group of papers has established an ascendancy. Damascus had at one time over twenty daily papers none of which could guarantee a circulation of over 3,000. The same state of affairs holds true in Beirut where most parties issue Arabic and in some cases French papers; there are also Armenian newspapers and one English daily.

Individual Lebanese have founded papers and *Le Commerce du Levant*, published in Beirut, has a standing comparable with *Le Journal Égyptien*. In both countries press censorship has frequently closed down a paper only for it to re-emerge under another name, and in Syria the military dictatorship has reduced the press to a mere mouthpiece of official propaganda.

Education

In both countries there are primary and secondary schools, and the number of schools and students increase each year. Primary education is compulsory, and although reliable figures of literacy are not available,[1] it may be assumed that the percentage of illiterates is decreasing in both countries, but is higher in Syria than in Lebanon. In Syria, most of the schools are run by the state and of the private schools (which are

[1] The estimate for Syria for 1947 given in UN, Dept. of Social Affairs, *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation*, 1952, was 49·9 per cent.

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SYRIA MDI
LEBANON MDI

figure until February 1953. The cost of living has likewise risen considerably; during the war it rose about sixfold, reaching a peak in 1945. It then decreased steadily until the autumn of 1950, when the Korean boom in raw material prices brought fresh inflationary pressures into Lebanon through her growing commercial and entrepôt trade, and persisted until early 1952. This fresh rise in prices was also caused by the rise in food prices (imported and home grown) following the bad harvest of 1951. Although early in 1953 prices had not resumed their pre-Korean level, they had declined steadily.

The following figures showing the indices of wholesale prices and the cost of living illustrate the salient movements in prices (1948 = 100):

	1939	1945	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952
Wholesale prices	21	134	87	100	98	111	131	137
Cost of living	20	126	84	100	98	104	117	123

(Source: IMF, *International Financial Statistics*, September 1953.)

Budgetary expenditure and receipts have also increased considerably, partly resulting from the rise in prices but also from greater commitments. The main increase in expenditure has been for defence, for the Palestine conflict and its aftermath, and for education. The sources of revenue have undergone a marked change: whereas customs provided 60 per cent of the revenue in 1939, they now contribute only 23 per cent, and new indirect taxes on general consumption now provide the major share, about 30 per cent. A measure to increase direct taxation was introduced in September 1951 in the form of a tax on agricultural income based on a 'presumptive' assessment value at progressive rates of tax. As yet its full effect is not known. The budget estimates for 1952 were: expenditure £L34·03 million, and receipts £L34·18 million; further details are given in table 2 on p. 500 below. The 1953 budget was expected to be of the order of £L120 million.

The division between the Syrian and the Lebanese currencies became effective at the end of January 1948 and this introduced an agio between the two currencies. At first this favoured Lebanon, but in 1951 the Syrian pound was the higher and then, in 1952, the Lebanese pound returned to a premium of from 0·6 per cent to 0·7 per cent. The exchange rates of foreign currencies are given in table 3 on p. 503 below.

International Trade

In defiance of the gloomy prophecies of economists, Lebanon continues to flourish with an adverse trade balance, which in

22: Tannous N.O-1 (no date) 1951 M3 Middle East M3
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most in their minds. Furthermore, they put the new land under cultivation through an understanding with the local tribal chief. He guarantees them "protection" of the crop in return for a portion of the produce. Nowhere does the peasant figure in this deal other than as a laborer or a sharecropper. Nowhere do we see signs of the emergence of that badly needed class of small, independent, cultivator-owners.

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The situation in Lebanon presents a glaring and enlightening contrast between two systems. In the mountain area, the heart of the country, a strong tradition of private ownership by small independent farmers prevails. In most cases, the family farm averages about 10 acres. The soil is scanty and the terrain difficult; but the people have their hearts in what they own. They have blasted the rocks and built extensive terraces to prevent erosion; they have made the mountainsides produce abundantly of olives, grapes, figs, and apples. On the narrow coastal strips they have grown luxuriant orchards of citrus and bananas. More significant than all of this, we observe that the village folk in this area enjoy much higher standards of living. This is clearly manifested in their diet, health, housing, and a literacy rate of some 50 percent.

True, they have other sources of income, especially from emigrants residing abroad. Yet the independence they have gained through ownership of the land has endowed them with the initiative and the possibility to seek these other sources and better their living conditions. Unlike the sharecropper, who is doomed to his status, the small independent owner is free to move up the ladder.

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Our argument in this respect gains support from the situation that prevails in the east of Lebanon — in the Akkar plain of the north, in the Bika valley of the interior, and in the mountain area of the south. Here we witness the predominance of the same feudal-absentee-sharecropping system that exists in Syria and Iraq. Here also we witness the same conditions of deprivation, lack of development and low levels of living. Our argument gains further support from a consideration of living conditions in those village communities of northern Iraq, of some sections of Syria and Jordan, where the people are independent and own

increase the productivity per acre and also to expand the cultivated area per head.

In the Lebanon, however, with its steep hillsides under intensive cultivation, there is a definite pressure on land resources. The limits of intensification appear to have been reached, and a large part of the village population supplements its income by work in the towns, and by remittances from abroad. If the land tenure system in Syria were less oppressive, room might be found on the land for settlers from the Lebanon, but as things are, the standard of living and status of the Lebanese peasant is higher; compared with the Syrian peasant he is a free man, and there is no inducement to leave the Mountain for the underpopulated plains of central or northern Syria.

LAND TENURE

Corresponding to these different methods of farming, there are different systems of land tenure.[1] In Lebanon individual small ownership is well established, and the pattern of village life, with its broad class of small peasant owners, few large farmers, and a growing class of landless labourers, resembles that of Europe.

In Syria, the greater part of the land is owned by city notables—the ruling class—and cultivated by small share-tenants. Though individual ownership exists in some districts, for instance the Beqa Valley and the oasis of Damascus, the most usual form of landownership in the plain districts of Syria is share-tenancy. The villagers bring their corn to the village threshing floor, and when the grain is threshed the landlord or his agent stands by and takes one-half of the grain. Towards this crop he has contributed nothing; all labour, equipment, seed, livestock, have been supplied by the tenant, so that his share is rent purely for the use of the land. The landlord is almost always an absentee, a city notable who only visits the land to collect rent.

The share taken by the landlord varies from district to district, and also varies with the condition of the land. According to an inquiry made by the French authorities, the usual division of the crop for non-irrigated cereals is 40–50 per cent to the

[1] The information which follows is mainly based on A. Latron, *La Vie rurale en Syrie et au Liban* (Beirut, L'Institut Français de Damas, 1936). The brilliant and profound study by Jacques Weulersse, *Paysans de Syrie et du Proche-Orient*, is an indispensable authority which unfortunately was received only when going to press

irrigated. The whole of the land is cultivated every year, the rotation being wheat followed by potatoes, the potato crop being irrigated. The wheat yield is below the average for Syria, amounting to 6 hundredweight per acre, and the potato yield is 5 hundredweight per acre.

However, in spite of the greater intensity of cultivation, the shortage of land means that the majority of the peasants are not able to attain an adequate standard of living, measured in terms of a few essential commodities: 20 kilogrammes of wheat and 4 kilogrammes of meat per head per month, 100 kilogrammes of olive oil per annum, and 5 tins of kerosene. To attain this standard a family must own 3 hectares of land, and as only the rich peasants and a few of the medium peasants own so much, the majority of the medium peasants and the poor landless peasants do not achieve it. The majority of these supplement their income by remittances from their emigrant relations abroad. Those who have no income from abroad leave the village to work as unskilled workers or servants in the towns.

In this village, therefore, the cause of poverty is the shortage of land, since the land is much more equally distributed than in Syria and the system fairly intensive. Living conditions are far better than in Syria: the majority inhabit stone houses with two or more rooms. The richer peasants are also more sophisticated than those of Syria, preferring to gamble their money away in the neighbouring summer resorts rather than spend it on jewellery.

From these three studies three conclusions emerge. The first is that a higher income per acre depends on irrigation, since the net income from irrigated land is two or three times as high as from non-irrigated land."

INCOME PER HECTARE ON IRRIGATED AND NON-IRRIGATED LAND (in Syrian Pounds)

	Al-Hajib		Al-Ashrafi		Ein Jarud (Beqa'a Valley)
	Non-Irrigated	Irrigated	Non-Irrigated	Irrigated	Irrigated
Gross Income	350	880	208	870	870
Costs	140	440	75	380	440
Rent	—	—	50	300	—
Net Income	210	640	83	190	430

[Ein Jarud is in the north Lebanon -- Analyst]

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000 There are some possibilities of raising yields in dry farming, but they are limited, and the main hope for increasing farm incomes is a better use of water supplies.

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The second conclusion is that in every district half or more than half of the population live in extreme poverty, due to the low proportion of land cultivated, low yields, and the unequal distribution of land. In Lebanon, surplus rural population is the major cause of poverty. There is no motive-power making for progress: even richer peasants do not invest, but spend unproductively: the landlords are pure rent-receivers and the poorer peasants are entangled in a network of debt without hope of escape.

FRENCH LAND POLICY

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In regard to the *mulcke* system, which was widely prevalent at the time the French took over, the French authorities have hastened the process of disintegration. By decrees passed in 1923 and 1926 the periodical re-allotment of holdings (i.e., the *mulcke* system) was forbidden. Since the work of survey and settlement did not keep pace with the legislative enactment, this law meant an abrupt interference with village custom which contributed to agrarian unrest, particularly in the Hauran, where the *mulcke* custom was general. It appears to have been largely disregarded, and not to have been put into force by the Bureau de Cadastre (the French Survey Office, which is a private concession and not a government department), which undertook the work of land settlement.

M. Dieuffaret, the Director of the Bureau de Cadastre, considered that the *mulcke* custom had a real basis in the social life of the country and should not be abolished. Moreover it had often happened in Turkish times that title to land had been granted in divided holdings, but the titles were disregarded by the occupiers of the land, who continued to exchange their shares as before. The Bureau de Cadastre, therefore, when establishing title to land in a *mulcke* village have followed the practice of registering each villager's share in the land as a fraction of the total area, without attaching the title to any specific piece of land. This method tends to preserve the *mulcke* system. When title is registered to definite pieces of land, the Bureau de Cadastre have attempted in some cases to re-group the holdings

the land. In 1918-31, 180 villages comprising 181,000 hectares were colonized in small properties by 6,000 families. The Government of Latakia compelled large proprietors in the region of Homs to give up their villages in the district of Masyaf in 1929; the land was distributed among the occupying peasants and sold to them at a price to be paid for in ten annual instalments. The village of Jib Ramle was also settled in 1929, in part by occupying peasants, in part by refugee Armenians.

But the French administration did not complete the settlement of these areas. In some regions the Turks settled these lands with nomad tribes, who were themselves averse to cultivation and either rented the land to Alawi villagers or continued to live themselves as nomads on the land without cultivating much of it. Consequently this land is now very sparsely settled. Round Homs there are said to be 2,000 to 4,000 hectares with only 10 per cent of the land cultivated: this is some of the most fertile and best situated land in the country, and could be developed by colonization schemes.

In several respects the French authorities have modified the Turkish system in ways which strengthen the landowners against the cultivators. One of these was the sale of the extensive Waqf properties to business enterprises, irrigation companies, or landowners. Another was the abrogation of the right of ownership acquired by ten years cultivation which benefited the small cultivators in enabling them to acquire new land.

Efforts were made to start co-operative and agricultural credit banks, but these never succeeded in breaking the peasant's indebtedness. Several large-scale irrigation schemes were started, but produced more water than could be used. The educational system did not extend to the villages. Within the framework of the existing system, these reforms did little to raise the standard of the peasants. As a mandatory Power the French relied on the collaboration of the wealthy upper class, that is, on the landowners, and so could make no fundamental reforms in the land system.

POSSIBILITIES OF DEVELOPMENT

So far as dry-land farming is concerned the possibilities of improvement are hampered by the dry summer, which normally follows a long period of fallow. However, it would be possible by

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[

[illegible] crude punishment by controlling the death of unregistered infants derived from the mobility of the meager data available. Local authorities believe that the mortality rate in children up to 5 years of age averages from 25 to 30 per cent for the country as a whole. It ranges from 10 to 15 per cent, or more, in Beirut proper to from 30 to 40 per cent in Tripoli, Sidon and the towns of the interior. In the more remote villages of South Lebanon, the standards of living are extremely low, and the mortality in children under 5 years of age probably reaches 50 to 70 per cent. Intestinal diseases are foremost among the causes of death in infancy and early childhood.

Some Economy

The economy of Lebanon is based upon agriculture, but the country is in a more favorable position than the neighboring Arab states, in that the national income is augmented by an increasing tourist traffic and by remittances to their families from emigrants living abroad. Although the coastal plain and the Bekaa valley support a variety of crops, a large part of the territory is mountainous and unsuitable for cultivation. The coastal region is cultivated intensively, with a series of narrow terraces extending along the seaward slopes of the Lebanon range up to an elevation of about 1,000 feet. Little more than 25 per cent of the total land area is now under production, while less than one fifth of that is irrigated. Considerable disparity exists between current estimates of the amount of arable land, but all agree that it can be increased materially by a greater utilization of the available water resources and by improved methods of cultivation. Progress here already has initiated by the further development of irrigation facilities, notably in the southern Bekaa, and in the Akkar plain, a triangular sector between the coast and the northern frontier with Syria. The tradition of private ownership is strong in the mountainous districts of the north, and most of the land is cultivated by independent [illegible].

Communications are excellent in the coastal districts, but some parts of the interior are inaccessible, especially during the winter months, when snow accumulates on the mountain ridges. Good roads stretch north and south along the coast and in the Bekaa, but the lateral connections are restricted by the nature of the terrain and the shortage of suitable natural passes across the mountains. Trunk highways skirt the coast and extend from Beirut to Damascus, linking Lebanon and Syria. Beirut is also linked with Damascus by a railway through Rayak, while a line from Rayak through Homs joins the Istanbul-Baghdad railway at Aleppo. Tripoli is linked with the latter system by a branch from Homs. A coastal railroad, extending from Tripoli to Haifa, was constructed by the British military forces during World War II, and the Lebanese portion is still in operation. Beirut, the principal modern port, handles a large volume of transit traffic for Syria, Jordan, Iraq and other parts of the Middle East. Tripoli is a port of secondary significance, except as an oil-shipping center. The ancient port of Sidon has recently been developed as the terminus of the trans-Arabian pipeline, serving as a Mediterranean port for the shipment of oil from the Saudi Arabian fields of the Arabian American Oil Company. The distances between local points are too short for the promotion of internal air services, but Beirut is an important junction for international airlines serving Europe and the Near and the Far East.

Food and Nutrition

The nutritional standards of the people differ according to the prosperity and the familiarity with food values of the individual families, but they are reasonably high in most parts of the country. Breads and a coarse-grained cereal known as burghul, which are usually prepared from wheat but sometimes from barley or millet, are staple foods in both urban and rural areas. Rice is popular among all groups of the population. Liberal amounts of milk are consumed

[illegible]

in the form of cheese, buttermilk and leben. The last a fermented product made from cow's milk. Fresh milk is rarely used, however, except in limited sections in the larger cities. In the rural districts, milk is obtained chiefly from sheep and goats, less frequently from cows. Legumes, potatoes, onions and other vegetables are widely cultivated. Grapes, leafy varieties are scarce in the inland districts, but wild herbs are found abundant on mountains. Many types of fruits are abundant, especially in the coastal valleys. They form important supplementary items of diet when in season.

Much of the meat is imported from Syria or Turkey, but relatively little reaches the people outside the larger towns. The average village widow consumes meat more than once a week. Mutton and, occasionally, beef are used most extensively. Both are employed, in a cooked or a raw state, in kebb, a national dish prepared from meat and burghul. Goat meat is found everywhere, while pork is available in the Christian communities. Poultry and eggs are plentiful in most localities and fish in the coastal region. Olive oil and butter are the primary sources of fats.

In spite of the generally satisfactory level of nutrition, a definite decrease in the consumption of protective foods is apparent in the inland districts and in South Lebanon. In 1950, the Lebanese government appointed a Nutrition Committee to promote a better understanding of the elementary principles of nutrition among the people. The different religious customs of the Moslem and the Christian communities influence their nutritional habits and limit the application of mass educational measures.

Housing

Lebanon has a large so-called middle class, and the disparity between the living conditions of the rich and the poor is less pronounced than in most of the neighboring countries. However, many families maintain financial and social contacts with

[illegible]

[illegible] Arab relations abroad. The villages are less compact than in other parts of the Near and Middle East, and separate farmsteads are common. Extremes of poverty, associated with primitive standards of sanitation, are most frequently encountered in the villages of southern Lebanon. In the cities, substandard housing is found chiefly in the old, congested quarters and in the Armenian sections.

[illegible] The typical dwellings in all parts of the country are constructed of stone, cement or concrete blocks, with a surface of white-washed or tinted plaster. The roofs are of two general types: pointed and of red tile, or flat, with a covering of cement or of mud and brush. The houses vary in size from one to several rooms, sometimes with two or more stories. The use of wood as a building material is prohibited by the fire regulations in the towns, but small wooden shacks are occasionally seen on the outskirts.

[illegible] Beirut is a cosmopolitan city, a mixture of Arabic and Western culture. The older districts of the city are overcrowded, with narrow streets lined by innumerable small shops, which frequently have living rooms in the rear. Apartment houses, interspersed with detached dwellings surrounded by colorful gardens, dominate the newer residential sections. Architecturally, all gradations are encountered between old Arab-style houses and modern villas.

[illegible] AND SANITATION

[illegible]

[illegible] Water supplies are obtained from streams, springs and wells, and, in general, are abundant in the coastal and the mountain districts but deficient in the interior. Beirut derives its water supply from the Nahr el Kelb, or Dog River, which is led from an underground spring in the hills about 10 miles from the city. It flows by gravity through a tunnel and open canals to Dekouane, 5 miles distant, where it is treated [illegible] preliminary rapid filtration, slow sand

[illegible] p. 104(A)

which are due to pseudysentery strains, are prevalent. Shigella paradysenteriae (Flexner), S. sonnei (Sonne), S. sonnei (Schmitz) and S. dysenteriae (Shiga) are generally isolated in the bacteriological laboratories of the American University hospital, usually in the order given. Enteritis and diarrhœa are widespread, particularly among the children in the poorer quarters of the cities and in rural villages, where low standards of sanitation prevail. Bacillary dysentery and other forms of diarrhœal disease are prevalent throughout the summer months.

Cholera. Cholera has not been reported from Lebanon since 1902. When cholera occurred in Syria in 1947, subsequent to the epidemic in Egypt, quarantine regulations were enforced by the Lebanese health authorities, and immunization against cholera was made compulsory. Emergency immunization centers were established in all parts of the country.

Helminthiases. Ancylostomiasis. Infection with hookworm infection, caused by *Ancylostoma duodenale*, exist in the agricultural districts of the littoral. The most heavily infected foci are found in the irrigated orange and banana growing areas north and south of Beirut, where the environmental conditions favor the development of the larvae. In a survey in 1950-51,* infection was present among 10 per cent of the villagers examined in the Damour region, near Sidon. The infection rates were consistently high in all age groups, and, although the degree of infection was relatively light, the accompanying anemia was often severe. Comparable examinations among 324 rural inhabitants in the Jezzine-Ankiyeh district, near Beirut, showed infection in 10 per cent, with rates ranging from 21 per cent in children up to 4 years of age to 44 per cent at 5 to 10 years of age. Small numbers of cases are found in other farming communities in the coastal plain and in the interior. In the villages studied around Tyre and Tripoli, the infection rates did not exceed 3 per cent, while in 3 villages

Other Infections. Pneumonia and influenza are common. A serious epidemic of influenza occurred in 1950, in which over 2,000 known cases were recorded between February and June and over 800 in the month of March.

Measles, whooping cough and mumps are endemic and frequently epidemic. Scarlet fever is rare. A high degree of immunity is apparently acquired at an early age by the local inhabitants, since repeated surveys, using the Dick test, have shown that the rate of susceptibility to scarlet fever native to live in adolescents and adults. In a Dick test study carried out in 1948[illegible] on 610 children, from 2 to 14 years of age, in different schools in Beirut, negative reactions were obtained in 72 per cent. The number of children giving a positive reaction to the tests decreased gradually from 77 per cent at 4 to 7 years of age to 6 per cent at 12 to 14 years of age.

Poliomyelitis is normally sporadic, and the first widespread outbreak was reported in 1952. In the 3 months from June to September, 65 cases and 9 deaths were recorded from various parts of the country. Over 70 per cent of the cases were among children under 3 years of age. Rheumatic fever is prominent among the diseases of childhood.

Diseases Spread on Contaminated Objects Transmitted Contact

Venereal Diseases. Venereal diseases are widely distributed, but little information is available regarding their prevalence in the general population. Syphilis and gonorrhea predominate, but all forms of venereal disease are encountered, especially in Beirut, which is a center for traffic from the east and the west.

Diseases of the Eyes. Trachoma is a major public health problem in sections of northern Lebanon, where a large percentage of the people live in small and often crowded villages and the standards of living and sanitation are generally low. The extent of infection varies in different localities, but

In some villages at least 80 per cent of the inhabitants are affected. The disease is encountered less frequently in the north, except in certain congested quarters of Beirut and Tripoli, which house large numbers of workers from the south. In most areas, a higher rate of infection prevails among the Moslems communities than among the Christians. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Public Health, the incidence has decreased appreciably since 1941. A total of 1,040 cases was reported in 1949, in contrast with over 4,000 cases in 1941. The recorded cases, however, represent a small fraction of the actual prevalence. In a study of roughly 100,000 cases from all parts of the country, undertaken by doctors from the American University of Beirut in 1938,[1] the infection rates were estimated at 40 per cent in South Lebanon, 15 per cent in the Bekaa, 10 per cent in North Lebanon and 5 per cent in Mount Lebanon. They averaged 1 per cent in Beirut district, but reached 30 per cent in some of the poorer quarters of the city.

Acute conjunctivitis is widespread from June to December, and particularly between August and October, when the flies are abundant. About two thirds of the cases are usually attributed to infection with *Bacterium conjunctivitidis* (Koch-Weeks bacillus). A large proportion of the remainder are of pneumococcal origin. Cases of gonococcal conjunctivitis are relatively infrequent.

A special hospital for the treatment of trachoma and other eye diseases has recently been established by the health authorities at Tripoli, an important focus of trachoma in South Lebanon. Measures for the improvement of sanitary conditions are also being carried forward in many villages.

Diseases of the Skin. Mycotic infections, especially favus and ringworm of the scalp or the skin, are common. The majority of cases of dermatophytosis are caused by *Achorion schoenleini*, *Trichophyton violaceum* or *T. gypseum*. Lupus is sometimes seen in the dermatology clinics.

Cases of impetigo are commonly, often following lesions produced by the irritating effects of the sun. Scabies and pediculosis are encountered in the crowded sections of the cities and in the poorer rural villages. Both were widely distributed during the war years 1941-46, when the scarcity of soaps and clothing contributed to increased unhygienic conditions. Cases of human myiasis are observed occasionally.

Leprosy. Leprosy is endemic, and cases are reported sporadically. Thirty-one cases were known to exist in Lebanon in 1950. Of this number, 7 were located in South Lebanon and 11 in the Hermil area of the northern Bekaa, while 13 were irregularly distributed throughout the rest of the country. With the exception of one 17-year-old boy in Beirut, all the cases were from rural communities. No young children were included, and most of the affected individuals were over 35 years of age. Clinically, about 75 to 80 per cent of the cases were lepromatous in type. There is no hospital for the treatment of leprosy in Lebanon, but patients are sent at government expense to the leprosarium at Dwaira, near Damascus.

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164 329 foci of malaria persisted in the 'Akkar plain, in sections of the northern and the southern Bekaa and in scattered districts in the Lebanon mountains. A malaria survey, to implement and correlate the previous studies, and a demonstration control program were inaugurated in 1951 by the Ministry, in co-operation with the World Health Organization.

164 331 329 Rickettsial Infections. Louse-borne typhus apparently is not endemic, but occasional outbreaks have been recorded, usually during periods of social distress. Infestation with lice is common among the inhabitants in the poorer urban and rural districts, and minor epidemics have followed the introduction of the disease from surrounding areas in the Near East. No cases were reported during the war years 1941-45, and the widespread employment of DDT sprays in the towns and the villages has materially reduced the danger of infection. Murine typhus is indigenous, however. Sporadic cases are observed from all parts of the country, the majority of which occur during the summer months, from July through September. The disease is typically mild, with a comparatively low fatality rate. The actual prevalence is unknown, due to the general confusion in diagnosis and the lack of facilities for laboratory confirmation outside Beirut. The causative agent, *Rickettsia mooseri*, has been isolated from rats captured in Beirut. The rat flea, *Xenopsylla cheopis*, is the vector.

164 744 Cases of fièvre boutonneuse are sometimes reported, in which the dog tick, *Rhipicephalus sanguineus*, is the probable vector. Since the diagnosis has been established primarily in hospitals in Beirut, the extent and the distribution of the infection are uncertain.

164 330 Plague. Serious outbreaks of plague have been recorded in the past, but only sporadic cases have been reported since the early 1930s. The last case, a bubonic infection, was seen in 1947 in a village on the outskirts of Beirut. Many local authorities believe that the infection exists among the wild

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

352 ...ones of the rock, extends around the walls. This is lined with hard, flat cushions which are upholstered in some very light color—often plain white. Very likely a set of modern, reclining chairs, with still more backs and bottoms, will be set formally around a table in the center of the room. Here and there, there will be rather rough wooden stools with soft cane seats. At one side, there will be a large rectangular dining table with a cloth or plastic cover. In some houses, fully upholstered modern easy-chairs will be found.

353 The walls are devoid of ornamentation, with one exception which is common to the houses which have it. This is a concentrated mass of photographs, some yellowed with age, some brand new, of various members of the owner's family, including emigrants who are fondly remembered. Sometimes, among the family photographs, there will also be one or two postcard-sized pictures of saints or members of the Holy Family. However, so far as the writer is aware, there are no houses which have anything resembling a household shrine, and many have no religious symbols whatever.

[354] Especially in the older houses, there are recesses in the walls, often closed with wooden doors. These are used for storage—for example, large jars for the year's supply of olive oil.

Only a close friend of the family will ordinarily be given the opportunity to go from the *majlis*, or front ... vious, to the rear. Here are the sleeping quarters of the family, and cooking equipment will be found in one corner also—unless there is an additional room for this purpose, as in the case with several commodious one-room houses.

352 Every house is wholly or mostly equipped with metal bedsteads, springs, 353 mattresses, pillows, pillowcases, sheets and blankets, all of European manufacture and/or design. Sixty years ago everyone slept on the floor on sheepskins wrapped in blankets or quilted pads. Only suggestions of this practice are now to be found in a few houses.

354 The traditional type of stove was a masonry oven with apertures in the top, in which the chief fuel was brushwood. Very few such stoves are now used. Rather, nearly every house is equipped with at least one "Primus" stove, a small, portable appliance, made in Sweden, which operates on the principle of the ignition of kerosene which has been vaporized by heat and pressure. Basic instructions for its operation are etched on the side of its brass fuel tank in Arabic, Hindustani, and Chinese, and we might say that this is an item in a process which might be called "deliberate diffusion." It is inexpensive to buy and operate and is quite efficient except for the fact that there is only one burner per stove.

415 A minimal assortment of cooking utensils would include: a tadjeetie, a set, in graduated sizes, of long-handled metal beakers (for boiling coffee); a cylindrical brass coffee grinder; pots, bowls, and platters of various sizes and shapes, made of metal or pottery; and a stone mortar and pestle. Hardware would include a knife, knives of various sizes, and large-handled serving forks and spoons. Food is served

[illegible] It is evident that to all the villages the great majority of the households were deprived of sources of income other than their own fields. Therefore, younger members of the family and farmers outside of the village, while the former himself must work part-time for one of the larger landlords or the silk company, hold a government job, get money from abroad, or subsist on a very low level.

Physical Description of Project Villages

It is not possible to describe with statistical accuracy the average village home in the project area. A very general description must suffice until more detailed investigation is available. Houses are usually one-story wood structures of one or two rooms. They do not have electricity or running water. Usually the animals are accommodated in a stable connected to the house, or in a room in the house itself.

The villagers do not seem to be concerned with keeping their surroundings sanitary. In none of the villages is there any attempt to collect and properly dispose of garbage. The uniform practice is to throw it in the fields. There are few toilets. Some wells and fields show in some cases an [illegible] community need for sewage disposal. To serve the 1,000 people in the project area there are 40 pit privies. There are no tubs or showers. Homes have no screens and flies are free to contaminate food and propagate to summer and economic disease.

Homes are usually divided into one room and the people arrange to divide themselves decently [illegible] well-established customs. Though consistently poor, the village family is very hospitable and makes no sharing with a guest its meager supply of cigarettes or [illegible] coffee and sugar.

In the five project villages there are 1,100 buildings. This number includes 911 dwelling units, 34 business establishments, 105 separate barns and 11 public buildings. A detailed breakdown of the types of buildings by village is shown in Table VIII. Included in the category of public buildings are seven mosques. Saraband and Ein-Nourlyah have two mosques each, while in each

mentality (30 %,) or youth (20 %,). Where the owner and those not paying rent are substantial, we find relatively few (3 %,) who have other contract terms.

7.16 Location of kitchen facilities by primary. Table 107

In investigating the adequacies of house-holds in Beirut it was found that over-two-thirds of the enumerated households had private kitchen facilities in the house. Cooking outside the house was principally for one-room shacks.

7.17 Location of toilet facilities in household. Table 108

Toilet facilities in the buildings were found in over ninety percent of the sample. Of these, almost nine-tenths are private toilets. Both types are found overwhelmingly.

7.18 Source of water in household. Table 109

Water, too, is piped into the overwhelming majority of houses (80 %,) making relatively few who were forced to obtain water from outdoor cisterns or from more fortunate neighbors. In some cases, such as the agglomeration of the shacks, a city faucet is the only source of water.

7.17 Type of lighting in household. Table 110

Lighting is by electricity in over nine-tenths of the households in the sample. Characteristically, electrical fixtures are ceiling lights suspended by cords. Lamps are used much less than in western cities, even where wall plugs are available. Less electricity is delivered to households due to a shortage of generating capacity. Almost all of the remaining households use oil lamps.

7.18 Type of heating in household. Table 111

Charcoal burners are the sole source of heat in over half of the houses (57 %,). One-fifth of the houses have no source of heat; this is not surprising considering the relatively mild cli-

Table 108
Location of Toilet Facilities in Households

Location of toilet facilities	Number	Percent	±%
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Table 109
Source of Water in Households

Source of water	Number	Percent	±%
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

still rise with the sun, although they go to bed after dark. On the whole, there is no specific theological time for meals. However, the village schools operate on a definite time schedule, and this affects quite a large proportion of the resident population—the teachers and their families, the children, and their mothers who prepare their lunches. Of course, those who are, or have been, working in the city are quite thoroughly conditioned to clock-schedules. A good deal of apparently unnecessary reliance to and synchronization of watches was observed in the village. On the whole, however, it can be said that future plans which involve exact hours are made and fulfilled in a casual manner. Perhaps a valid generalization would be that the average individual regards his watch as a symbol of prosperity, an achievement, an ornament, of practical value, and an interesting toy—all in about equal measure.

Combs, toilet soap, safety and straight razors, shaving lotion, etc. (all of local European or American manufacture) are universally distributed. Some people have and use toothbrushes. The women do not appear to use cosmetics to any great extent.

A variety of containers have already been described, but several more must be added. There are rectangular five-gallon gasoline cans, with the top cut out and fitted with a wooden handle, a widely used for carrying water, cement and other bulk materials. There are cylindrical baskets, cylindrical with large handles over the top, are useful for carrying food. Large, flat wicker trays are used for carrying such things as bread and laundry and for the display of vegetables in the stores. Essentially, cloth, waste containers were set out on them.

Carpenter's and mason's tools—hammers, saws, pliers, levels, drills, screwdrivers, chisels, and trowels—appear to be the same in form as they are in the West. Probably most of the items now used are western-made, but most of the forms are very old in the Middle East.

Agricultural tools are commonly used of very ancient form. There are no horses in the village (the Arabs use them for riding rather than for traction), and the ox is the chief draft animal. The plow consists of a wooden shaft (in several segments) to which a metal iron spike is set at an angle. The handles of a long wedge have been made from volcanic stones (from the Jebel) are set. (See Thesmitics, 1956, pp. 116–30, for illustrations.) Grain is winnowed by tossing it up into the air with a rather crude fork made entirely of wood. Small saws and hand-clippers (the only recent foreign element in the tools) are used for pruning. The last item is an iron spade, which is, if possible, manipulated by two or three men. Others men grasp the handle and shaft in the usual manner, and, in effect, pushes their spade. One or two other men pull the spade by means of cords attached to the shaft just above the shoulders of the blade.

The traditional means of communication were donkeys, horses, and human backs aided legs, traveling over rough stone paths. To this, can be added a recent

It is evident that in all the villages the great majority of the breadwinners must depend on sources of income other than their own fields. Therefore, younger members of the family and farmers outside of the village, while the farmer himself must either pass over the care of his larger landholds or the all company, hold a government job, get money from abroad, or labour on a very low level.

Physical Description of Project Villages

It is not possible to describe with sufficient accuracy the average village homes in the project [illegible]. A very general description must suffice until more detailed [illegible] is available. Homes are usually one-story mud structures of one or two rooms. They do not have electricity or running water. Usually the animals are accommodated in a stable connected to the house, or in a room in the house itself.

The villagers do not seem to be concerned with keeping their surroundings sanitary. In none of the villages is there any attempt to collect and properly dispose of garbage. The common practice is to relieve it in the fields. There are few toilets. Some wells and fields show to need water to prevent communicable and for sewage disposal. To serve the 1,242 people in the project area there are 42 pit privies. There are no tubs or showers. Homes have no screens and flies are free to contaminate food and mosquitoes to transmit and transmit disease.

Homes are usually always mud and straw and the people average a [illegible] well-ventilated [illegible]. Though [illegible] goes, the village family is very hospitable and makes an sharing with a guest its meager supply of cigarettes or [illegible] coffee and sugar.

In the five project villages there are 1,100 buildings. This number includes 912 dwelling units, 34 business establishments, 105 separate barns and 11 public buildings. A detailed breakdown of the types of buildings by village is shown in Table VIII. Included in the category of public buildings are seven mosques. Sandland and Ba-Pantiyah have two mosques each, while in each

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[illegible] candles, each kind in a large glass jar; bottles of [illegible] soap, sweet-scented shaving cream, and deodorant alcohol (for preventing Primus stove and kerosene); writing paper, pens, pencils, and ink; hairpins, combs, toothpicks, and soap; flashlights and batteries—all of these on shelves set against the walls. We can generalize by saying that the stores provide the villagers with all their purchased food except [illegible] and with small items of everyday use. Conspicuously lacking are clothes, furniture, and all household utensils except the pottery drinking jars which are carried by some of the stores. All other larger items are bought directly from Beirut or Beirut.

One person said that he made it a practice to patronize all the stores in order not to slight any of the proprietors. How common this practice is the writer does not know. Since the stores are so close together, patronization on the basis of proximity is not likely to be a factor in the determination of particular clientele.

One would expect that the stores would be in keen competition, and, certainly, commercial competition is nothing new or foreign to Lebanese. But among the village stores there appeared to be little if any competition, and some politeness between proprietors was observed. One informant explained the situation in this way:

> Well, they are in competition, but you see [and here he paused quite at a loss for words. He started again:] There is a saying in Arabic [Arab] "Arabs (Arabs) 9 means: "Every person for his fortune." Well, you know, a really smart merchant will receive his due. You see, one helps the other because here the other will help the one. But it is more than mutual help; when X helps Y, they may not want to do it, but they do it anyway because they do not want people to think that they are enemies or jealous of each other.

The saying which was used by this informant is a positive expression, similar in connotation to the Bible of the field passage in the Sermon on the Mount, of the Golden which is commonly attributed, with some justification, to the Arabs. We might elucidate its full meaning by paraphrasing it as follows: "You will get your just reward in whatever you are doing if you behave justly." In this case, behaving justly involves the kind of mutual help within an in-group (the village) which is essential to its solidarity. But also, in a wider sense, it is the writer's opinion that among the Arabs, competition for its own sake is not a generalized behavioral value, though they do come close to this in their social and cultural group [illegible]. Furthermore, some of the four proprietors concerned in this matter is dependent solely on his store for his income. Each is a landowner and maintains his property for agricultural purposes.

Turning, now, to the function of the store as meeting place for the men, we are reminded of the interesting notion, set forth by Kahn (1936, p. 70), that in the Mediterranean area generally, the center of personal and social life is the open, public place—forum, agora, coffee house, and open shop.

In Mlaqat, there is no coffee house and the store to some extent take the

[illegible]

place of sun. Close friends of each gossipers frequently sit down with him to a game of backgammon or cards. Other customers while away several minutes with small talk whenever they make a purchase, and small groups of them often collect in the store, some sitting, some standing, to discuss the news, prices, and to exchange gossip. There is not a great deal more to it than this. The point is simply that the stores are not merely agencies for the transfer of goods.

BAKERIES

As has been noted before, there are two, rather widely spaced, bakeries in the village. Like the stores, they are primarily social economic institutions, and they are immediately used as foci of social interaction on the part of women just as the stores are on the part of men. Since the women more regularly and for protracted lengths of time.

The women who regularly make their own bread (some do not make their own but buy it) do not do so every day. Depending upon the amount she needs to feed her family, the housewife with stable bread requirements does every three days to once a week. Each time she will spend two or three hours in the bakery with four or five other women. Standing outside one of the bakeries, one hears intermittently the crackle of hardwood just put on the fire, and constantly the women's chatter, laughter, and sometimes singing, accompanied by the rhythmic slapping of hands and dough on stone.

The interior of the bakery in this cube is rather dark since it has no windows and only two narrow doors. The building is trapezoidal in shape, with the oven in the narrow end. The oven is a large rectangular masonry structure, with one aperture on the side at a convenient height above the floor of a small pit in which the baker stands. The floor of the interior of the oven is smooth stone or concrete. The fire burns on the left-hand side of this floor. Between the oven and the door there is a large stone slab raised almost a foot off the floor. Around this half a dozen women can sit and work comfortably. To the right of the table and the oven, between them, there are several bins into which the baker tosses the loaves as they come from the oven.

The women prepare her dough at home, making the necessary number of five-sized lumps each of which will be made into a loaf. These she then takes to the bakery on a large tray carried on her head. The women form their lumps of dough into disks about a foot in diameter by slapping and kneading them against the stone table. The operation does not call for the same kind of skill which is required in preparing another type of "economic bread" which used to be made in Khanjil and can still be in and surely enough in some other villages, a loaf as much as two and a half feet in diameter. The baking technique is different, and only one loaf at a time can be done.

The baker is equipped with an elongated wooden paddle upon which they slide [illegible]

SECULAR RECREATION

IT should not be necessary to emphasize that the lines of the two previous chapters in order to acknowledge that there is much of what Americans would call "recreational behavior" which is tightly integrated with economic and religious behavior. Sports and festivities are foci of social interaction. Rites of passage and other rituals are occasions for parties and celebrations.

The purpose of the present chapter is to describe what might be classified as "recreation for its own sake," behavior which is certainly recreational but does not appear to be closely integrated with any of the other cultural categories which have been discussed.

THE CLUB

The "Sport Club" of Mamjil is a new institution which appears to have been started for the sole purpose of organizing the leisure activities of adolescents and young adults. It is for any other purposes, such as political activity, no hint whatever was given of it.

PLAYS

We have seen that the club's headquarters is regularly used as an evening gathering place. It is also used for giving the annual village play in August. The village play antedates the club by many years, but the club seems to have taken over the greater part of the responsibility in putting it on. It is not clear exactly when the play was introduced into the village. Middle-aged adults were always to have remembered it, but though traditional Arab culture has something resembling plays—actually narrative poetry recited by several individuals—the dramatic phenomenon in the village seems closely to be part of the recent acculturative process.

Perhaps the account of the introduction of plays into Bidaimmin early in the twentieth century gives some idea of what happened in Mamjil. Tannous says that the play was introduced into Bidaimmin through the inspiration of returned emigrants, contact with city customs, and the encouragement of mission-school teachers. After a couple of years, girls started taking part, though over the strong objections of some elders. The play soon became a village festival with guests invited from other villages, the whole community taking part in one way or another. The plays were all in Classical Arabic, the plots all taken from Western novels or plays, or devised from Arabic historical events (Tannous, 1945, pp. 141–42).

[illegible] a coffee house, the bulk of evening sociability takes place in private homes. There are several coffee house groups of friends in the village who commonly interact with each other.

[illegible] These evening gatherings may involve mostly gossip or small talk, but some other conversation is in addition to games. In our circle the most popular game is backgammon, played according to Cabadonian rules. Some years ago someone returned from America with the book, "Before that we had our own rules." The play is fast and shrewd and also rather noisy. American technical terms such as "good" and "no money" are intermingled with Arabic exclamations and sub-vocals. No money is ordinarily bet on these games. Pinochle is another popular card game, and there are many others.

Board games are traditional in the area, and the most popular are backgammon (*zaud*) of which there are three versions, *shesh* (essentially the same as *checkers* but with eighty-squares), and *shesh* (*shisma*) which seems to be played less than the others because the games are so slow.

Word games are very popular also, and very frequently nothing is at stake but social interest in them. For example, someone will write a letter in their unconnected form in a row. The others are then asked to make some sort of what appears to be meaningless. The principles involved in such games are typical of the whole (e.g., the order of unconnected letters—somewhat analogous to a row of unconnected script letters in English), puns, and shorter grammatical substitutions.

Of more interest and, sometimes, more emotional involvement, are poetry games such as the one called *gafa*. In this, contestant A recites a stanza or so of Classical Arabic poetry. Contestant B must then respond with a stanza which begins with the same letter that the first one ended with. A must then recite lines which begin with the last letter of B's. And so it goes until one of the contestants either repeats something which has been given before or cannot think of anything. Interjections, provided they rime and rhyme properly, are legitimate. The writer once heard this game played at a rapid rate of speed for half an hour without a break.

[illegible] In these small gatherings of close friends the two sexes intermingle freely and equally.

NIGHT LIFE IN THE CITY

[illegible] Those villagers who live and work away from Mamjil in the winter maintain very close contact with each other. For example, in Ras Beirut, the fast-growing western section of the city where the American University is located, there is a tight little group of six or seven modern families, all headed by young adults, who, it was said, visit together as a group almost nightly. Each takes its regular turn playing host to the others. One member said he thought that their separation from the village brought them closer together than they would be otherwise. The group is known as "Little Mamjil" to outside acquaintances, and it appears to have estab-

[illegible] with its urban surroundings was to have established very [illegible] among the rural inhabitants. These people are, of course, by no means cut off from the village. People come and go from the village constantly for brief visits. The evening gatherings of this group are similar in form to those in the village proper.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The majority of men and women smoke cigarettes, and the rate of consumption appears to be high. European habits (pipes are not smoked at all, but the old-fashioned water pipe is still enjoyed both by men and women.

It has been mentioned before that foreign influences have been particularly strong in the field of communications. Communication and means of entertainment overlap in such things as radio, the movies, books, magazines, and newspapers. Owing to the lack of electricity, Mawiyh has only three battery-run radios, and their enjoyment is not particularly important in the village as a means of entertainment. The available programs are limited in scope, consisting mostly of news and "folk-picking" broadcasts. From the limited observations, the writer was impressed with the esthetic appeal of the spoken word (radio broadcasts are in Classical Arabic) to the listeners.

Cities like Beirut are over-equipped, if anything, with movie houses which show Egyptian, European, and American pictures indiscriminately. There is no question but that they provide welcome diversion and enlarge the villagers' horizons, although the American movies have spread some very erroneous impressions of life in America. To some degree there is a cult of movie-star worship, but this is far less pronounced than it is in America, and it appears to be limited to the leading lights of the Egyptian screen.

Illustrated weeklies and paper-bound novels are very numerous and widely distributed. Their format seems crude to eyes which are accustomed to slick periodicals. The novels, for example, tend to have garish illustrated covers which are reminiscent of "pulps." However, this impression is deceptive, for most appear to be serious works by Arab authors or translations of Western best-sellers and classics. For example, Wilder's *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* and Maugham's *Of Human Bondage* were two which were being read in the village. In addition, there is in Mawiyh some distribution of imported American paperbacks. No generalizations can be made here about the effect of this literature on the villagers. It can be said, however, that it seemed clear that Classical Arabic, spoken, retains a great deal of affective force which transcends the actual content of what is being said or recited. Western literature, on the other hand, is read merely out of intellectual curiosity or for sheer diversion, but it carries no emotional or esthetic charge.

871 From the beginning the village people agreed to the idea of having their girls get the same education as boys, and in the same school house. The move was a departure from the commonly held belief of the area that the girl should be kept at home. However, Bishmizeen had been prepared for that. The American girls' school at Tripoli was the first existing influence. A few of the progressive leaders sent their girls to the Tripoli school. When these returned they were anxious to give the same chance to all village girls. Aside from that, the two sexes in Bishmizeen had always mixed freely—as groups, not as individuals. To have both sexes at the same school was not altogether outside the scope of the village tradition. At the same time returned emigrants had their influence, too. Also it must be noted that the silk factory had already paved the way for the mixing of the two sexes in one institution. If the villagers had accepted that, it was not so difficult for them to see their girls and boys studying together under the supervision of men and women teachers. Consequently, the idea was accepted, and the coeducational school began to function smoothly and normally.

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621 Within a few years the school became the focus
871 of village life. It seems that the mere physical
517 existence of the school building—a building that belonged to the community as a whole—made it possible for various new community activities to take place. The school society began to find it more logical and more convenient to hold its meetings in the school building. General village meetings, also began to take place there. From this, the next step was to hold receptions at the school and invite people from neighboring villages. At first only village talent was used at these receptions; then talent from the city, in the form of lecturers, poets and singers, was brought in. This added to the impetus of the educational movement in the village. The villagers became proud of their school and highly conscious of their community—Bishmizeen, the village of education.

526 One more vital activity began to take place at
517 the school, involving the whole of the village com-
[177 munity and other villages, too. That was the ing of plays. Several factors contributed to the creation of this activity—returned emigrants, contact with the educational circles of Tripoli and Beirut, and the early mission school teachers. The desire had been there for some time, but it could not be satisfied, due to the lack of a suitable building. Shortly after the school building was

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536 517 erected, play acting materialized. At first only young men acted. A year or two later, girls began to act, too. The village could not go beyond that and allow boys and girls to act together. That involved kissing and embracing between boys and girls on the stage, and the village held to the idea that such a kiss or an intimate embrace must be reserved to married couples!

834 562 336 578 It is essential that we should dwell briefly on the attitude of the village people towards acting by girls. The villagers had a strong taboo against acting by girls. Acting involved the parading of the girl on the stage in front of the crowd including young men and strangers. Remarks might be made about the girl, causing trouble between her family and those who made the remarks. Such parading had the further implication that the parents were eager to present their girl for marriage. That went against the custom which demanded that the girl should wait at home until her suitor came for her. The strongest objection was due to the fact that the people had always associated regular actresses with "bad morals." Gradually, due to the influence of leading families who were willing to begin with their girls, all of the above objections were broken down, until acting by the girls became a matter of course.

536 621 Within a few years acting became one more established village festival, involving the whole community. They had been accustomed to religious village festivals, and it was natural to fit the play in with the previous pattern and make of it one more such festival. Without any exception, everybody—actors, workers, church authorities and leaders—offered his or her services free, for the community welfare. Over a period of two months, preparation for the play would engage the attention of the village with everybody waiting for the occasion with thrilled anticipation. The preparation involved the various activities of casting, renting the equipment from Tripoli, constructing the stage, evening rehearsals, energetic arguments to persuade a certain girl to accept a certain role and her parents to permit her to act, and the distribution of invitations to the neighboring villages. Two or three days before the play, the village children would enlist as volunteers who would go from house to house in the village and gather all available chairs to seat the guests. The children's reward was the enjoyment of the activity itself and free admission during one evening. The play would be presented for three or four nights.

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17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)]1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Parents, after the birth of their first son, cease to be addressed by their given names. They are now addressed by the name of their son, as the father or the mother of so-and-so. On the other hand, the members of the younger generation, until they are married, are referred to and introduced as the children of so-and-so, of such-and-such a family.

An outstanding characteristic of this rural family organization is that, with minor exceptions in certain parts of Lebanon, the woman occupies a relatively high status. Moslem or Christian, she does not submit to the veil, nor does she suffer from undue segregation. In the majority of cases, boys and girls attend the same village school. Whenever both men and women do farm work, we find, as a general rule, that division of labor prevails, with the lighter tasks assigned to women. In many villages of the mountain region, an increasing proportion of women do not do any farm work at all, applying themselves completely to home-making. Some fifty years ago the doors of higher education were opened to the village women of Lebanon. Since then they have played an increasingly important role in national leadership and development as teachers, writers, doctors, lawyers, and enlightened homemakers.

Recreational activity, to one degree or another, is characteristic of many rural societies. This seems to be an essential need, biologically and socially, of human group life. By this means the group gives spontaneous expression, in symbolic form, to the fundamental values of its life and to its aspirations. The rural society of Lebanon is outstanding in this respect, having developed a rich recreational heritage that is well known in the Arabic-speaking world. Some aspects of this heritage have been carried to, and kept alive in, foreign countries by Lebanese emigrants. The Lebanese farmer is characterized by a well-developed sense of humor and a lively tendency to indulge in pranks. He loves to compose folk poetry and sing folk songs, when alone working in his fields or when in the company of friends. From his early childhood he learns to be a good folk dancer. At the same time his community life is characterized by an abundance of recreational expression.

Occasions for community festivities and group-play activity

17: Tannous S, G-S (ca. 1947-48)1949 3[illegible] Lebanon 3[illegible]

are numerous and varied. A large number of these are related to the religious life of the community. In addition to the regular weekly holiday and other general holidays of the Christians or Moslems, there are several community festivals held in honor of particular patron saints. Each of these festivals is an occasion for people of several villages to get together and celebrate, sometimes for two or three days at a time. They visit, trade, compete in games, compose folk poetry, participate in religious chanting or group singing, and dance the well-known folk dance, the *dabki*.

In a similar manner the people celebrate the harvesting of some of their crops. Also in the *sahra* they have a well-developed recreational institution: an evening get-together at one of the homes to visit, play games, or listen to a story being read or told. At the time of a wedding or a funeral, practically the whole community, old and young, halts its routine activities and participates in the affair. Here again the group manifests its solidarity and takes a new hold on life by expanding its happiness in the first case, and by lightening the burden of its sorrows in the second.

The village community of Lebanon is thus essentially a co-operative unit: in its family organization, in its traditions of neighborliness, in its religious institutions and social life, in its educational efforts. Co-operation, in one degree or another, is also involved in many agricultural activities such as the threshing of grain, the sharing of draft animals, and the assigning of water rights.

One can readily see in this a promising and secure foundation on which to establish a successful organization of agricultural co-operatives according to modern principles and techniques. In fact, a beginning has already been made along this line. In 1944 the Lebanese Government passed a decree providing for the establishment of a co-operative council, whose function is to guide and supervise the projected movement. The decree also covers various essential details of organization, obligations and rights of members, audit and inspection, and voting procedure.

The successful co-operative experiment of Abadiyeh village, in the mountains above Beirut, provides a striking demonstration of the manner in which such a developmental scheme can

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

of a coffee house, the bulk of evening sociability takes place in private houses. There are several rather fixed groups of friends in the village who constantly interact with each other.

These evening gatherings may involve mostly gossip or small talk, but more often conversation is in addition to games. In one circle the most popular game is bridge, played according to Culbertson rules. Some years ago someone returned from America with the book. "Before that we had our own rules." The play is fast and skewed and also rather noisy. American technical terms such as "pass" and "no trump" are intermingled with Arabic numbers and suit-names. No money is ordinarily bet on these games. Pinochle is another popular card game, and there are many others.

Board-games are traditional in the area, and the most popular are backgammon (*tawli*) of which there are three versions, *dames* (essentially the same as checkers but with elaborations), and chess (*shitrang*) which seems to be played less than the others because the games are so slow.

Word-games are very popular also, and very frequently writing is an essential element in them. For example, someone will write a dozen or so letters in their unconnected forms in a row. The others are then asked to make sense out of what appears to be meaningless. The principles involved in such games are optical tricks (e.g., the series of unconnected letters—somewhat analogous to a row of unconnected script letters in English), puns, and obscure grammatical technicalities.

Of more interest and, sometimes, more emotional involvement, are poetry games such as the one called *qafa*. In this, contestant A recites a stanza or so of Classical Arabic poetry. Contestant B must then respond with a stanza which begins with the same letter that the first one ended with. A must then recite lines which begin with the last letter of B's. And so it goes until one of the contestants either repeats something which has been given before or cannot think of anything. Impromptu verses, provided they scan and rhyme properly, are legitimate. The writer once heard this game played at a rapid rate of speed for half an hour without a break.

In these small gatherings of close friends the two sexes intermingle freely and equally.

NIGHT LIFE IN THE CITY

Those villagers who live and work *away from* Mazraʿ in the winter maintain very *close* contact with each other. For example, in Ras Beirut, the fast-growing western section of the city where the American University is located, there is a tight little group of six or seven nuclear families, all headed by young adults, who, it was said, visit together as a group almost nightly. Each takes its regular turn playing host to the others. One member said he thought that their separation from the village brought them closer together than they would be otherwise. The group is known as "little Mazraʿ" to outside acquaintances, and it appears to have estab-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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The national school follows more or less the same pattern, at the same and also more advanced levels, but of course the master is free to choose his own texts and to present his courses as he chooses. The one in Munşif is very much concerned with having up-to-date books (American and English), and holds his pupils and students up to strict hygienic standards. The school has a modern toilet, and the drinking water is filtered.

THE "SPORT CLUB"

875 345 The building which houses the government school is also the center of the Sport Club which was founded by the young people of the village about 1950.

[524] The building has a large central room in which there is a stage and four or five tables for playing cards and other games. There are four side-rooms, one of which has a shelf of books and pamphlets and is the headquarters of the club. The other three are schoolrooms, equipped with small wooden desks for the students and blackboards. The large room is used as an everyday meeting place for the [521] adolescents and young adults. It is also used for the annual play. So far, it appears that though the club itself is new, it has focused already existing activities, such as the plays and volleyball games, but has not initiated any new kinds of activity. It is active as a unit only in the summer when there are many older students and young adults in the village on vacation, and if causes may be adduced, it can be said that the primary cause of the club's coming into existence is the need of idle vacationers to organize their activities. There was no need for this before the beginning of the recent changes in the culture.

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

632 623 The village government consists of a mayor (*mukhtar*) and a four-man council of elders (*'aḍaa' akhtyariyyah*). All five men serve concurrently for a term of four years. They are elected by the men of the village who have attained the age of twenty-one. The present mayor (C.XXI) has held the office for about twelve years. The tenure of his predecessor (B.XII), who was his father-in-law, extended back to about 1900.

[631] The present municipal statutes of Lebanon define three types of community. Beirut is in a class by itself. There follow one hundred and twenty "incorporated" towns. The remainder, about 1300, of which Munşif is one, are classed as "unincorporated" villages. The unincorporated villages are governed according to the *Loi des Mukhtars* of 1928 (Rimbert, 1952, p. 1). Before 1928, the unincorporated villages were governed under the provisions of the Ottoman Vilayet Law of 1864 which, at the local level, was originally a formalization of the traditional pattern of government by a council of heads of households, one of whom was chosen as *shaykh*.

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534 Presumably the development in Munşif was similar. The plays are given on the stage in the government school, which is equipped with footlights (candles with reflectors) and a painted backdrop (European forest scene). Arab themes have been used extensively, but *Hamlet* has been presented several times. (One young adult said he thought it was not a good play to give because the lion's share went to only one actor. It was better, he thought, to give a play in which six or seven, at least, took an equal part.) At the time of the writer's final departure from the village, the question of what play to give was being vigorously debated at all age levels. There appeared to be two opposing schools of thought, and tempers were running high in some cases.

COMPETITIVE SPORTS

526 Competitive games such as weight-lifting and javelin throwing have always been popular among the Arabs, but team athletics are something new, introduced by the American mission schools.

In Munşif, volleyball is *the* game, and it appears to date, like the plays, from early in the twentieth century. At present, the village has three teams, ranked in order of the collective skill of their respective players. Most of the games are "intramural," within the village, but a regular series is played with the teams of other villages in the Qarn. In 1951, the first team played a team from Beiteddine, [575] a large resort town above Beirut. The club appears to take a major role in organizing the teams and arranging games. The girls have their own team.

The following quotation, introduced here for comparative purposes, is taken from a chapter in Dodd (1940) which is credited to Afif Tannous, and probably the village mentioned in it is Beshmizzin.

> A few years ago, a group of us started the game of volleyball in our village in Northern Lebanon. The game was new, and the villagers were at first lukewarm about it. However, it did not take long before the enthusiasm for the game began to touch one individual after another and lead him to request the privilege of participating. Even old farmers, who would not hear of the idea at first, began to feel proud of having their boys belong to the village team. . . . The following summer, the girls of the village caught the spirit and organized their own teams. From our village the idea spread to several neighboring villages and in these volleyball teams were also organized. The next step that naturally followed was the interchange of volleyball matches among these different teams. Each week a match would be arranged for in a different village during which time hundreds of villagers would come from neighboring villages to attend the match. Volleyball became the game for the district, supplying the villages with an excellent opportunity for recreation. (Dodd, 1940, pp. 658-59.)

DANCING

535 Although no one put it into so many words, the impression was given that such traditional dances as the *dabki* are looked upon at best with sentimental attach-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOR

RITES OF PASSAGE

BIRTHDAYS AND BAPTISM

IN the traditional culture of the Middle East (urban, village, or nomad), the status of midwife is a very important one. Midwives are invariably local women past menopause, and men are rigidly excluded from the house while the birth is taking place (cf. Granqvist, 1947, pp. 56-60).

Only one villager was born during the period of study, and the event took place in Beirut (the family is in the Summer Resident category) some time before the writer learned of it. The majority of Mtoqil's housewives of childbearing age live in the city most of the year, and for the most part they closely prefer the services of physicians and hospitals in important medical matters.

Once born, the modern village infant, judging from the very few cases observed, spends his time in a crib and is not swaddled restrictively. After the first few weeks, he may be fed from a modern nursing bottle. Factory-made toys are not very common in Lebanon, but small cars and trucks and at least one tricycle were observed in the village.

Birthday anniversaries are celebrated in a few families. There is a cake with candles, and the whole affair is new, probably inspired by experiences in American boarding schools.

Baptism is performed anywhere from forty days to about two years after the birth of the child. It appeared that the mode tended toward the latter age. The ritual is accompanied by at least a family party, but in some cases, according to one informant, the baptismal party may approach a wedding party in size.

ENGAGEMENT AND MARRIAGE

Engagement. Engagement (*khuṭbi*) is a more or less formal status. Quite often the couple simply declare themselves engaged, with the tacit approval of the priest. If both parties are members of the village, the priest's only official concern is that they are more distantly related than first cousin. If they are first cousins, it is his duty to inform them that he will be unable to marry them. In any case, the couple may or may not come to the priest for his blessing. Wedding rings (plain gold bands) are worn by both parties on the right hand to signify engagement. At the marriage ceremony, they are transferred to the left. Engaged couples may see each other alone at any time, and no questions are asked. Young

17: Tannous 5, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

Parents, after the birth of their first son, cease to be addressed by their given names. They are now addressed by the nam of their son, as the father or the mother of so-and-so. On the other hand, the members of the younger generation, until theyare married, are referred to and introduced as the children of so-and-so, of such-and-such a family.

An outstanding characteristic of this rural family organization is that, with minor exceptions in certain parts of Lebanon,the woman occupies a relatively high status. Moslem or Christian, she does not submit to the veil, nor does she suffer from udue segregation. In the majority of cases, boys and girls attendthe same village school. Whenever both men and women do farm work, we find, as a general rule, that division of labor prevails, with the lighter tasks assigned to women. In many villages ofthe mountain region, an increasing proportion of women do not do any farm work at all, applying themselves completely to homemaking. Some fifty years ago the doors of higher education were opened to the village women of Lebanon. Since then they have played an increasingly important role in national leadershipand development as teachers, writers, doctors, lawyers, and enlightened homemakers.

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Occasions for community festivities and group-play activity

IT:Tannous S, G-4 fea, 1947-49 [illegible] Lebanon MSS

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In a similar manner the people celebrate the harvesting of some of their crops. Also in the *sukva* they have a well-developed recreational institution: an evening get-together at one of the homes to visit, play games, or listen to a story being read or told. At the time of a wedding or a funeral, practically the whole community, old and young, halts its routine activities and participates in the affair. Here again the group manifests its solidarity and takes a new hold on life by expanding its happiness in the first case, and by lightening the burden of its sorrows in the second.

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146 were classified into the six categories in the headquarters office. It would be interesting to find out the reasons why they stay in Beirut. It is presumed that the fourth category, namely, they like it better, would be a relatively high category, considering the well-known attractions of metropolitan living as compared to rural living in other countries.

3.411 Incidence of summer migration to villages, Table 73

321 221 One of the best known phenomena of residents in Beirut is the tendency on the part of those who can afford it to return to the villages during the summer months, particularly mountain villages.

It may be seen in the Table that about one-third of the sample return to villages during the summer. It would be interesting for further study to find out what proportion returns to escape the heat of the coast and what proportion returns for economic reasons, either to reap the benefit of the summer harvest or to engage in service occupations for the sojourn vacationists.

3.412 Month of migration to villages, Table 73

Those who do return to the village in the summer were asked what month they usually returned. It may be seen from the table that the exodus gets under way to the tune of one-third

p. 14(a)

• See Table 73 — Reasons for moving to Beirut.

•• See Tab'e 73 — Summer migration to village.

of the sample in June and rises to a peak with about one-half of the sample in July, with the rest, who are unable to make it earlier, leaving in August.

5.83 Month of return to Beirut from village. Table 74

As the Beirutis go early, so they return late to Beirut from the village. About four-fifths of the sample returned to the pleasant fall climate in October. City institutions are geared to this return. For example, the schools do not open until October. A few, fifteen percent, returned in September - probably as late as possible in the month, while only a fraction, four percent, returned in July or August.

5.7 Place of residence considered home. Table 75

Overwhelmingly Beiruti residents considered their home to be in Beirut. This result is particularly surprising in view of the well-known verbal tendencies of Beirutis to identify themselves with their village of origin. Evidently this feeling for the village is more verbal than actual, a conclusion which, however, is in accordance with the attractions of cities as noted in other places.* Other indications, however, are that the village is still highly attractive, especially in the summer.** Perhaps the safest conclusion would be that the Beirutis are ethno-local.

p. 14(a)

Table 72

Incidence of Summer Migration to Village

Migration	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1908	100.00	
Yes	638	34.15	.010
No	1185	65.44	.011
No answer	45	2.41	

Table 73

Month of Migration to Village

Name of month	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	624	100.00	
June	210	33.13	.019
July	335	51.28	.020
August	83	12.95	.013
No answer	17	2.66	

p. 44(a)

Table 74

Month of Return to Beirut from Village

Name of month	Frequency	Percent
Total	634	100.00
July	3	0.47
August	23	3.63
September	94	14.83
October	503	79.34
No answer	11	1.73

Table 75

Place of Residence Considered Home by Head of Household

Location	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1859	100.00	
Beirut	1554	83.60	.008
Other urban in Lebanon	9	0.48	
Village	101	5.43	.005
Foreign	49	2.64	.004
No answer	146	7.85	

(c) p. 44

457 [167] prate sections. Most of the difficulties in this connection has arisen from the lack of adequate information. Thus there are in Lebanon about 20,000 foreigners, and for many of them it has been impossible to ascertain whether or not they should be considered as 'residents'. Again, many Lebanese nationals live and work in neighbouring countries without being registered as permanent residents there. According to the adopted criterion, their expenditure on a trip to Lebanon should be entered as a credit; there has been no way, however, of isolating that item.

1 Receipts from foreign travel

Receipts from foreign travel (i.e., its credit side) have been divided into the following categories (1) summer resorting, (2) schools, (3) hospitals and (4) tourism, including business.

(1) **Summer resorting.** In most countries, summer resorting (or *estivage*) is part of general tourism, and earnings from it are not isolated. In Lebanon, such an isolation was deemed necessary, for the following reasons:-

•529 i) *Estivage* in Lebanon is a clearly defined and separate industry and is so recognized by the Government. It is generally taken to mean the spending of the summer months in the fifty-odd mountain resorts which dot the Lebanese landscape. Although most of these resorts are inhabitated all year round, their population swells up as much as ten to fifteen times during July, August and September of every year. Some resorts are even completely abandoned during the winter months and come to life only in the hot season. During this season, all residential houses and often times schools and other institutions are rented out to the incoming *estiveurs*. Most of the *estiveurs* are from the Lebanese coastal cities, but quite a substantial number come from the neighbouring countries in the Middle East. The Lebanese Government (through its Commissariat of Tourism) is known to have always been anxious to promote *estivage* and to attract as many foreigners as possible during the summer season. In 1951 and 1952 for example, it stood ready to pay part or all of the return passage of all

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estiveurs coming from Arab countries [1]. Foreign estiveurs naturally differ from the ordinary tourists who stay a few days only in the country, and spend most of their time in travel, with Beirut as the jumping off place to Damascus or Jerusalem. The *estiveurs'* stay, on the other hand, ranges all the way from a week or two at a hotel to three months in a rented villa. Often guests repeat year after year, returning to the same place, almost, as it where, like to a summer home.

ii) Whilst it was possible to isolate the summer resort industry, the remaining forms of foreign travel (except expenditures for schools and hospitals) could not be separately indentified because the needed information was not obtainable from the Commissariat of Tourism or the *Sûreté Générale*. Thus the word "Tourism" is used in this study as a catchall for the various not-otherwise mentioned foreign travel expenditures, with no breakdown as to travel for business, pleasure, etc.

In view of its importance, it was decided to undertake a separate independent survey of the *estivage* industry especially since there was no reliable official data on which to base even an approximate estimate. Although the present study encompasses 1951 and 1952 only, it was felt that the survey should cover the 1953 summer months, and be made while the season was in progress. In this way there would be as little reliance as possible on people's memories; the data requested would be current and available, and direct inquiries and, when needed, cross checking would be possible. The 1953 results could then serve as a basis for estimating returns for the two previous years.

For this purpose, two complementary surveys were conducted, both beginning in June 1953 and continuing through the succeeding five months. Permission for the surveys were obtained from the ministries concerned, which also cooperated in the collection of information. Most of the communications or questionnaires were sent out in the name of the bureau directly concerned

1 The Government reimbursed 30 o/o of the return passage for a stay of 12 consecutive days, 40 o/o for 20 days, 60 o/o for 45 days and 100 o/o for 60 days. The scheme cost the Government LL. 1.9 million in 1951 and LL. 1.5 million in 1952. Another LL. 150,000 was also spent annually on *estivage* promotion, mainly in the form of propaganda and advertising in Egypt and Iraq.

529 with the subject at hand. A list of the major summer resorts was compiled, including 45 centres.

a. The first survey dealt with the expenditures of foreign *estiveurs* living in private rented houses. It was found that most municipalities did not keep adequate records of these *estiveurs*. Whereas visitors to hotels were required by the *Sûreté Générale* to fill forms asking for the nationality, permanent residence, intended stay, dates of arrival and departure, places of provenance and destination, no similar information was required from *estiveurs* in private houses. It was decided, therefore, to interview the foreign visitors themselves. The officials who collected municipal dues were then asked to indicate all houses which they thought were occupied by foreigners. Since they had to rely on their memories and notebooks, it was found that this procedure was defective. At last, the services of the grocers were enrolled. They knew, more than any one else, which houses were occupied by non-Lebanese. For interviewing, about 20 A.U.B. students were used, who themselves were *estiveing* in the various resort towns. Many of them knew their locality quite well, and had intimate knowledge of, and maintained friendly relations with the persons contacted

529 1457 On the basis of this survey, it was found that 475 foreign (non-resident) families, totalling 2833 persons, spent the summer in private houses in 1953; rentals varied in extremes from small two-room units, unfurnished and with a minimum of utilities, at about LL. 400 per season, to large villas at LL. 20,000. Total expenditures of these families were estimated at about LL. 5.5 million (cf. Tables 17 and 18).

529b. The second survey dealt with expenditures of foreign *estiveurs* in hotels, inns and other public housing units. A total of 209 hotels were selected in the various resort towns, and questionnaires sent to them, requesting information for 1953 [1]. Reminders to answer were also sent later on. Moreover, although detailed written instructions were attached to the questionnaires, it was often found necessary to make additional oral explanations. This was made in frequent visits especially to the hotels known to cater especially to

1 The questionnaire form is appended (Appendix 1)

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foreign visitors. These visits also served for gathering information concerning the visitors' expenses outside the hotels, i.e., local transportation, entertainment, gifts etc.[1] Actually only 101 hotels answered the questionnaire. This, however, represents a fairly good portion of total business as 80 to 90 % of the hotels in the main summer resorts responded. Those which did not answer were mainly in the northern districts and in the relatively less important centers of Kesrwan. The results obtained from the returned forms have been raised proportionately to cover all hotels. On the basis of these figures and of the personal interviews, the number of *estiveurs* in hotels in 1953 was estimated at 16,412, their total expenditure being LL. 3.8 million (cf. Table 19).

From (a) and (b), it can be seen that the total number of foreign *estiveurs* in 1953 was about 19,245 and that total expenditures of those *estiveurs* were LL. 9.3 million, i.e., about LL. 500 per person.[2] On the basis of the Commissariat of Tourism's estimate of the number of foreign *estiveurs* in 1951 and 1952 (respectively, 24,000 and 21,237) and assuming the same level of expenditures as in 1953, an extention of the figures obtained for 1953 would show total earnings from foreign *estivage* of LL. 12.2 million in 1951 and LL. 10.8 million in 1952. From these figures should be deducted LL. 1.9 million and LL. 1.5 million respectively which represent the part of the *estiveurs'* travel expenses reimbursed by the Government (cf. footnote, p. 23). Thus net earnings from summer resorting stood at LL. 10.3 million in 1951 and LL. 9.3 million in 1952.

(2) **Schools.** From a compilation of educational institutions in Lebanon, a list of 25 universities and schools which were known to have foreign (non-resident) students was drawn

1 The hotel managers were usually very useful in the collection of such information; better than anyone they could estimate their clients' expenses outside the hotel as very often they know how much money their clients had; most tourists exchange at the hotel their own money into local currency.

2 According to the Commissariat of Tourism, the number of *estiveurs* in 1953 was 16,868; the discrepancy between this figure and that arrived at in the above surveys is probably due to the fact that the former covers only the *estiveurs* who arrived in the country between July 1 and October 30 whereas the latter comprises those who were in Lebanon during that three-month period; some of them may have arrived in June. Moreover, there was certainly some double counting in this survey figure, as some tourists may have stayed at more than one hotel and so were recorded more than once.

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Table 17

Summer Resorting in Private Houses
Summer 1953

Country of Residence	No. of Houses Rented	No. of Persons			Total Expenditure in LL. 1,000	Average Expenditure per person in LL.
		Adults	Children	Total		
Egypt	57	195	160	355	271	765
Iraq	127	435	306	741	1,015	1370
Kuweit	38	228	103	331	1,556	4699
Bahrein	3	5	10	15	13	866
Saudi Arabia	91	257	137	394	1,260	3198
Syria	97	387	253	640	357	558
Transjordan : Palestine	9	39	39	78	110	1410
Qatar & Oman	5	41	13	54	188	3474
West Africa	13	112	73	185	740	4000
Others	37	24	16	40	39	966
TOTAL	475	1723	1110	2833	5,549	1959

Source: Information privately secured

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Table 18

Summer Resorting in Private Houses
Summer 1953

Estivage Centre	No. of Persons		No. of Houses	Expenditure in LL. 1,000
	Adults	Children		
Ain Zhalta	45	20	9	23
Aley	280	130	70	2210
Bashloun	22	14	15	25
Bhamdoun (station)	176	134	44	577
Bhamdoun (village)	119	70	20	227
Bechouate	35	25	8	50
Beit Mery	63	57	21	190
Bhamdoun	20	32	7	22
Bikfaya	58	76	16	58
Brummana	49	54	23	119
Dhour Chweir	76	33	17	216
Ehden	43	21	10	103
Faloughe	201	82	48	429
Feytroun	24	15	9	15
Hadath el Jebbeh	16	28	5	11
Hasroun	9	9	4	8
Hammana	287	155	70	444
Jeviah	21	11	10	432
Kennayel	46	28	11	30
Maisalun	13	2	3	4
Mrouj	15	7	3	20
Reyfoun	19	21	7	11
Souk el Gharb	68	31	12	185
Sofar	49	25	15	73
TOTAL	1773	1110	475	5550

Source; Information privately secured.

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Table 19

Expenditure of Summer Resorters in Hotels
1953

Countries	Persons	Expenditure in L.L. 1,000
Egy	3644	1155
Iraq	3189	903
Jordan	1228	169
Bahrein	318	121
Kuwait	458	156
Qatar	61	25
Saudi Arabia	714	233
Syria	5494	775
Others	1306	258
TOTAL	16412	3795

Source: Information privately secured.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
SYRIA MDI
LEBANON MEI

Chapter Ten

SYRIA AND LEBANON

THE LAND AND THE PEOPLE

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THE area of the present Syria and Lebanon lies to the north of Arabia Deserta and is the western horn of the Fertile Crescent. The two republics do not enclose within their boundaries a natural geographic entity and their climate and topography are best studied in relation to the surrounding countries;[1] but within the political boundaries of the two states, the following geographical divisions may roughly be distinguished:

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(1) *The Coastal Strip.* This is about twenty miles wide near Latakia and rather less just north of Tripoli, but in some places disappears and the mountains meet the sea. Olives, bananas, citrus, and vegetables are cultivated intensively near Beirut.

(2) *The Mountains.* Starting from the north, the first coastal mountains are the Jebel Ansariya (also known as the Alawi Mountains) which average 4,000 feet and are well populated on the western slopes. To the south is the Homs–Tripoli gap and then starts the Lebanon range with peaks of over 10,000 feet. Even on the upper slopes of this range water is plentiful, there is close cultivation, and the villages and towns are prosperous. Near Beirut are situated the mountain resorts to which most of the city workers move each night when the summer brings its humid heat. The interior ranges of mountains lying parallel to that of the Lebanon are the Anti-Lebanon (between Homs and Zahle) reaching over 7,000 feet and the range of Hermon (between Zahle and the Israel border) which reaches 9,200 feet. Water and cultivation are far less plentiful on these than on the coastal mountains. Farther inland still and to the south of Damascus lie the Leja, a bleak area of igneous rock, and the Jebel Druze, which reaches 5,000–6,000 feet and lies north of the Jordan border.

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(3) *Plains and Plateaux.* Hardly any of the territory of Syria and Lebanon lies less than 700 feet above sea-level and south of Hama almost all the land is over 1,600 feet. The richest agricultural land is on fairly high ground and forms part of a

[1] See W. B. Fisher, *The Middle East; a Physical, Social, and Regional Geography* (London, Methuen, 1950).

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME: Lebanon ME1

585 members of the groom's party sat down on chairs on the right wing of the *maq'ad*. The rest of the *maq'ad* was occupied mostly by women and children from the bride's village. The bride was soon hustled off behind the cabinets, and she did not reappear for about half an hour, at which time the ceremony began.

After some shifting around, the central section of the *maq'ad* was occupied by, among others, the best man (*sbbiin*), the groom, the Muṭṭaif priest, and the elderly priest of the other village, who is now largely inactive except for special occasions.

The waiting people seemed to divide themselves into three groups. One was gathered around the bride, the second at the *maq'ad*, the third (rather formless) moved in and out from the porch and stood around talking in the part of the house near the entrance. Occasional shots and fire-crackes were heard from outside.

[535] The *darbakky* was passed around from hand to hand several times, and perhaps six women did solo dances in the center of the *maq'ad*. A handkerchief in each hand, the woman either holds them aloft, twirling them, or waves them together as she dances. In most cases, there was little body motion, and the step simply carried the woman around in slow circles, but in one case—a woman who had to be persuaded to dance—some movement of the pelvis was apparent. Usually, the faces of the performers were rather expressionless, and the women, mostly young, but one or two middle-aged, seemed to be dancing merely as an expected part of the proceedings.

● [533] While this was going on, there were repeated cries, especially by older women, to the group in general, of *ii-yay il-'ariis wal-'aruus*, followed by a shrill and very rapid "lu-lu-lu-lu-lu," with hand held to mouth. A third type of cry arose repeatedly from groups of men. They would sing some praise of the bride and groom and end it with a long-held high note, hands nised high, one finger pointing upwards. This was done at the greeting outside the house.

The solo dances did not follow immediately upon one another, and the intervals were marked by little or no activity in the *maq'ad*, people either sitting quietly or talking with each other, some changing places, others coming in. One [574] feature in general of social gatherings is sitting rather quietly in a circle—no pressure, apparently, to babble if one does not feel like it. Small glasses of *'araq* and wine, with small candies and sugared almonds, were passed around at one point.

Finally, a round wooden table was placed in the center of the *maq'ad*, and a white cloth was put over it. The two priests stood at one side together, with a lay assistant (a nephew of the bride although her contemporary in age). The bride, dressed in white with veil, was escorted to the table, her arm held by her *sbbiini* (maid of honor). Her eyes were downcast, her arms folded across her stomach, and she stood in this pose throughout the entire ceremony. The groom stood beside her, and the *sbbiin* was to his right—bride and groom flanked by *sbbiin* and

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

[535] after about ten minutes, and about ten minutes more elapsed until the bride, still in bridal dress, and her party got into their car. They led the procession to Munşif.

In Munşif there was a large group observing the proceedings outside the groom's father's house. Upon arrival, the bride, standing on a chair in the door, slapped a piece of raw dough on the lintel above the door, molded it into a round bun shape, and made a cross on it with the heel of her hand. While still standing on the chair, she was provided with oranges which she threw at the people standing around. Then she walked inside. Two automobiles filled with relatives came with her from her village, and they included spouses of siblings who were strange to both villages. The bride, the groom, and his father stood in the *maq'ad* to receive congratulations.

Again, with the principals in the center, people sat themselves down in the *maq'ad*. *'Araq* and wine were offered around. A large crowd of children gathered at each door to watch—staring silently.

[535] The same dance performance as at the ceremony was carried out. However, the soloists included young men as well as women this time. After some solos, five persons, mostly of middle age, locked arms and danced a set of the *dabki*, the principal folk dance of Lebanon; and during the evening it was done several times more.

The bride disappeared for a long period, during which two large tables were brought in and placed parallel to each other in the upper and lower parts of the *maq'ad*. They were set with plates and glasses and bottles of *'araq*. *Tabbouleh*, cold *kibbi*, beans and bread were served.

When the bride reappeared, after changing into an ordinary dress, she took her place at the main table. The groom's sisters were active all the time bringing in food and collecting dishes. A large number of persons sat, neither eating nor taking

[853] active part—just watching. These included the children. At one point, a woman sitting near the cabinets opened the front of her dress and began nursing a small baby. Later, another woman did the same with one of her small ones, sitting in the same place.

[533] The activity at the head table was enlivened by songs in praise of the bridal couple sung either by men standing behind the chairs or by others sitting down. At the end of each, arms would be raised and the high musical note, mentioned before, sung in unison. One man after another seemed to pick up the solo part rather casually after the previous phrase was finished. Some were well-known and conventional. In others, there would be laughter or nods, as if the singer had made up a clever verse impromptu, or said something with an apt and original turn of phrase. These songs of praise (*madaha*) were usually phrased in terms such as those which likened the bridal couple to the stars or the light of the sun. Many seemed to be known by heart by everyone, just as everyone seemed to know the dance steps.

The bride no longer wept, and for a long time, she sat next to her father-in-law, who sat in a corner, conversing quietly with him.

7: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

ment by most of the middle-aged people and with unfeigned derision by many, though not all, younger people. One middle-aged woman said that of course everyone knew how to do the *dabki*, and that "it is done sometimes, and at weddings." "But," she said, "it is better when everyone does it dressed in *shirwal* and *aqal* and *kaffiyyah*." The only interpretation which the writer can give to this remark is that the *dabki* is associated with the old days which are no more. There is some evidence that the dance is done far less now in general than it used to be. An acquaintance of the writer's in Beirut, an American of Lebanese ancestry, said that for two years he had looked around unsuccessfully for a performance of it in Beirut. On at least one occasion his inquiries were met with the resentful remark: "Oh, the *dabki* is just for peasants in the mountains."

For the most part, the adolescent and young adult Mamjukin seem to be committed to the rejection of the more obvious concomitants of their peasant background, and their de-emphasis on the *dabki* is probably an aspect of this. Rather than the *dabki*, it is the samba, rumba, and tango which please the young people most. In this respect, Mamjuk is by no means an isolated case. Spanish and South American rhythms are immensely popular among the Lebanese. That well-known tune, "La Comparsita," was a popular classic in Lebanon in 1943, and it remains so today. The appeal appears to be more rhythmical than melodic, and of course Spanish music has for a long time been influenced by Arab modes.

The social gatherings in the club are, in sum, featured by the playing mostly of Spanish and South American dances and songs on the phonograph. In traditional Arab culture there is no "concert" music. Music is either to be danced to or it is merely background for a poetic recitation. The sexual function is maintained today by the traditional forms, but the first has been expanded and taken over by Western forms. Dancing to Western music involves close physical contact between the sexes, and this is very much at variance with traditional norms. One older man, in fact, said, "All this touching is not good for the young people." In general, Western free social intercourse between the sexes has been a difficult kind of behavior for young people of the Middle East to adjust themselves to. To many of them it suggests an invitation to free sexual intercourse, an understandable misinterpretation which has led to much pain and embarrassment, for example, among students in the city.

THE HOME

Hospitality is a virtue which the Arabs value very highly, in part because it implies generosity, another trait which is explicitly valued. At whatever time a guest may arrive at a house, a cup of coffee is made specially for him; and if the occasion requires it, he is invited to dine and even to spend the night. All this is, as often as not, done without any prior notice at all.

The principle of hospitality applies among the villagers in their daily lives, although ordinarily it involves no further effort than making coffee. In the absence

architectural training. Entrance is by a competitive examination based on the second *baccalauréat*. The preparatory year is for students who do not pass the examination or for holders of the first *baccalauréat*. Its program is identical with the *classe de mathématiques* with the addition of drawing and design. In 1945–46 the architectural course consisted of only three years; the fourth year had not yet been started. §73[2]

The course in music is divided into three stages: a first stage of three years, a middle stage of four years, and a final stage of two years consisting largely of repertoire selections. Every student must study at least one instrument. Instruction is given in piano, violin, cello, flute, clarinet, oboe, brass, and voice. All students take courses in theory of solfeggio, theory of music, harmony, counterpoint, composition, and instrumentation. The [533] Academy has a choir composed of some of its men and women students and of girls from the National School. An amateur orchestra is made up of the Academy students, and for major performances some professional musicians are hired. The Academy has given programs in choral and instrumental music, including Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*, Haydn's *The Creation*, Bach's *Christmas Oratorio*, Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, and Handel's *Messiah*, all under the direction of the president of the Academy.

The art section has no definite length of time for study. It gives instruction in painting, water colors, wood engraving, photography, and sculpture, together with theoretical studies in anatomy, shading, and history of art (the last named in conjunction with the School of Architecture).

In 1945–46 the Academy had 43 students in architecture, 130 in music, and 30 in art. It was staffed by about forty-five teachers, most of whom were part time. Fees were £L120 ($54.50) for art students, £L140 ($63.50) for music, and £L440 ($200) for architecture. Gifted poor students are exempted from payment of fees, as are students studying the rare musical instruments such as the oboe. The Lebanese government in 1945–46 granted £L8,000 ($3,636) toward the support of the Academy.

The movement for the foundation of private schools controlled by boards and societies seems to be spreading in Lebanon. For example, the League [575] of Lebanese Women, which is perhaps the foremost association of women in Lebanon, established a progressive kindergarten in Beirut which quickly attained popularity. The Commission, however, was unable to visit it. In the summer of 1946 plans were being laid for the foundation of two boys schools of secondary level in the two well-known Lebanese villages of Suq al-Gharb and Shuwayr on premises formerly occupied by American and Scotch mission schools. The movement was led by graduates of the Amer-

1 - The Lebanese Academy of Fine Arts - Analyst

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME: Lebanon ME1

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

[535] after about ten minutes, and about ten minutes more elapsed until the bride, still in bridal dress, and her party got into their car. They led the procession to Mazqūf.

In Mazqūf there was a large group observing the proceedings outside the groom's father's house. Upon arrival, the bride, standing on a chair in the door, slapped a piece of raw dough on the lintel above the door, molded it into a round bun shape, and made a cross on it with the heel of her hand. While still standing on the chair, she was provided with oranges which she threw at the people standing around. Then she walked inside. Two automobiles filled with relatives came with her from her village, and they included spouses of siblings who were strange to both villages. The bride, the groom, and his father stood in the *maq'ad* to receive congratulations.

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The bride no longer wept, and for a long time, she sat next to her father-in-law, who sat in a corner, conversing quietly with him.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The table in the upper part of the *mafʿal* was moved away first, and dancing continued as before in the space provided. In moments when there was no dancing, solo songs were sung by one or another sitting around the circle. A complete silence fell over the crowd while the *shāʿir* sang many verses in sonorous Classical Arabic of the tragic epic of Qays and Layla, whose plot, though set among Bedouin of the Umayyad period, bears striking resemblance to that of the story of Romeo and Juliet. During the recitation, familiar to all, the peoples' faces seemed thoughtful and reflective, and there was applause when the song was finished. Usually there was no applause after the dances during which everyone was clapping in time anyway.

The couple subsequently took up residence in the groom's own house. Neolocal residence is not uncommon at the present time, and it appears to be preferred by most young couples.

This account requires comment at a number of points.

1. In contrast to funerals, weddings are attended only by those who are invited. In this case the number of those invited by the groom was said to be limited because it was his second marriage, and because two large families happened to be in mourning, hence it was not fitting for their members to attend. Weddings are forbidden outright during the major part of Lent. There is a general sense of the incompatibility of happy and sad events or periods, and these rules and practices have the purpose of avoiding conflicts in emotions.

2. Peghiadi (1925, pp. 296–97) writes in some detail of what he calls a mock battle, of a verbal sort, which takes place in Maronite mountain villages when the groom's party approaches the bride's house. The incident reported above might not deserve to be called a verbal "mock battle" at all, but there was a definite sense of the groom's party being stopped for a time before it was allowed to approach and enter the house.

3. Writing of marriage practices in a Palestinian Muslim village, Granqvist (1935, p. 40) says that since they are losing a daughter, the bride's family do not rejoice at the wedding, and the bride herself is supposed to behave in a sad and subdued manner during the ceremony and must weep before leaving her father's house (*ibid.* p. 45). The same concept appears to be held by Lebanese Christians, and the behavior of the bride was undoubtedly largely conventional. The conventional aspect of this matter would explain the general lack of concern for the bride's tears. In this connection it should be mentioned that, like the European Mediterranean peoples, the Lebanese see no reason to suppress the expression of strong emotions in public. In fact, they interpret the inexpressiveness of North Europeans and their American cousins as evidence of either heartlessness or "deep cool." By the same token, women in labor are free to scream loudly even when they are not actually suffering acute pain.

4. In the Middle East generally, the chief traditional solo women's dance is some variation of what is commonly known as the "belly dance," the basic move

1 - [A newly married couple of the village -- Analyst]

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

ment of which consists of rolling the pelvis. When performed by a professional dancer, it has indubitable sexual significance for the audience, although it is important to emphasize that the dancer's skill, grace, and general beauty are appraised and valued per se and that her performance never descends to the vulgar levels of the contemporary American "exotic" dancer's "bumps" and "grinds."

The women's solo dances at this wedding were not professional performances, and they cannot be described as being pelvic dances at all. The important point, however, is that these dances are performed in the village *only at weddings*. Granqvist (1935, p. 33) reports the same practice in a Palestinian Muslim village, although she does not describe the dances themselves. It is altogether possible that this cultural element is standard in the general area. If these dances are merely decorative, why are they not performed at other festive occasions besides weddings? There is no immediate answer to this question, and so the way is left open for the assumption that they have some special significance for weddings. Taking all the facts into consideration, it appears possible that dances of the type observed were originally pelvic dances which have been conventionalized almost entirely out of recognition by the demands of Christian propriety. Indeed, according to Mr. Alan Horton (who received an eye-witness report), unmistakable pelvic dances are still performed nonprofessionally at weddings in at least one Palestinian Muslim village.

Curt Sachs (1937, p. 56) writes that although pelvic dances on some occasions may have merely the purpose of sexual stimulation, they can also have a symbolic meaning connected with the interest in fertility. It is well known that fertility symbolism is regularly found in the wedding ceremonies of many cultures, and there could hardly be a more appropriate occasion than a wedding for fertility symbolization (however much sublimated), especially in a culture where large numbers of children are explicitly valued. Furthermore it is known (see, for example, Frazer, 1906) that in Semitic paganism fertility themes and sexual symbolism were very important. These were, in fact, among the "Canaanite abominations" so abhorred by the leaders of the ancient Hebrews.

We are, therefore, tempted to reach the admittedly tentative conclusion that the women's solo wedding dances are vestiges of very ancient fertility themes, reinforced by an on-going concern with the matter of fertility itself. Probably none of the dancers is conscious of the symbolization, but neither are the throwers of rice at Western weddings. Readers may certainly be excused if they are skeptical of the validity of this reasoning, and any better explanation of the various observed phenomena is very welcome.

3. The bride's putting of a lump of raw dough (*maḥlīḥ*) on the lintel of her husband's house is evidently a widespread practice. Granqvist reports on it from her Palestinian village, saying that it is supposed to be handed to the bride by her mother-in-law. She adds, "Although the women did not say so, it seemed as if they had a vague idea of some similarity between the sour dough which rises and swells as it ferments and woman who becomes pregnant and increases the

9: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

and young adults was held in the school—tickets sold for the benefit of the club's projected volleyball court. The party lasted all night long, and before four in the morning the revelers began ringing the church bell. Mass on Easter is regularly at dawn, but this was an innovation. At the party there were only European dances, no *dabki*.

On Easter, even more villagers were in attendance at mass than there had been on Good Friday, and they included all the city residents who could possibly come.

Easter is a regularly scheduled rite of intensification. The day after Easter the priest goes to each house with holy water and blesses it, sprinkling the house with the water from an olive branch. During Holy Week he acquires a great surplus of *ġurbaan* which he distributes to other villages in al-Qurni.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

536 Presumably the development in Munsif was similar. The plays are given on
548 the stage in the government school, which is equipped with footlights (candles with reflectors) and a painted backdrop (European forest scene). Arab themes have been used extensively, but *Hamlet* has been presented several times. (One young adult said he thought it was not a good play to give because the lion's share went to only one actor. It was better, he thought, to give a play in which six or seven, at least, took an equal part.) At the time of the writer's final departure from the village, the question of what play to give was being vigorously debated at all age levels. There appeared to be two opposing schools of thought, and tempers were running high in some cases.

COMPETITIVE SPORTS

526 Competitive games such as weight-lifting and javelin throwing have always been popular among the Arabs, but team athletics are something new, introduced by the American mission schools.

In Munsif, volleyball is *the* game, and it appears to date, like the plays, from early in the twentieth century. At present, the village has three teams, ranked in order of the collective skill of their respective players. Most of the games are "intramural," within the village, but a regular series is played with the teams of other villages in the Qurni. In 1951, the first team played a team from Brmumaana,
[575] a large resort town above Beirut. The club appears to take a major role in organizing the teams and arranging games. The girls have their own team.

The following quotation, introduced here for comparative purposes, is taken from a chapter in Dodd (1940) which is credited to Afif Tannous, and probably the village mentioned in it is Bishmizziin.

> A few years ago, a group of us started the game of volleyball in our village in Northern Lebanon. The game was new, and the villagers were at first lukewarm about it. However, it did not take long before the enthusiasm for the game began to touch one individual after another and lead him to request the privilege of participating. Even old farmers, who would not hear of the idea at first, began to feel proud of having their boys belong to the village team. . . . The following summer, the girls of the village caught the spirit and organized their own teams. From our village the idea spread to several neighboring villages and in these volleyball teams were also organized. The next step that naturally followed was the interchange of volleyball matches among these different teams. Each week a match would be arranged for in a different village during which time hundreds of villagers would come from neighboring villages to attend the match. Volleyball became the game for the district, supplying the villages with an excellent opportunity for recreation. (Dodd, 1940, pp. 638–39.)

DANCING

535 Although no one put it into so many words, the impression was given that such traditional dances as the *dabki* are looked upon at best with sentimental attach-

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ment by most of the middle-aged people and with unfeigned derision by many, though not all, younger people. One middle-aged woman said that of course everyone knew how to do the *dabki*, and that "it is done sometimes, and at weddings." "But," she said, "it is better when everyone does it dressed in *thirwal* and *agal* and *kuffiyyah*." The only interpretation which the writer can give to this remark is that the *dabki* is associated with the old days which are no more. There is some evidence that the dance is done far less now in general than it used to be. An acquaintance of the writer's in Beirut, an American of Lebanese ancestry, said that for two years he had looked around unsuccessfully for a performance of it in Beirut. On at least one occasion his inquiries were met with the scornful remark: "Oh, the *dabki* is just for peasants in the mountains."

For the most part, the adolescent and young adult Munṣifiin seem to be committed to the rejection of the more obvious concomitants of their peasant background, and their de-emphasis on the *dabki* is probably an aspect of this. Rather than the *dabki*, it is the samba, rumba, and tango which please the young people most. In this respect, Munṣif is by no means an isolated case. Spanish and South American rhythms are immensely popular among the Lebanese. That well-known tune, "La Compecita," was a popular classic in Lebanon in 1943, and it remains so today. The appeal appears to be more rhythmical than melodic, and of course Spanish music has for a long time been influenced by Arab modes.

The social gatherings in the club are, in sum, featured by the playing mostly of Spanish and South American dances and songs on the phonograph. In traditional Arab culture there is no "concert" music. Music is either to be danced to or it is merely background for a poetic recitation. The second function is maintained today by the traditional forms, but the first has been expanded and taken over by Western forms. Dancing to Western music involves close physical contact between the sexes, and this is very much at variance with traditional norms. One older man, in fact, said, "All this touching is not good for the young people." In general, Western free social intercourse between the sexes has been a difficult kind of behavior for young people of the Middle East to adjust themselves to. To many of them it suggests an invitation to free sexual intercourse, an understandable misinterpretation which has led to much pain and embarrassment, for example, among students in the city.

THE HOME

Hospitality is a virtue which the Arabs value very highly, in part because it implies generosity, another trait which is explicitly valued. At whatever time a guest may arrive at a house, a cup of coffee is made specially for him; and if the occasion requires it, he is invited to dine and even to spend the night. All this is, as often as not, done without any prior notice at all.

The principle of hospitality applies among the villagers in their daily lives, although ordinarily it involves no further effort than making coffee. In the absence

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SECULAR RECREATION

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The purpose of the present chapter is to describe what might be classified as "recreation for its own sake," behavior which is certainly recreational but does not appear to be closely integrated with any of the other cultural categories which have been discussed.

THE CLUB

The "Sport Club" of Munṣif is a new institution which appears to have been started for the sole purpose of organizing the leisure activities of adolescents and young adults. If it has any other purpose, such as political activity, no hint whatever was given of it. 575

PLAYS

We have seen that the club's headquarters is regularly used as an everyday gathering place. It is also used for giving the annual village play in August. The village play antedates the club by many years, but the club seems to have taken over the greater part of the responsibility in putting it on. It is not clear exactly when the play was introduced into the village. Middle-aged adults seem always to have remembered it, but though traditional Arab culture has something resembling plays—actually narrative poetry recited by several individuals—the observed phenomenon in the village seems clearly to be part of the recent acculturative process. 536 545

Perhaps the account of the introduction of plays into Bishmizziin early in the twentieth century gives some idea of what happened in Munṣif. Tannous says that the play was introduced into Bishmizziin through the inspiration of returned emigrants, contact with city customs, and the encouragement of mission-school teachers. After a couple of years, girls started taking part, though over the strong objections of some elders. The play soon became a village festival with guests invited from other villages, the whole community taking part in one way or another. The plays were all in Classical Arabic, the plots all taken from Western novels or plays, or derived from Arabic historical events (Tannous, 1943, pp. 341–42).

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871 From the beginning the village people agreed to the idea of having their girls get the same education as boys, and in the same school house. The move was a departure from the commonly held belief of the area that the girl should be kept at home. However, Bishmizzeen had been prepared for that. The American girls' school at Tripoli was the first strong influence. A few of the progressive leaders sent their girls to the Tripoli school. When these returned they were anxious to give the same chance
562 to all village girls. Aside from that, the two
871 sexes in Bishmizzeen had always mixed freely—as groups, not as individuals. To have both sexes at the same school was not altogether outside the scope of the village tradition. At the same time returned emigrants had their influence, too. Also it must be noted that the silk factory had already paved the way for the mixing of the two sexes in one institution. If the villagers had accepted that, it was not so difficult for them to see their girls and boys studying together under the supervision of men and women teachers. Consequently, the idea was accepted, and the coeducational school began to function smoothly and normally.

621 Within a few years the school became the focus
871 of village life. It seems that the mere physical
517 existence of the school building—a building that belonged to the community as a whole—made it possible for various new community activities to take place. The school society began to find it more logical and more convenient to hold its meetings in the school building. General village meetings, also began to take place there. From this, the next step was to hold receptions at the school and invite people from neighboring villages. At first only village talent was used at these receptions; then talent from the city, in the form of lecturers, poets and singers, was brought in. This added to the impetus of the educational movement in the village. The villagers became proud of their school and highly conscious of their community—Bishmizzeen, the village of education.

536 One more vital activity began to take place at
517 the school, involving the whole of the village community and other villages, too. That was the
[177] acting of plays. Several factors contributed to the creation of this activity—returned emigrants, contact with the educational circles of Tripoli and Beirut, and the early mission school teachers. The desire had been there for some time, but it could not be satisfied, due to the lack of a suitable building. Shortly after the school building was

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536 517 erected, play acting materialised. At first only young men acted. A year or two later, girls began to act, too. The village could not go beyond that and allow boys and girls to act together. That involved kissing and embracing between boys and girls on the stage, and the village held to the idea that such a kiss or an intimate embrace must be reserved to married couples!

834 562 536 578 It is essential that we should dwell briefly on the attitude of the village people towards acting by girls. The villagers had a strong taboo against acting by girls. Acting involved the parading of the girl on the stage in front of the crowd including young men and strangers. Remarks might be made about the girl, causing trouble between her family and those who made the remarks. Such parading had the further implication that the parents were eager to present their girl for marriage. That went against the custom which demanded that the girl should wait at home until her suitor came for her. The strongest objection was due to the fact that the people had always associated regular actresses with "bad morals." Gradually, due to the influence of leading families who were willing to begin with their girls, all of the above objections were broken down, until acting by the girls became a matter of course.

536 621 Within a few years acting became one more established village festival, involving the whole community. They had been accustomed to religious village festivals, and it was natural to fit the play in with the previous pattern and make of it one more such festival. Without any exception, everybody—actors, workers, church authorities and leaders—offered his or her services free, for the community welfare. Over a period of two months, preparation for the play would engage the attention of the village with everybody waiting for the occasion with thrilled anticipation. The preparation involved the various activities of casting, renting the equipment from Tripoli, constructing the stage, evening rehearsals, energetic arguments to persuade a certain girl to accept a certain role and her parents to permit her to act, and the distribution of invitations to the neighboring villages. Two or three days before the play, the village children would enlist as volunteers who would go from house to house in the village and gather all available chairs to seat the guests. The children's reward was the enjoyment of the activity itself and free admission during one evening. The play would be presented for three or four nights.

536 621 On each occasion, a huge crowd, from Bishmizzeen and neighboring villages would attend. An admission was charged, but no regular fee was assigned. Each paid what his "generosity" allowed. That was one more example of how the village fitted a new item of behavior into its established folkways. The income of the play was used for the school.

From the above description, it can be readily observed how play acting, centering in the village school, helped to bring about active village cooperation, a heightened consciousness of community identity, and an active inter-village association.

536 621 186 However, one must not neglect to mention a highly significant point, one more indication of what was going to happen to the village in its newly chosen trend. Not a single one of the plays that have been acted in the village had any relationship to village and farm life. The language used was always the higher literary form of Arabic, which had little connection with the local forms of expression. The theme of the play was either copied from Western novels or referred to old Biblical or historical events. Keeping in mind the tremendous influence of the play, by playing upon the emotions of the village people and creating in them a dynamic for new modes of behavior, one can realize to what extent it was influential in carrying the people away from the village. It widened the horizon of village life, as did the school, emigration, and the silk industry; but the horizon was widened to an extent that was conducive to the destruction of the community integrity.

IV

871 177 When the modern educational movement began in the country some fifty years ago, several educational systems appeared in the field and competed with each other in their effort to influence the people. These systems had a variety of cultural backgrounds—English, Russian, German, Italian, French, American, Turkish, and native. None of these systems had a purely educational character. Their educational message was combined either with religous, or political aims, or both.

In the course of time, each of these systems came to concentrate its influence upon one area of the country or one section of the population. In the case of Bishmizzeen, as was indicated above, the American Protestant system has been the most

p. 342 (A)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The table in the upper part of the *maq'ad* was moved away first, and dancing continued as before in the space provided. In moments when there was no dancing, solo songs were sung by one or another sitting around the circle. A complete silence fell over the crowd while the *shbiini* sang many verses in sonorous Classical Arabic of the tragic epic of Qays and Layla, whose plot, though set among Bedawin of the Umayyad period, bears striking resemblance to that of the story of Romeo and Juliet. During the recitation, familiar to all, the peoples' faces seemed thoughtful and reflective, and there was applause when the song was finished. Usually there was no applause after the dances during which everyone was clapping in time anyway.

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family by giving birth to children" (1935, p. 100). This impression, if valid, may be instructively contrasted with the opinions of a young married woman of Munṣif who, although she put the *maḥiily* over the door and performed other traditional acts at her wedding, said that she thought such customs were ridiculous. She had conformed only on the insistence of others, apparently, and she seemed frankly contemptuous of those who took such things seriously.

6. The rapt, almost respectful, attention which was paid to the recitation of the Classical Arabic poem was significant behavior—not so much in regard to the wedding itself, but to the values which are attached to Classical Arabic, a matter which is discussed elsewhere in this work.

FUNERALS

General evidence indicates that in Munṣif the younger generation is more willing to practice innovations than the older, and less prone to cling to the old. And it is true in Munṣif as it is elsewhere that the wedding is a rite which evokes, largely in the younger people, hopeful thoughts about the future. On the other hand, the funeral evokes, mostly in older people, wistful thoughts of the past. If these surmises are founded in fact, they would help to explain why it is that attitudinal and formal changes are quite evident in the rite of marriage; and why the funeral, dominated ordinarily by older people, appears to maintain its old forms and significance. Furthermore, to a greater degree than the wedding, the Lebanese village funeral always has been, and still is, more than a rite of passage. It is also a rite of intensification which serves as a focus for the solidarity of the entire village, and, to some extent, the district. It is of great significance that the vigor of this second function of the funeral appears to persist unabated among the younger people as well as the older.

One funeral service was attended during the period of study. It took place in the afternoon, somewhat more than twenty-four hours after the death had occurred. The deceased was an elderly widow who had very few close relatives. For these reasons, someone said, "There will not be many people there."

The body was immediately taken care of by neighboring women. They laid it out in the family house and kept vigil over it until the time of the service. During the evening before the service, a large number of women paid their respects at the house, and at least twenty men at a time gathered solemnly in a neighboring house owned by a cousin of the deceased's late husband. They sat in a large circle in the *maq'ad*, conversing very quietly.

On the day of the funeral, the priest was in attendance at the house, making arrangements during the morning. At about two thirty the men, certainly about fifty of them, gathered at one house while the women were with the body. At about three the men went outside and gathered in groups outside the house of the deceased. There was considerable shaking of hands with men from other Qurni villages. Within the deceased's house there was some wailing.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48) 1949 MEI Lebanon (NE)

794 by the people, and ordained by higher religious authorities. Through unspecified donations, members of the community meet his needs. In some cases, he does not even cease to be an active farmer. A balance is established between the central religious organization of the country and the village church through respect for local autonomy.

594 596 602 Another pillar of life among the rural people of Lebanon is the family organization, which is characterized by three functional units or stages. The first of these is the primary biological unit, consisting of the married couple and their children. The second is a more comprehensive unit, known as the joint family, which consists of the grandparents at the head, their unmarried daughters, and the various families of their sons. At a certain point in its growth, this joint family breaks up into new units, resulting ultimately in the development of the largest family organization, the kinship group. Members of this group claim descent from the same ancestor and normally carry his name.

Evidences of the importance of the family organization are numerous and convincing. A village consists actually of a community of people held together to a large extent by blood ties, either through descent within the kinship group or through intermarriage between these units. Practically everybody is related directly or indirectly to everybody else. A strong sense of belonging and of solidarity develops as a result. Marriage, to [582] a large extent, is a family affair, with emphasis upon the interests and welfare of the two family groups concerned. Children are [5[illegible] [42[illegible] usually named after ancestors or other relatives, thus emphasizing the blood tie. Land is normally held and operated jointly by various members of the unit. Loyalty to the family in times of crisis is binding; family honor and prestige must be upheld.

539 593 In their use of proverbs, expressing fundamental attitudes, the village folk frequently refer to this family relationship. "Blood can never turn into water." "A boy is two-thirds the image of his uncle." "Marry the daughter of a good family, though she be an old maid." "He who has no family backing has no backbone." These are but a few examples. Further evidence of the 551 598 identification of the individual with the family group is supplied by the manner in which people are addressed or introduced.

SECULAR RECREATION

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We have seen that the club's headquarters is regularly used as an everyday gathering place. It is also used for giving the annual village play in August. The village play antedates the club by many years, but the club seems to have taken over the greater part of the responsibility in putting it on. It is not clear exactly when the play was introduced into the village. Middle-aged adults seem always to have remembered it, but though traditional Arab culture has something resembling plays—actually narrative poetry recited by several individuals—the observed phenomenon in the village seems closely to be part of the recent acculturative process.

Perhaps the account of the introduction of plays into Bidoonistin early in the twentieth century gives some idea of what happened in Mutqil. Tannous says that the play was introduced into Bidoonistin through the inspiration of returned emigrants, contact with city customs, and the encouragement of mission-school teachers. After a couple of years, girls started taking part, though over the strong objections of some elders. The play soon became a village festival with guests invited from other villages, the whole community taking part in one way or another. The plays were all in Classical Arabic, the plots all taken from Western novels or plays, or derived from Arabic historical events (Tannous, 1943, pp. 141–42).

534 Presumably the development in Mengif was similar. The plays are given on the stage in the government school, which is equipped with footlights (candles with reflectors) and a painted backdrop (European forest scene). Arab theatre lore was used extensively, but *Hamlet* has been presented several times. (One young adult said he thought it was not a good play to give because the lion's share went to only one actor. It was better, he thought, to give a play in which six or seven, at least, took an equal part.) At the time of the writer's final departure from the village, the question of what play to give was being vigorously debated at all age levels. There appeared to be two opposing schools of thought, and tempers were running high in some cases.

COMPETITIVE SPORTS

536 Competitive games such as weight-lifting and javelin throwing have always been popular among the Arabs, but team athletics are something new, introduced by the American mission schools.

In Mengif, volleyball is the game, and it appears to date, like the plays, from early in the twentieth century. At present, the village has three teams, ranked in order of the collective skill of their respective players. Most of the games are "tournaments," within the village, but a regular series is played with the teams of other villages in the Qazā. In 1951, the first team played a team from Deraqoosa, a large resort town above Beirut. The club appears to take a major role in organizing the teams and arranging games. The girls have their own team.

536 The following quotation, introduced here for comparative purposes, is taken from a chapter in Dodd (1940) which is credited to *Alī Yammīn*, and probably the village mentioned in it is Bshemizzin.

> A few years ago, a group of us started the game of volleyball in our village in Northern Lebanon. The game was new, and the villagers were at first lukewarm about it. However, it did not take long before the enthusiasm for the game began to touch one individual after another and lead him to request the privilege of participating. Even old farmers, who would not hear of the idea at first, began to feel proud of having their boys belong to the village team. . . . The following summer, the girls of the village caught the spirit and organized their own team. From our village the idea spread to several neighboring villages and in these volleyball teams were also organized. The next step that naturally followed was the interchange of volleyball matches among these different teams. Each week a match would be arranged for in a different village during which tens hundreds of villagers would come from neighboring villages to attend the match. Volleyball became the game for the district, supplying the villages with an excellent opportunity for recreation. (Dodd, 1940, pp. 438-39.)

DANCING

535 Although no one put it into so many words, the impression was given that such traditional dances as the *dabkē* are looked upon at best with sentimental affect-

7: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

linked no identification with its urban surroundings nor to have established any strong ties with non-Mussalim. These people are, of course, by no means cut off from the village. People come and go from the village community for brief visits. The evening gatherings of this group are similar in form to those in the village proper.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The majority of men and women smoke cigarettes, and the rate of consumption appears to be high. European briar pipes are not smoked at all, but the old-fashioned water pipe is still enjoyed both by men and women.

It has been mentioned before that foreign influence has been particularly strong in the field of communication. Communication and means of entertainment overlap in such things as radio, the movies, books, magazines, and newspapers. Owing to its lack of electricity, Mussalim has only three battery-run radios, and this instrument is not particularly important in the village as a means of entertainment. The available programs are limited in scope, consisting mostly of news and "disk-jockey" broadcasts. From his limited observation, the writer was impressed with the esthetic appeal of the spoken word (radio broadcasts are in Classical Arabic) to the listeners.

Cities like Beirut are over-equipped, if anything, with movie houses which show Egyptian, European, and American pictures indiscriminately. There is no question but that they provide welcome diversion and enlarge the villagers' horizons, although the American movies have spread some very erroneous impressions of life in America. To some degree there is a cult of movie-star worship, but this is far less pronounced than it is in America, and it appears to be limited to the leading lights of the Egyptian screen.

Illustrated weeklies and paper-bound novels are very numerous and widely distributed. Their format seems crude to eyes which are accustomed to slick periodicals. The novels, for example, tend to have garish illustrated covers which are reminiscent of "pulps." However, this impression is deceptive, for most appear to be serious works by Arab authors or translations of Western best-sellers and classics. For example, Wilder's *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* and Maugham's *Of Human Bondage* were two which were being read in the village. In addition, there is in Mussalim some distribution of imported American paperbacks. No generalizations can be made here about the effect of this literature on the villagers. It can be said, however, that it seemed clear that Classical Arabic, spoken, retains a great deal of affective force which transcends the actual content of what is being said or recited. Western literature, on the other hand, is read mainly out of intellectual curiosity or for sheer diversion, but it carries no emotional or esthetic charge.

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wear by any man younger than about forty. The European hat with a brim (*kbrayte*) is unusual; only two or three men wear them regularly, although others wear them on occasion. Thus, it can be deduced that a good many men, especially young adults and adolescents, ordinarily go hatless, and this is a rather singular practice in a culture where headgear has practical and symbolic significance. The writer believes that the prevailing hatlessness in the younger generation is an aspect, and rather an apt symbol, of the cultural situation in which they find themselves. He believes that if systematic questioning were undertaken on this topic, it would reveal that the younger generation has more or less consciously rejected the old style—which it associates with peasant life—and at the same time is often hesitant to accept the new which represents foreign influence. The European brimmed hat obviously provides better protection than the *tarbaush* against the sun, which is the reason, stated by young and old alike, why one should always wear a hat.

Women. The costume of the older, middle-aged, and many of the village-dwelling younger women consists basically of a rather formless, full-skirted black dress (cotton or wool) supplemented by sweater or jacket. A scarf is very often worn over the head, but it is secured under the back hair rather than under the chin. In winter, woolen stockings are worn. There is no elaborate jewelry. The younger women, especially those who work in the city, follow modern European styles.

However, the Western practice of women or girls wearing slacks or shorts has been completely rejected. For this there are at least two reasons. One is that the men regard the practice as a usurpation of a symbol of masculine status. The second is that women who wear slacks or shorts are assumed to be of loose morals. This is because the wearing of these garments by women in the area is associated with the "artistes" (who are mostly European women) who are entertainers in the numerous Western-style nightclubs in Beirut and are generally assumed to be available for other purposes after hours.

For the most part, those who wear European clothes regularly are careful to appear in well-pressed and clean garments. This means more inconvenience and expense than the maintenance of the traditional costume did. Dodd (1940, p. 686) remarks that the relative tightness of Western clothes is not well adapted to summer weather, and certainly the *shirwal* are better and more comfortably adapted to male anatomy than European trousers are.

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT

It has already been mentioned that the flashlight is a widely distributed item of personal equipment. Another is the wrist watch. Certainly a majority of the villagers who have attained any degree of responsible age have them. Traditional village life required no accurate chronometry, and there was none. The villagers

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are being steadily removed in most Middle East countries at the present time) do not obtrude very much into everyday *living* in the average household, though they may do so somewhat more among the Muslims than among the Christians. Furthermore, he believes that that bugaboo of American feminists, the female chattel, has been unusual in any culture at any time except under special, hence conspicuous, circumstances. The occurrence of such circumstances can be safely predicted only in individual families in a patrilineal system, which are so well off that the woman can be relieved of all useful functions except sex. It is only in such families that extensive polygyny (if the culture permits it) is ordinarily to be found, and certainly an unfavored wife in a wealthy polygynous household can even be deprived of the dignity of her sexual role.

In the Middle East village, however, the basic unit of everyday living is the single household. Among the Christians, it is always based on a permanent monogamous marriage, and the probability is that the same is true among the great majority of the Muslims. The very existence of the household, initially and as time goes on, depends upon the active participation of the wife. She is cook, laundress, seamstress, nurse, and, above all, mother of the children who, it is hoped, will project the honor of the family into the future. She is *sitt al-bayt*, "mistress of the house," a title which, in Munṣif, used to be given to quite a number of baby girls as their personal name. Such a woman is no chattel, and there are numerous women in the village who, as individuals, are accorded unqualified respect by all.

The average village-dwelling woman works hard and makes no pretense of "hiding her age." She will continue to work hard until decrepitude overtakes her. One occasionally may even see an old woman trudging along bent nearly double under the weight of a bundle of firewood sometimes nearly as large as herself. But if this woman is socially oppressed, it is the incessant physical labor enjoined by necessity which is the tyrant and not the hard-heartedness of her husband, her brothers, or her sons, who are as hardworking and work-worn as she is.

As has been noted, the great majority of the Munṣif women are housewives or apprentice housewives. Domestic duties occupy most of their time, but, as will be seen in the next chapter, their regular chores do not prohibit social interaction outside the house. Before the introduction of convenient and relatively inexpensive Western manufactures, the average housewife wove the cloth with which she made her family's clothes. Weaving, like shoemaking, has now completely disappeared from the village which is not exceptional in this respect (cf. Kohn, 1936, p. 269). A few housewives do ornamental needlework to supplement the family income (cf. Fisher, 1950, pp. 208–09). The forty-four village women who have non-domestic paying jobs certainly represent something entirely new in the village culture. But the jobs themselves are something entirely new, and the writer is unable to say whether or not the women's taking them is in general motivated primarily by necessity rather than by "career girl" ambitions. His impression is that most of the girls feel that their jobs are temporary arrangements before mar-

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KINSHIP STRUCTURE AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS

THE INVISIBLE SKELETON OF THE COMMUNITY

THE LINEAGES

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IN the chapter "Population" the kinship structure of the village was discussed in a preliminary way. It was pointed out that everyone in the Core Group except those in the Affiliate Families, is patrilineally descended from the founder of the village. Most are also matrilaterally descended from him. These descendants are divided into three so-called Maximal Lineages which at the present time appear to have little more than genealogical significance. Membership in a given maximal lineage is based on patrilineal descent from one of the three sons of the founder. These three brothers were the founders of the three maximal lineages. Each maximal lineage is subdivided into a number of so-called Minimal Lineages which are of unequal size and generational depth. Membership in a minimal lineage is, again, based upon patrilineal descent from its founder, and the name of the founder is the name of the lineage. The names of the minimal lineages are the "family" names which the villagers give when they are required to in acculturative situations outside the village. Among such situations are the filling out of government forms like identity cards, school and college registrations, and so forth. Traditionally, family, or lineage, names were rarely used in the village itself for personal identification, and this remains true today. Every individual, male or female, has his own name to which he adds his father's which, by rule, is always different from his own. (In Munṣif, there is only one exception to this rule, and in this case the birth and naming of the child after his father occurred in Australia.) Thus, if Jurjis is the son of Ḥanna, he is known as Jurjis Ḥanna. In principle, this usage is exactly the same as that of the Bedawin who would call him Jurjis ibn Ḥanna. In Munṣif, the ibn ("son of") is omitted, but it is certainly understood.

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Theoretically, Jurjis Ḥanna, if asked, could complete the naming of himself by adding his grandfather's and great-grandfather's names, and so on, until he came to the name of the founder of his minimal lineage, and this name is the name of his lineage. In practice, the intermediary steps are omitted, and he would give, if required, his own, his father's and his lineage-founder's name (cf. Tannous, 1942, p. 234). Occasionally a man will be known by his own and his *mother's*, rather than his father's, name as a second name. Such cases are considered idio-

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syncratic, and are usually due to some such fact as the death of the father in his son's infancy. After she is married, a woman continues to be known by her own and her father's names, but if she is asked to give a family name, she will give her husband's rather than her father's, family name (cf. Granqvist, 1950, p. 39).

The minimal lineages, then, are name groups. Each lineage name identifies its various bearers as members of a common descent group who are, *ipso facto*, relatives. When pressed, everyone who was asked admitted that he was also related to all the members of his maximal lineage, "and of course *all* of us in Munṣif return (*nirjiʿ*) to Manṣur Jurjis al-Khuri." Of these two wider connections, the latter, wider one seemed to be the stronger. In fact, many young adults were quite vague as to the maximal lineage affiliation of many of the minimal lineages. To put the matter in another way, it appears that in many cases a stronger identification is felt with the village as a kin group than with the maximal lineages. Even here, the writer would suggest that the sense of village identification is based possibly more on the interests of common residence than on the kinship bond of common descent from a very remote ancestor. At this point, the possibility must be raised that common descent from Manṣur Jurjis al-Khuri and the various descent patterns indicated in Table 8 and Figure 5 are partially or wholly fictional. As it is, it can be seen that the ultimate descent of Minimal Lineages XX and XXI are unknown or in dispute. But if it is fiction, it is nonetheless a significant symbol of the conceptual unity of the village, a conception which is put in terms of kinship. A basically similar concept is held by the people of Ramallah in regard to their genealogical origins (Zarour, 1953, p. 432).

Returning to the minimal lineages, we have seen that they identify by name people who are considered to be relatives. Several people said that the only relatives "who count" are the members of one's minimal lineage. In addition to this, however, matrilateral first cousins appear to count about equally as relatives. Discussion of this exception to patrilineal emphasis must be postponed till later in this chapter.

If, for our immediate purposes, lineage-mates are the only relatives who count, what do they count for? In a negative function, lineage-mates are people who should not marry each other. There is no strict rule about this, and marriages within minimal lineages do occur. They are, in fact, significantly numerous in lineage VIII, which is by far the largest lineage in the village (see Table 10). Having said this much, it must nevertheless be emphasized that marriages within a minimal lineage appear to be avoided in general. They could be much more frequent than they are without violation of the definite rule against the marriage of first cousins. In a positive function, lineage-mates may inherit from each other, whereas matrilateral relatives, no matter how close they may be, can never do so.

It cannot be said definitely that the minimal lineages have any more functions than those which have just been outlined. There are, apparently, no lineage heads, and if lineages ever act as units on any issue, no such behavior was observed or re-

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[page 111 is a figure]

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613 The exceptions, which are relatively recent, are sufficient to have obliterated most
621 minimal lineage clusterings.

It is quite evident that brothers are expected and honor-bound to help each
593 other throughout life, and very frequently they cooperate in business or other enterprises. Many of the remittances from emigrants appear to be based on the brother-brother relationship. The situation may be in part similar to that reported from India by Mandelbaum (1948, p. 137), in which it is now rare for extended families to remain unified after the death of the parents.

596 If this material can be interpreted as sufficient evidence of the "presence of the extended family" in Munṣif, this writer has no objection, but he himself is not entirely convinced. In part, to be sure, the problem is a terminological one, for the common usage is to equate "extended family" with "patriarchal family." The latter can only be rare or, in individual cases, of fairly short duration in a culture like that of Munṣif in which, owing to the general lateness of marriage, a man is not likely to become a patriarch over sons and grandchildren until he is rather near death's door. The family organization in Munṣif is possibly similar to that of the Chinese *chia* (Fei, 1939, p. 29).

NAMING PATTERNS

551 Related to the matter of lineages and families is that of personal names. Something has already been said about naming patterns, but more should be mentioned about the names themselves. Particular names do not seem to run in certain patrilines despite the reported ideal of naming the eldest son after his paternal grandfather (cf. Granqvist, 1950, p. 13). The names of the men are more conservative and less variable than the names of the women. There were one hundred and eighteen different male names recorded as against one hundred and forty-six different female names. Only eight of the male names (involving nine persons from five different conjugal families) are of recent foreign origin, whereas there are twenty-three female names of this type (involving thirty-one persons from twenty-seven conjugal families). The remainder of the female names are Arabic nouns and adjectives which generally have no religious significance. The most popular are Layla (Night), twelve examples; Munah, seven; Nabiiha, Fariidi, Badr, and Sa'ada, five each. Most of male names are also Arabic nouns or adjectives, but thirteen of them (involving sixty-five persons) are specifically Christian and/or of Greek origin. Nearly ten per cent of all the males in the village are named Jurjis (George). The other most popular male names are Na'iim, ten examples; Ilyaas (Elijah), Mukhail or Michel, and Fu?ad, nine each; Ḥanna (John), eight; Iliia (also Elijah), seven; Wadii', six; and Nakhli, five.

In eleven conjugal families the names of the children form some sort of rhyming or alliterative pattern. For example:

7[See preceding 3 pages -- Analyst]

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be of any help. Then there was the flat statement that the shrines were no longer used at all. The most interesting comment was that many people still believed in the efficacy of the shrines but that they would probably deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Actually, there was clear evidence that candles and olive oil are regularly burned as offerings at the shrines, but by how large a proportion of the people was not ascertained. In any case there is no doubt that there are now fundamental differences among the villagers on a matter which would not have been the subject of any disagreement 75 years ago.

In other aspects of life, religion plays a vigorous role. There are three types of occasion — weddings, and especially funerals and Easter — when all the villagers who are living away are strongly obligated to return to the village for the ceremonies. There is absolutely no question about this matter, in theory or in practice. The ritual occasions all have, of course, the same latent function, which is the intensification of group loyalty and solidarity sentiments. It can be argued that the prime motives behind these events which account for their vigor are not, strictly speaking, religious. Be that as it may, religious behavior is an integral part of the observances.

Kinship Organization. It appears that the kinship organization of al-Munsif has been the least affected by change of all the major aspects of the culture. It is often very difficult for modern Americans, in whose own culture kinship groups are of minimum importance, to comprehend the fact that in most other parts of the world kinship is one of the strongest elements in social organization. When we speak of the kinship organization of an Arab village, such as al-Munsif, we are not referring to a genealogical abstraction; we are referring, in fact, to the social organization itself. For the social organization — a pattern of interrelated statuses and roles — is defined in terms of kinship.

The unity of al-Munsif is enhanced by the fact that the villagers believe themselves all to be descended from a common ancestor who was the founder of the village. Whatever other differences there may develop among them, they continue to maintain this conception of themselves as a group. The founder had three sons among whom he divided equally the land of the community. For some time, the descendants of each of the three sons held land only in the areas originally apportioned. Each group, or lineage, also sponsored and developed one of the saint's shrines located in its territory. Eventually, the three original lineages were divided into what is now a total of 21 lineages. The name of each lineage is that of the man who is recognized as having been the common ancestor of all the members, but among the villagers themselves these lineage (or "family") names are rarely used. Their chief use is in filling out government and other official forms. A person is ordinarily designated by his own and his father's names only. Traditionally, the father's name is never given to any of his sons, and there is

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L 551

Fu'ad
Fahiim
Fawzi
Faadi

or,

Na'iimi
Na'iim
Nabiih
Naahi
Nabiiha

or this, the most elaborate,

Rafiiq
Shafiiq
Samiir
Muniir
'amad
Ziyad
Munah

Informants said of this, as they said of some other types of behavior, "There is no rule; it is just a custom." For the most part, their attitude seemed to be that it was just a pretty notion which some people put into effect. One wonders, however, if it is not significant, at the implicit level, of two important cultural patterns: (1) the fascination with the sound of words, and (2) the concept of siblings as a solid unit rather than merely a collection of individuals who happen to have the same parents.

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Teknonymy, a well-recognized item in Arab culture, is used to a considerable extent in the village, particularly by younger people who are referring to or addressing their elders. In such situations a teknonymous appellation is the only alternative to a kinship term (see Part Two).

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KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The most recent and concise statement of the Arabic kinship system is by Davies (1949). In the paper cited, the author lists and very briefly discusses the systems of kinship terminology used by a Palestinian Christian and a Syrian Muslim. The two systems are essentially the same, though there are a few substantive differences. The system used in Munṣif is almost identical with Davies' Palestinian Christian system, there being between them only a few dialectical differences which need not be discussed here. Since this material is so readily available, it is not necessary to reproduce here a complete paradigm of the terminological system. This section will, instead, consist of comments upon some facts and opinions stated by Davies and some original statements as well. The purpose is to elucidate certain problems which study of the Arabic kinship system raises, and, in so doing, to carry forward the discussion of patterns of kinship behavior in Munṣif.

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only one exception to this rule in al-Munsif. In this case, the son was born while the family was living in Australia.

Special formal titles are addressed to no one except the priest, the mayor, the school teachers, and the doctor. Otherwise, personal names and kinship terms are used. It is significant that when a villager addresses another who is definitely his senior, he never under any circumstances uses the Arabic equivalents of "Mr." or "Mrs." To do this would be a grave insult, for it would imply that the person addressed is considered to be a stranger and an outsider. "Paternal uncle" or "aunt" are the kinship terms most commonly used in such cases (which include the address of one's father- and mother-in-law), although the well-known teknonymous formula (for example, "Abu 'Abdallah"—"father of 'Abdallah") is often employed. (It can also be used in a joking sense, but there is never any confusion in this matter.)

Space does not allow any further elaboration on the intricacies of the system of kinship terms which is used in al-Munsif. It can be said here only that these terms—which are verbal symbols of status and role—encompass the entire pattern of reciprocal obligations, social distance, and social nearness which regulates interpersonal relations in the village. Over all, there is the abiding concept of everyone in the village being related. This is symbolized best, perhaps, by the extensive use of the term *sihr*. The basic meaning of this word is a man who has married a member of one's immediate family; in other words, a sister's or a daughter's husband. But the term is extended to any man (of same age or younger) who is married to a member of one's lineage, and it is applied to an outsider who has married any village girl. Conceptually, the outsider becomes an in-law of the entire community.

The lineages function as units of identification by name (if necessary), as units for the automatic support and aid of individual members on a reciprocal basis, and to some extent for the regulation of marriage. Marriage to a member of another lineage is preferred, provided the spouse is a member of the village. There are exceptions to this, but as a whole, the network of marriage ties—which become blood ties through women in the generations following the marriage—between the lineages is very complex. Thus the potential exclusiveness of each lineage is minimized for the benefit of village solidarity. There are, indeed, factions and cliques within the village, but its basic unity is never lost sight of.

The Arabs are often thought of as actually living their daily lives in large, extended family groups. This is not, and apparently never has been, true in al-Munsif. All the households, with one exception, consist of what sociologists call "nuclear" families. That is, they are composed, basically, of only the parents and the immature or unmarried children. But the resemblance to the typical American family ends at this point, for though

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48) 1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

by the people, and ordained by higher religious authorities. Through unspecified donations, members of the community meet his needs. In some cases, he does not even cease to be an active farmer. A balance is established between the central religious organization of the country and the village church through respect for local autonomy.

Another pillar of life among the rural people of Lebanon is the family organization, which is characterized by three functional units or stages. The first of these is the primary biological unit, consisting of the married couple and their children. The second is a more comprehensive unit, known as the joint family, which consists of the grandparents at the head, their unmarried daughters, and the various families of their sons. At a certain point in its growth, this joint family breaks up into new units, resulting ultimately in the development of the largest family organization, the kinship group. Members of this group claim descent from the same ancestor and normally carry his name.

Evidences of the importance of the family organization are numerous and convincing. A village consists actually of a community of people held together to a large extent by blood ties, either through descent within the kinship group or through intermarriage between these units. Practically everybody is related directly or indirectly to everybody else. A strong sense of belonging and of solidarity develops as a result. Marriage, to a large extent, is a family affair, with emphasis upon the interests and welfare of the two family groups concerned. Children are usually named after ancestors or other relatives, thus emphasizing the blood tie. Land is normally held and operated jointly by various members of the unit. Loyalty to the family in times of crisis is binding; family honor and prestige must be upheld.

In their use of proverbs, expressing fundamental attitudes, the village folk frequently refer to this family relationship. "Blood can never turn into water." "A boy is two-thirds the image of his uncle." "Marry the daughter of a good family, though she be an old maid." "He who has no family backing has no backbone." These are but a few examples. Further evidence of the identification of the individual with the family group is supplied by the manner in which people are addressed or introduced.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Parents, after the birth of their first son, cease to be addressed by their given names. They are now addressed by the name of their son, as the father or the mother of so-and-so. On the other hand, the members of the younger generation, until they are married, are referred to and introduced as the children of so-and-so, of such-and-such a family.

An outstanding characteristic of this rural family organization is that, with minor exceptions in certain parts of Lebanon, the woman occupies a relatively high status. Moslem or Christian, she does not submit to the veil, nor does she suffer from undue segregation. In the majority of cases, boys and girls attend the same village school. Whenever both men and women do farm work, we find, as a general rule, that division of labor prevails, with the lighter tasks assigned to women. In many villages of the mountain region, an increasing proportion of women do not do any farm work at all, applying themselves completely to home-making. Some fifty years ago the doors of higher education were opened to the village women of Lebanon. Since then they have played an increasingly important role in national leadership and development as teachers, writers, doctors, lawyers, and enlightened homemakers.

Recreational activity, to one degree or another, is characteristic of many rural societies. This seems to be an essential need, biologically and socially, of human group life. By this means the group gives spontaneous expression, in symbolic form, to the fundamental values of its life and to its aspirations. The rural society of Lebanon is outstanding in this respect, having developed a rich recreational heritage that is well known in the Arabic-speaking world. Some aspects of this heritage have been carried to, and kept alive in, foreign countries by Lebanese emigrants. The Lebanese farmer is characterized by a well-developed sense of humor and a lively tendency to indulge in pranks. He loves to compose folk poetry and sing folk songs, when alone working in his fields or when in the company of friends. From his early childhood he learns to be a good folk dancer. At the same time his community life is characterized by an abundance of recreational expression.

Occasions for community festivities and group-play activity

17:Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

He soon develops a keen consciousness of belonging to the community. Through such consciousness his personality is expanded. The attainment of his life's objectives is tempered by a firmly established sense of responsibility as a member of the group.

It is in such surroundings that a spirit of true democracy is nurtured and developed. Viewed from this angle, the village community of Lebanon assumes a new national significance.

From the economic viewpoint, this type of physical structure has resulted in the development of a widespread problem of fragmented holdings. The Lebanese farmer frequently owns property that consists of some 10, 15, or 20 small plots, scattered in all directions from the village where he lives. Agriculturally, this type of landholding is inefficient. The farmer wastes much time and energy in walking from plot to plot. Furthermore, he cannot develop a satisfactory over-all plan of management for his land. A national plan for the consolidation of holdings, launched on a voluntary co-operative basis, thus is in order. Consolidation alone, however, would be only a temporary solution, for the prevailing system of dividing the land among the heirs and the practice of selling a small portion of a plot upon need would in time cause the fragmented holdings to reappear. Other complicating factors, some social and some religious, require that the problem be given more detailed study and analysis before a satisfactory solution can be devised.

The Lebanese farmer manifests a deep-rooted attachment to his land. It is his main source of living, and before him it supported a long line of his ancestors. It is an integral part of his being; he speaks of it with religious fervor. The various plots he owns carry personalized names, referring to certain qualities, incidents in village history, ancestors, or patron saints. By virtue of owning them and being a good farmer he is given status in the community and plays a role in its affairs. To sell out and migrate to another locality is abhorrent to him, a threat to his whole existence. When he is forced to emigrate abroad, he does so with the fervent hope that some day he will return to his village community, to the land that ties him in an organic manner to a long line of ancestors. If he is forced to mortgage or sell some of his land upon departure, his first concern is to remit money to pay

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

241 311 the hollow of the rock the vegetable mould; then hedges round with stones his wells of cunning fertility to conceal and increase them. From below you gaze upwards at barrenness: from above you look down on an arabesque of verdure: the rosy hues of the fresh turned furrows, the soft green of sprouting crops, nestling within the puckerings, grey and brown, of layers of limestone cast up on end, the faces of which are worn like glaciers. This is their arable land in the central range. (Urquhart, 1860, Vol. I, p. 1.)

3. One gets the vivid impression that the farmer of Bishmizzeen has lost heart and has lost faith in farming. He is looking somewhere else for a possible solution of his problem, which is now the problem of his growing children—employment outside the village, engaging in business, or emigration. (Tannous, 1941, p. 662.)

461 554 434 6. Nowadays young men, especially Maronites and other Christians, many of whom are educated, are unwilling to work on the land. They prefer jobs in the towns, and failing that many of them would rather live with their families, unemployed and aimless. So, too, the women of the more sophisticated villages no longer work long hours in the fields. A great part of the income of the Lebanese villages is currently derived from sources other than farming—from earnings in the towns, for example, or emigrants' remittances, or the renting of houses to visitors in the mountain summer resorts. (Lewis, 1953, p. 7.)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The Law of 1928 provides that any community of fifty persons or more should have an elected mukhtar and council. In villages of 50–500 persons, the council has two members; 500–1000, four members; 1500–2500, six members (Rüsher, 1932, p. 28). Since World War II, Munşif's council was increased from two to four members. The present incumbents are from lineages A.VI; A.VIII; A.X; and C.XV.

The mayor presides at meetings of the council with which he is supposed to deliberate on all organizational and administrative matters. Council members countersign deeds of sale, identity cards, and bills of assessment. The mayor is responsible for the finances and general health of the village. He is responsible to the central government, or district government, for maintenance of the peace and for the collection of taxes. He is empowered to serve summonses. Mayor and council serve without salary (Rüsher, 1932, pp. 29–31). During the period of study, the mayor in his official capacity was in daily evidence since he accompanied the surveyor who was making a cadastral survey of all land-holdings in the village. The surveyor measured and recorded boundaries, and the mayor confirmed them after consultation with the parties concerned.

Otherwise, it was quite evident that the village government machinery has little cause to be active most of the time. There is no village constable, and the government gendarmerie do not regularly patrol it. If some criminal act were committed in the village, the mayor would be expected by the government to call in the police. However, as one man said, "We are very peaceful here, not like some villages. The judges say that if all villages were like Munşif, they would have no work."

THE USE OF TITLES

The priest is addressed and referred to as *khuuri* (priest) by everyone including his family, though his children occasionally address him as *baaba* (daddy). *Abuuna* (our father), usually *buuna*, is also very frequently used in addressing the priest. The feminine form of *khuuri*, *khuuriyyah*, is similarly used in reference and address to the priest's wife. The priest and his wife refer to and address each other in public by their titles.

The mayor is always referred to and addressed as *mukhtar*, at least by persons outside his immediate family, and his wife is sometimes called *mukhtarah*.

The retired physician was called *al-duktuur* or Duktuur Mukhail. Here again, his wife was often called *duktuurah*. "Duktuur" is of course borrowed from Indo-European and as a general thing it is preferred to *ḥakiim* (the traditional equivalent of "physician") which is never used in address, anyway, and is only used nowadays in oblique references to doctors. For example, once when the priest was called out on duty in the evening he remarked humorously, "Al-khuuri mitl ḥakiim." ("The priest is like a doctor.")

9: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 MX: Lebanon MX:

554 The term *ma'alim* (teacher) is applied to the schoolteachers, usually immediately followed by the individual's name, whether in reference or in address. It was observed, however, that the title was often omitted in cases where the teacher was being addressed by an older man.

554 These titles symbolize the respect which is due certain statuses, and the criteria 576 for respect are vested authority and learning. The only other point which needs to 582 be made about them is the fact that they are extended to the wives of the men who hold the statuses to which they pertain. Of the three, *Abouriyyeh* appears to be the one which is taken the most seriously and used the most consistently. The status is very old, of course, whereas *mukhtarah* and *shaikhah* are new, and the use of *ma'alim* is greatly extended compared to the old days. No other titles are used in the village.

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SOCIO-RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOR

RITES OF PASSAGE

BIRTHDAYS AND BAPTISM

In the traditional culture of the Middle East (nation, village, or casteal), the status of midwife is a very important one. Midwives are invariably local women past menopause, and men are rigidly excluded from the house while the birth is taking place (cf. Granquist, 1947, pp. 36-40).

Only one villager was born during the period of study, and the event took place in Beirut (the family is in the foreign Resident category) some time before the writer learned of it. The majority of Mtuqil's housewives of childbearing age [illegible] services of physicians and hospitals in important medical matters.

Once born, the modern village infant, judging from the very few cases observed, spends his time in a crib and is not swaddled restrictively. After the first few weeks, he may be fed from a modern nursing bottle. Factory-made toys are not very common in Lebanon, but small cars and trucks and at least one tricycle were observed in the village.

Birthday anniversaries are celebrated in a few families. There is a cake with candles, and the whole affair is new, probably inspired by experiences in American boarding schools.

Baptism is performed anywhere from forty days to about two years after the birth of the child. It appeared that the mode tended toward the latter age. The ritual is accompanied by at least a family party, but in some cases, according to one informant, the baptismal party may approach a wedding party in size.

ENGAGEMENT AND MARRIAGE

Engagement. Engagement (*khaṭbi*) is a more or less formal status. Quite often the couple simply declare themselves engaged, with the tacit approval of the priest. If both parties are members of the village, the priest's only official concern is that they are more distantly related than first cousins. If they are first cousins, it is his duty to inform them that he will be unable to marry them. In any case, the couple may or may not come to the priest for his blessing. Wedding rings (plain gold bands) are worn by both parties on the right hand to signify engagement. At the marriage ceremony, they are transferred to the left. Engaged couples may see each other alone at any time, and no questions are asked. Young

what would be expected on the basis of chance alone in view of the following facts: (1) Individuals who choose spouses from inside the village, have a fifty-fifty choice, either to marry inside their maximal lineage or outside it. (2) By village marriage rules, this choice is entirely free.

The deviations from this overall pattern in the figures for the marriage patterns of the individual maximal lineages are, in all probability, due to the differences in gross size of the maximal lineages. "A" includes forty-eight per cent of the total population of the village. For "A" men, therefore, about half of the available women are also from "A" in the first place, in addition to the fact that there is a fifty-fifty chance of their choosing from "A." "B" is overwhelmingly exogamous, both in regard to its men and its women. "B" has only six per cent of the total population of the village, divided among six households. Marriage within any one household would be virtually impossible because of incest regulations, and although it happens that members of any one of the households *could*, theoretically, marry into any of the others, there is no instance of it. (The one case of an intra-"B" marriage was between a man of XII and a "deceased" lineage.) Like "A" and "C," "B" people have a theoretical fifty-fifty choice between "B" and "non-B," but because of the small size of "B" its men and women are really forced to take from and marry into the other two maximal lineages. "C" has thirty-five per cent of the total population, and, as might be expected, its marriage patterns [illegible] approximate an intermediate position to "A," "C" men show a moderately strong tendency to take their wives from the other two maximal lineages, but this tendency is not nearly so strong as it is in "B." In regard to its women, however, about the same situation obtains in "C" as in "A," that is, slightly under half of the women are taken by men from other lineages.

To summarize: "A" men tend to take wives from "A" because "A" is so large. "B" and "C" men tend to take their wives from "A" for the same reason. An actual count confirms this generalization. "B" men have taken eight from "A" and one from "C." "C" men have taken fourteen from "A" and three from "B."

One informant was conscious of these tendencies and was of the opinion that in the past, more than fifty years ago at least, they were more pronounced than they are now. This was explained by saying, in effect that "B" and "C" wanted to marry "A" because "A" was more distinguished. "And how did 'A' feel about it?" "Oh, some did not care, but some others minded a great deal." And a story was related of a person in the past with whom the family refused to have anything more to do after the person's marriage to a member of another maximal lineage than "A." No further examples could, however, be adduced. The informant also remarked emphatically that the conduct of the family had been shameful, and that it would never happen in the present day.

For some time, the writer seriously considered the hypothesis that until recently "A" was specifically endogamous, and that "B" and "C" were mutually exogamous, but necessarily endogamous with regard to "A." The probability of

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

the truth of this notion of a dichotomous social organization was seen to rest on two factors, viz: (1) The even split in population between "A" on one hand and "B" and "C" on the other. (2) The indisputable fact that there is a conceptual division of the village into an upper half (dominated by "A") and a lower half (dominated by "C"). (3) The reports of all authorities that Arab kin groups tend to be endogamous and that Arab villages tend to be split into two factions (cf. Zurayk, 1955, p. 432). (4) The apparent tendency for the present clique groups to fall into the lines laid by the supposed dichotomies. (So many exceptions to this were discovered, that this factor was discarded before the main theory was.)

On this theory, the present patterns of inter-village marriage were interpreted as a recent "breakdown" caused indirectly by acculturation. It was guessed that if the villagers felt that the integrity of the village as a unit was being seriously threatened by foreign influences, especially the lure of the city, there would be a tendency for the village as a unit to assume an even more important position *in rank* in the villagers' eyes, so much so that maximal lineage lines would be greatly weakened. The relaxing of maximal lineage, lower of moiety, endogamy rules would be consistent with this tendency toward retrenchment.

This was a tempting and plausible theory. As time went on, however, it remained impossible to support its line of reasoning with behavioral evidence. Moreover, the theory was found to run afoul of two sets of objective evidence as follows:

1. During the period in which the postulated "breakdown" of lineage marriage barriers and concomitant solidification of village unity would have occurred (c. 1900 to the present), marriages to outsiders became a definite element in village life. (Previously they had been sporadic and had consisted entirely of village men marrying Orthodox women whom they had met in other districts while doing wage-labor there. These women were eventually brought into the village and entirely assimilated.) These marriages to outsiders are, at present, well distributed among the lineages, and with only a very few exceptions those who have contracted them have been persons of solid repute and status in the village. Marriage to an outsider is not, therefore, by and large, the behavior of persons whose social status is marginal, nor does it lower the status of such individuals. Attitudes toward it range from indifference ("I'll marry whomsoever I fall in love with. If she is not from the village, it does not matter."), to mild disapproval couched in practical terms ("It is unwise, it is taking a big chance."), to moderately strong disapproval ("The children of the girls who do it will be lost to the village, and we will not be able to see them often."). As far as could be observed, however, there is no violent objection to it, and at most, only token social pressures are brought against it. It is not a social offense. Consequently, it is difficult to rationalize away the conflict between preferred village endogamy and marriage to outsiders by suggesting that the hypothesized retrenchment in village unity (represented by the development of free marriage choice within the village as a whole in place of division moiety endogamy) was a violent reaction to the behavior of social outcasts.

THE PRESENT

[178] George Haddad has recently summarized in some detail the changes which have occurred in Lebanon (and Syria) in the past half century. His emphasis is on material and institutional changes: "Syria and Lebanon have known a real revolution in transport in the last 30 years with the appearance of automobiles (3 in 1914, about 12,000 in 1945). . . . In less than half a century, the urban centers of Syria and Lebanon have changed from medieval towns to modern cities." (Haddad, 1951, pp. 140, 146.)

It is unfortunate that Haddad does not deal at all with the problems, psychological and otherwise, which these revolutionary changes have created. Implicitly, however, he recognizes that change has not directly affected all aspects of life in equal measure. "The traits for which the Syrian Arab and the oriental in general has been known: sense of honor, strict morals, cleanliness, courage, loyalty, hospitality, reverence of old age, strength of family ties, have not changed much" (*ibid.*, pp. 146-47.) Gibb has phrased the matter somewhat differently: "But in the Near East the changes have not been homogeneous; they have often followed from a violent breach in the continuity of economic and intellectual life and the interference of an external system; they have seldom and only exceptionally embraced even a majority of the population; *and therefore old and new have frequently gone on existing, and still go on existing side by side* [our italics]." (Gibb, 1945a, p. 33.) Let us see how these generalizations can be applied to Mamilla.

MATERIAL CHANGES

[179] As we observed, Westernization in clothes has been very noticeable, though not complete. In this respect, Mamilla appears to be more acculturated than the Egyptian community partially reported upon recently by Lichtenstadter (1951, p. 362), in which the people wear traditional clothes in the village and at all times except when in a wholly acculturative situation such as, for example, working in a modern office. Those Mamillia who have adopted Western clothes wear them at all times. In the younger people who are city workers, there is even a tendency to look down on those who wear all or part of the traditional costume because of its connotation of peasant status. But their tendency to reject Arab traditional and European headgear, also noted in Palestine by Patai (1947, p. 33), can be taken as a symbol of the culture conflict which they are undergoing. Also very noticeable is the Westernization of household and personal equipment—furniture, cooking utensils, refrigerators, flashlights, and so on.

[180] These types of material acculturation seem to have taken place under the following conditions:

1. The change does not involve extensive expense.
2. The change is clearly conducive to greater comfort and convenience.

head of the family, and her cash gave her prestige.

In this respect, the silk industry, the education movement, and emigration were equally influential. They brought about what may be called the "emancipation" of woman. However, it must be clearly stated that that emancipation brought in its wake a great deal of cultural conflict and social disorganization. Until now, people in the village are still confused about how to define a situation in which a woman is involved. Should they define it in terms of the old pattern of behavior, or in terms of the new economic prestige attained by woman? Can S. M. Joha ask his wife (who earned the money in America and who holds the property in her name) to do something for him, or must he obey her orders? Should the children of C. W. Deek look up to their father as the head of the family, or to their mother who sends them the cash from abroad?

6. *The parent-child status relationship is broken down:* Not only did the man-woman status relationship undergo a change but also that of the parent and child. Most of those who emigrated were young men, who had always played the role of dependents, subject to the authority of the parent or grandparent. Emigration put these young people on their own, when they had to face new situations as independent individuals. At the same time, they earned that coveted cash and sent it home. The symbol of economic prestige began to shift from the land to cash. With that, a corres-

p.72(B)

593 ponding shift in the parent-child
567 status relationship took place. Again,
178 confusion in behavior was the inevitable result.

In case 3 above, the young emigrant sends his mother much money; but at the same time he scolds her and orders her to tell him the truth about her financial situation.

In case 6, we see the young man still living up to the old standards by consulting his father about the girl he intends to marry. However, some twenty years later, that same young man deserted and completely neglected his parents and kinship group.

Case 7 is another illuminating illustration. The three young men are bewildered by the new status assumed by their father! They urge him to continue playing the role of the family head and master, while he insists on giving that to them, because of their financial prestige!

621 7. *Other indications of disorgani-*
178 *zation:* Case 1 shows how the cooperative background of the five or six emigrants was shattered by the elements of the new situation. Some of them were able to get tickets at the rate of five pounds a ticket, while the others had to pay seven and a half for a ticket. The latter felt betrayed by and estranged from their companions.

Case 2 shows how the emigrant became indignant over the fact that a friend at home wrote the emigrant insisting that he should pay back his debt. The emigrant cannot reconcile this attitude with his conception of village friendship.

P. 73(4)

871 In all, there are some 212 people (105 men and
177 107 women) who have had one or more years of
654 education at high schools and colleges outside the village. Of these, 66 percent have been educated by the American system, 27 percent by the native system, and 7 percent by the French system. These figures ought to indicate, in a concise and clear manner, the great extent to which American culture, behind the Protestant system of education, has been influenctial in the life of Bishmizzeen. The extent of this influence becomes still more impressive, when we remember that these educated men and women represent the "cream" of the village population and have become, in the majority of cases, the recognized leaders of the community, (remembering that 24 of them completed college and 72 completed high school). Their leadership was inspired by a foreign culture that had no ties with village life, and they led the village according to the influence of that culture.
871 Behind each educated man and woman is a story
177 of supreme effort and sacrifice on the part of his
554 family group. It meant, in many cases, that the
178 family group had to sell their land in order to provide for the higher education of their boy or girl. Taking such a drastic step was symbolic of their decision to sever their ties with the old way of living and look towards the new course taken by their children. Through their educated children, the old folk identified themselves with the new patterns of the invading American culture.

621 A strong combination of factors—the rising silk
178 industry, money as a coveted value, play acting,
871 and emigration to America, got hold of the village

P·343(a)

16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

desperate had it not been for the other two new cultural factors which affected village life:

2. The introduction into Lebanon of Western-style educational institutions and curricula. The two main types were American Protestant and French Catholic. It was the former which exerted the stronger influence on al-Munsif. Mission schools were established in the village before the turn of the century, and many village children were sent to the American schools in Tripoli. By 1914, some villagers were themselves teaching school in al-Munsif. Protestantism itself was for the most part resisted, but the quest for secular education—in both Arabic and English—became a major concern in the village. The enthusiasm with which the villagers approached education can be accounted for in several ways. First, the literate individual has always been a person of high prestige in the Arab world. The villagers therefore recognized the fine opportunity for the improvement of personal status which was opened by the new schools. Second, they recognized that through education they would have a better chance of obtaining lucrative jobs and of thus averting the economic disaster which threatened them. Third, the American-sponsored curricula were, in part, a useful introduction to certain aspects of the culture of the West; and this brings us to the third major factor:

3. Emigration, primarily to the United States but also, to a lesser extent, to South America. It is very significant, from the cultural point of view, that the prime motive of the emigrants was not to leave their homeland forever in order to make a new life in a new country, but rather to stay temporarily in America in order to make a fortune and then return to the village to resume the old life under conditions of greater financial security. As it turned out, the majority of emigrants never did return. But the number who did, and the number of those who came and went several times before making up their minds, is often overlooked in general accounts of the emigration phenomenon. Remittances from America helped greatly to make the two decades before 1914 a prosperous time for al-Munsif. It was during this period that the very handsome houses with red tile roofs (imported from France) were built. During this period, also, some of those who did not emigrate took up nonagricultural jobs, such as school teaching, away from the village.

World War I brought a sudden halt to these developments. Owing to the Turkish blockade of Lebanon, emigration became impossible and the flood of remittances was reduced to a trickle. Toward the end of the war there was famine in al-Munsif, and it was reported that 100 persons died as a result of it. After the war, emigration and remittances were resumed. But the large-scale exodus to the United States was effectively ended by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, which allowed only a very small quota for the Levant. Emigration to other areas continued but also on a smaller

17: Tannous 3, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEl Lebanon MEl

He soon develops a keen consciousness of belonging to the community. Through such consciousness his personality is expanded. The attainment of his life's objectives is tempered by a firmly established sense of responsibility as a member of the group.

It is in such surroundings that a spirit of true democracy is nurtured and developed. Viewed from this angle, the village community of Lebanon assumes a new national significance.

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621 The boarding-school, as well as the day-school, students include both boys
872 and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of
879 them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

463 We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The
565 chief criterion is that none is a manual laborer, and they were obviously all considered to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practicing physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

Protestant preacher	1	Seamstress	5
Detective	1	Waiter	3
Fireman	1	Hospital attendant	4
Soldier (sergeant)	1	Janitor	2
Tailor	2	Surveyor	1

[441] The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus close village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

[875] Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

462 Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women
759 and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in itself. Parents
555 and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of the girl to a doctor, a very prestigeful status.

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

162 Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the
582 ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15–44

	MEN		WOMEN			MEN		WOMEN	
AGE	Single	Married	Single	Married	AGE	Single	Married	Single	Married
15–19	39	0	27	0	30–34	6	3	4	7
20–24	30	1	17	7	35–39	3	4	2	12
25–29	15	8	10	10	40–44	2	14	0	12

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621 671 remembered that genealogically and conceptually (the villagers' concept), Munṣif is a single kinship unit.[1]

[178] This structure of in-groups is traditional, and it appears to have maintained its vitality in the face of great culture change, to which a limited amount of local exogamy seems to be the only major concession. When, however, we turn to the other areas of behavior which are reviewed in this chapter, we find that none of them can be discussed at all without reference to the problems of acculturation.

MONEY

436 The villagers' need for, and great concern about, money is very clear indeed. This is entirely understandable since the expense of education and manufactured products, alone, require much of it.

Money as it is known in the Western world is very ancient in the Middle East, in fact it apparently originated there. However, before about seventy-five years ago its use in most villages was limited, since for most needs barter and mutual help in a regime of local self-sufficiency were ordinarily enough to motivate exchange of goods and services.

[457] Money began to come in large quantities into villages like Munṣif from emigrants in America. At the same time, Lebanon began to receive foreign manufactured articles which could only be obtained through payment of cash. Today, money is the only means of exchange in the village, and prices are an incessant topic [435 455] of conversation among the villagers. This is, of course, due in part to the fact that the country has suffered severe inflationary trends during the past ten years, in part, according to Murray, to "a natural speculative proclivity on the part of most of the people" (1947, p. 15).

[186] However, there are some indications that this recent emphasis on money as a thing in itself has set up disturbing conflicts in many people. For example, it is often heard that the Western powers are obviously bent upon buying the friendship of the Arabs, but that true friends cannot be bought. Such an attitude might either be a projection of attitudes and behavior prevalent among the speakers themselves, or it might be an expression of sincere and objective distaste for one of the unpleasant consequences of overemphasis on money. In any case, a conflict in values relating to money is consciously recognized.

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

181 871 555 "In Munṣif you will find many people who live in poor houses but have much education. This is because we would rather, if we must choose, use our money for a fine education than for a fine house." This was one of the first remarks that was made to the writer about the culture of the village, and, as time went on,

[1] For additional perspectives on the structure of the village see Gulick (1955, pp. 370–71).

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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its validity as a generalization was confirmed, although different individuals and families seemed to vary somewhat in their emphasis of it. The efforts and sacrifices made by the Munṣifiin in the pursuit of education are truly admirable, yet modern education has created problems as well as opened new opportunities.

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The desirability of learning and the prestige of the learned are ancient traits in Arab culture, but the opportunity for the attainment of them used to be limited to very few individuals. Hence, the foreign educators who invaded the Middle East in the nineteenth century met no resistance to education as such, although they did meet resistance to some of their course material, particularly that which bore upon sectarian beliefs (cf. Tannous, 1943a, p. 339). The American educators, by and large, before long demonstrated an admirable perception of cultural reality in setting two basic policies in their schools: (1) religious education as such (i.e. missionizing) to be minimized; (2) full coverage of Classical Arabic grammar and literature to be provided—in fact required—in addition to all the new subjects and lines of thought introduced from the West.

One result was the tremendous enthusiasm and hunger, as Kohn puts it (1936, p. 84), for education which is characteristic of the Arabs, and of which the Munṣifiin are a very good example. Freya Stark gives some perspective on the matter as follows:

> The Arabs' passion for education is, I think, one of the most interesting things about them. To it we owe much classic culture that has been saved and handed down.
>
> The Turkish occupation threw a blight on this love of learning. . . . But love for the beautiful language remained latent, and in the first half of the nineteenth century two great leaders of culture, Nasif Yazeji and Butrus Bustani, both Christian Arabs of the Lebanon, inspired and helped by the early American teachers, once again brought it into the open. (1945, pp. 119–20.)

It should be apparent that although the new education in the Middle East has created serious acculturative problems, it is a rather different phenomenon from the introduction of literate education into previously non-literate cultures (cf. Redfield, 1930, pp. 170–72).

The other side of the educational coin is not quite so pretty as that shown us by Stark. It is fairly obvious that Western-style and Western-inspired education, while aiming to broaden all the students' horizons and to train some of them in Western techniques like medicine and engineering, has also led to confusion, to superficial understanding of the West, and to conflicts in values. In general, information on technological matters has been great, but understanding of the spiritual interests of the West has lagged so far behind that it is often believed that they do not exist. Kohn finds that the process of transition is full of disruption in which morality slackens, taste deteriorates, and only the externals of European culture—often undesirable ones—are assumed, without penetrating the nature of that culture (1936, p. 89).

17) Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

national economy. They produce most of the food consumed by the country, as well as raw materials for industries and some surplus products for export. In fact, agricultural items are Lebanon's principal exports. Agriculture is also destined to play an even greater role in the future. At present the area under cultivation amounts to 640,000 acres, including less than 100,000 acres under irrigation. The crop land can at least be doubled, mainly by means of expanded irrigation. The abundant water resource could be much more efficiently utilized than it now is for increasing crop production, for the generation of power, and for household uses. There are good possibilities for the development of such agricultural and cottage industries as canning, dairying, cold storage for fruit, tanning, and handicrafts. Furthermore, production can be materially increased by the application of improved methods of cultivation. In other words, the village folk of Lebanon are in a position to make an even greater contribution to the national economy than they now do, provided they are given the necessary technical training and expert guidance.

In the third place, the rural community has been a main contributor to the cultural development of Lebanon. By culture here is not meant the conventional fine arts or those items of refinement in behavior that are shared by the few. We mean rather the pattern of living that is characteristic of Lebanon as a whole. We find here certain distinctive features, many of which can be traced directly to their origin in the village community. It is true that cultural influences from abroad have been finding their way into urban centers and thence into rural areas. These influences, however, together with those that have originated in urban centers, have not superseded the main body of culture, which remains predominantly rural. Family solidarity, group loyalty, individual initiative and enterprise, co-operativeness, community consciousness, a democratic way of living involving basic equality, and folk poetry are outstanding examples.

Finally, mention should be made of the significant leadership, in the various walks of life, that has been produced by the Lebanese village. The majority of leaders in politics, education, medicine, law, business enterprise, literature, and the other pro-

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

fessions, although they flourish in urban centers, have either had a direct rural upbringing or are but one generation removed from it.

II

Nearly all farmers of Lebanon live in villages, not on isolated farmsteads. This is the prevailing pattern of the Middle East and of most the Old World. In some parts of Europe and in most of the United States farmers live in relative isolation, each on his own land. These two different patterns have contributed to marked differences in the way of life among farming folk.

The typical Lebanese farming settlement consists, in the first place, of the village proper. This is a conglomeration of dwellings concentrated in a relatively small area. The houses, ranging in number from about 100 to 500, stand close to one another. Sometimes there is room between them for small gardens or orchards. Usually the center of this nucleated structure is the church or the mosque. In the adjoining open space, the *saha*, the people assemble to celebrate, exchange news, or hold a market. Dwellings stretch from this center in various directions. Usually, sections of the village are differentiated along kinship-group lines. Another important center is the well, or spring, in the village proper or just outside it. Agricultural land, consisting mainly of orchards, vineyards, and open fields, extends in all directions from the central group of dwellings. During the greater part of the year, the farmers and their animals take a daily trip, going to the fields early in the morning and returning to the village at sunset.

The outstanding feature of this type of close settlement is that it provides the individual with a situation that is highly socializing. People know one another intimately. In many important situations they act as a group, yet leave room for individual initiative. A genuine feeling of neighborliness, or *jirah*, prevails. The Arabic term is significant, properly meaning "help" or "cooperation." A child growing up in such a milieu must learn from his early days how to rub elbows with people and get along with them. He must develop the art of adjustment not only to his age group but also to his elders and those younger than himself.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

usually in a row of three rounded or pointed arches. These were evidently the dwellings of people of some affluence, although no stories were related about this. The houses are evidently eighty to ninety years old.

The second house-type is the tile-roof style which was typical of the period 1890 to 1914. It was stated that all the tile-roof houses in the village were built with funds earned by emigrants in, or returned from, America. By and large, this is probably true. For Lebanon as a whole, Thoumin (1936, p. 295) makes the same statement. Weulersse (1946, p. 238) points out that this style of house, which is very common in Lebanon, is a symbol of prestige and wealth. Février (1949a, p. 163), commenting on this statement, says that actually this is no longer true, for now it is the even more European-style villa (*filla*) which the rich and influential build for themselves—not in ordinary villages, but in the luxurious suburbs and mountain resorts. At any rate, the tile-roof house, in Munṣif as elsewhere, is one of the earliest and most conspicuous items in the process of material acculturation. The tiles are flat and grooved, mostly made in France—rather different from the semi-cylindrical Spanish and Italian tiles.

A map in Thoumin (1936, p. 220) indicates that Munṣif is an area of relatively high frequency of tile roofs. Somewhat less than a third of the village's houses now have them.

There are two subtypes of the tile-roof house. The first is very like the old-style house in that it has only one room above, and a storage room or stable below. The major differences are the roof style, the fact that the masonry courses tend to be more even and are frequently wet-laid and the fact that there are more windows, mostly still unglazed.

The second subtype of the tile roof house is more elaborate. The triple arch, in glazed windows—which sometimes have some panes of colored glass—or in arcades, is a conspicuous feature of these houses. There is usually an ornamental cornice just below the roof, and just below the cornice there frequently are small round windows. These appear high up on the interior walls, which are often as much as twenty feet high, from floor to ceiling. The ornamental windows are invariably glazed, and others usually are. The panes of a window are set in double, wooden casements which open inward. In addition, there are solid wooden shutters outside. The doors and shutters of houses of all types usually have simple rectangular panels, and the doors have big iron locks with keys to match them in size. Some of the large tile-roof houses, however, have rather elaborate doors, somewhat baroque in style.

The interior floor plan of the large tile-roof house consists essentially of a large central salon (*maq'ad*—"seat") off which open perhaps two rooms on each side. The ornamental windows occupy a third wall of the *maq'ad*, with the front door in the opposite, fourth, wall. Assuming that this idealized pattern forms a rectangular plan, we can add that it is often modified into a shallow U-shape by building additional rooms on either side of the front door. The kitchen very often

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

still rise with the sun, although they go to bed after dark. On the whole, there is no specific horological time for meals. However, the village schools operate on a definite time schedule, and this affects quite a large proportion of the resident population—the teachers and their families, the children, and their mothers who prepare their lunches. Of course, those who are, or have been, working in the city, are quite thoroughly conditioned to clock-schedules A good deal of apparently unnecessary reference to and synchronization of watches was observed in the village. On the whole, however, it can be said that future plans which involve exact hours are made and fulfilled in a casual manner. Perhaps a valid generalization would be that the average individual regards his watch as a symbol of prosperity, an instrument, on occasion, of practical value, and an interesting toy—all in about equal measure.

Combs, toilet soap, safety and straight razors, shaving lotion, etc. (all of European or American manufacture) are universally distributed. Some people have and use toothbrushes. The women do not appear to use cosmetics to any great extent.

A variety of containers have already been described, but several more must be added. The rectangular five-gallon gasoline can, with its top cut out and fitted with a wooden handle, is widely used for carrying water cement and other bulk materials. Various sizes of coiled baskets, cylindrical with large handles over the top, are used for carrying food. Large, flat wicker tray are used for carrying such things as bread and laundry and for the display of vgetables in the stores. Formerly, silk worm coccoons were set out on them.

Carpenter's and mason's tools—hammers, saws planes, levels, drills, screwdrivers, chisels, and trowels—appear to be the same inform as they are in the West. Probably most of the items now used are western-made, but most of the forms are very old in the Middle East.

Agricultural tools are conservative and of very ancient form. There are no horses in the village (the Arabs use them for riding other than for traction), and the ox is the chief draft animal. The plow consists of a wooden shaft (in several segments) to which a round iron spike is set at an gle. The thresher is a heavy sledge into whose bottom sharp volcanic stones (from the Akkar) are set. (See Thoumin, 1936, pp. 134-36, for illustrations.) Grain is winnowed by tossing it up into the air with a rather crude fork made entirely of wood. Small saws and hand-clippers (the only recent foreign element in the kit) are used for pruning. The last item is an iron spade, which is, if possible, manipulated by two or three men. One man grasps the handle and shaft in the usual manner, and, in effect, pushes the spade. One or two other men pull the spade by means of cords attached to the shaft just above the shoulders of the blade.

The traditional means of communication were donkeys, horses, and human backs and legs, traveling over rough stone paths. To this, can be added a consma-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

who worked in the city over where they would send their children to school, back in the village or in the city.

Another young adult was completely explicit in his expression of preference for the material and mechanical conveniences of city life which are not available in the village. The scorn for manual labor on the part of Western-educated Arabs has been noted by other students, and is clearly in evidence. In Beirut, for example, Arabs of the most modest means employ a housemaid if they possibly can. This "effendi-complex" is symbolized by many men by a practice whose resemblance in both form and meaning to a proverbial Chinese one is really quite striking—the nails of the little fingers are allowed to grow conspicuously long. This practice is not followed by everyone, but it is very common.

NATIONALISM AND XENOPHOBIA

The rise of nationalism in the Middle East, especially since 1918, is a much written upon topic, full details of which cannot and need not be given here. But we are concerned with the way in which the rise of nationalism has affected the Lebanese village in general, Munqif in particular. Tannous sums the matter up in the following words:

> Perhaps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. *National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon* [our italics]. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. *Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities* [our italics]. (Tannous, 1949, p. 162.)

The penetration of nationalistic sentiments into villages such as Munqif would, of course, have been impossible without modern techniques of communication, particularly the press and radio. Rapid surface transportation also has drastically reduced the number and extent of isolated communities. And nationalism itself is a consequence of, and a reaction to, the culture contact situation. (Cf. Schorger, 1952a, p. 31.)

As has been pointed out, the public school curriculum includes regular exhortations in the interests of patriotism, national pride and unity. Small national flags are frequently seen displayed in such unconventional places as automobiles and buses. The national emblem (a cedar tree with triangular foliage and a thick, short trunk) is often seen, in Munqif and elsewhere, scrawled on walls. It is by no means true, however, that national loyalty has replaced local loyalties in the manner, for example, of modern Japanese villages (cf. Embree, 1939, p. 302). In terms of the in-group analysis in this chapter, the nation has become, for the individual villager, the fifth in the series of in-groups which engage his feelings of loyalty and identification.

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

Physical Description of Area.

361 132 184 241 The coastal plain in the Kasmie area is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea on the west and the Lebanon range on the east. The climate is Mediterranean with dry summers, nearly all of the rain falling between October and May. The soil is chiefly a heavy clay. Much of this coastal area is suitable for irrigation. While some of the land is rocky and in the United States would not be used for farm land, nearly all land capable of cultivation has been brought under the plow. The steeper slopes are protected from serious erosion by rock wall terraces. The climate is favorable to the growth of temperate and sub-tropical crops. Citrus fruits, bananas, vegetables, and cereal crops are found in abundance.

361 491 487 494 The major markets for the products of the five villages are Beirut and Saida. All of the project and control villages are linked to the Tyre-Saida-Beirut main coastal road by gravel surfaced roads except for Loubya and Sakaakiyah, which are dependent upon trails. In no case is the dei'ah more than two miles from the main road. The traffic on this road is heavy and trucks and buses are frequently available for taking products to Saida or Beirut. These towns are 12 and 42 miles respectively distant from 'Adloun, the most southerly village.

Village Government.

622 623 471 555 The five villages included in the Kasmie Rural Improvement Project have a similar form of local government. Each village has a mukhtar (mayor) who is elected in a more-or-less democratic manner. In each village there is also a board of aldermen or village elders. This board is also elected to office and it consists of from two to six members. The mukhtar is generally the largest landowner or operator and one of the wealthiest men in the village. The aldermen as well are among the more well-to-do villagers. However, the concept of wealth is relative. Often the holdings owned by local villagers may be large in comparison with others in their own community, but small indeed when compared to the size of holdings in the village controlled by persons living outside the village. The common fellah does not enjoy representation by his peers in this area, whether he has such aspirations is not known.

124* Respondents were asked a series of questions to get the amounts of individual expenditures in various categories. It was presumed that people would find difficulty in remembering the details of their household budgets. Further it was felt that for each category of expenditure there is a different memory span. The final decision was to ask for details for differing lengths of time. The length of time for each category of expenditure was arrived at as the best guess of the project supervisors.

It was fully realised that this technique of estimating household expenditures from a single contact with the family is not good methodology. However, the method of recurrent visits was out of the question because of the cost, and asking people to keep accounts was equally untenable for various reasons. Among these are the fact that many people are illiterate. It must be remembered that the budget items in the schedule are only part of the survey. A full scale budget study is a large project in itself. The procedure of the project is justifiable merely on grounds of expediency and because nothing of its kind exists. Nevertheless the internal consistency of the results led us to believe that the data are far better than sheer guess.

9.2 Furniture expenditures in year previous to interview, Table 123

556 Furniture expenditures were thought to be sufficiently rare to be remembered over the course of a year. The modal expenditure is probably between twenty-six and fifty Lebanese pounds per year for those who bought any furniture. The mean, heavily influenced by upper

p. 25 (8)

556 bracket spending, is two hundred and fifty-six pounds. Over eighty percent of the sample claimed not to have bought any furniture. The total estimated yearly expenditure for the population is 12,800,000 L.L.

9.3 Yearly rental cost (actual or imputed). Table 124

556 #27 Rental cost was another category which the project directors felt was likely to be known per year. A total of 1,000,000 L.L. was paid in rent by the people surveyed which led to our estimate of 46,534,000 L.L. as the total rental payment for the year by the population of Beirut, or a per family expenditure of 928 L.L. The modal expenditure, however, is quite low at about 200 L.L. per year. It should be remembered that rent control has been in operation for over thirteen years.

9.4 Cost of water b/f in your premises to interview. Table 125

556 Water expenditures for those whose water cost was not included in the rent amounted to an estimated yearly total of 754,000 L.L. The amount spent for water by the landlords of the thirteen percent whose water costs were included in the rent are probably substantially higher than the average for those tenants who pay the company directly. A plurality of residents (28%) buy water by the quarter-cubic-meter per-day per apartment. The maximum of a full cubic meter was relatively infrequent (3 %), but the unmetered apartments are apt to be newer and upper class and to have a greater usage of water. This amount is therefore unknown.

p. 25 (c)

9.5 Total taxes (other than income and excise) in year previous to interview. Table 126

LCI

Respondents were asked what taxes they had paid other than income and excise taxes. Income tax returns are available to the government and were not thought worthwhile to include. Excise taxes are too hidden for respondents to know well enough. Thus the returns are primarily for rent taxes.

The estimate of the total population taxes from the sample runs to about 195,000 L.L. This is probably an underestimate. At any rate the project has no confidence in the figures due to the vagueness of the area covered in the question and the interviewing hazards inherent in the subject of taxes.

9.6 Cost of clothing purchased in month previous to interview. Table 127

SBL

Respondents were asked the amount of clothing purchased in the preceding month. Both item and cost were recorded as a check. The estimate of total population expenditure per family on clothing per year is 34,334,000 L.L. or 603 L.L. per family. However, the income is distorted by the heavy incidence of purchases in the over 300 L.L. per month category which constitutes only four percent of the total sample expenditure and is probably mainly for the prosperous classes. Forty-four percent made no purchases at all.

9.7 Family expenditures on transportation in month previous to interview. Table 128

Transportation expenses amounted to an estimated total for the population per year of 10,428,000 L.L. Seventeen percent spent no money on transportation, while for those who did spend money on transportation the modal group was under 5 L.L. per month. The mean, distorted by those spending nothing, is L.L. 28.

p. 26(A)

9.8 Miscellaneous monthly expenditures

556

other than food and household supplies in month previous to interview. Table 120

Miscellaneous monthly expenditures amounted to an estimated total of 2,905,000 L.L. which per year would be 34,860,000 L.L. for the population. This item was restricted to expenditures which have roughly a monthly recurrence.

9.9 Expenditures on recreation in month previous to interview. Table 130

Total expenditures on recreation for Beirut for one year was estimated at 18,732,000 L.L. Respondents were asked their expenditures for the month previous to the interview and estimates were derived for the year. Not two-thirds (66 %) spent nothing and the highest incidence of spending was five pounds or less (15 %). However, one quarter (27 %) of the expenditures was made by those who could afford to spend over 200 L.L. on a week's recreation.

9.10 Incidence of illness in household in month previous to interview. Table 131

To find the cost of medical care, the incidence of illness for the month previous to the interview was investigated. It was found that there were some thought to be sufficiently serious as to require medical care in seventy-one per-cent of the cases.

9.11 Cost of medical care in month previous to interview. Table 132

Costs were found to be 3,720,000 L.L. per month for the population which was raised to 44,832,000 L.L. per year. Since the largest incidence of illness coincided with the month in which most interviewing was done, it is believed that this is not an underestimate.

9.12 Miscellaneous expenditures in week previous to interview. Table 133

Miscellaneous weekly expenditures not otherwise specified amounted to an estimated

p. 24 (B)

£35

[illegible] L.L. per year for the population. These are to be distinguished from the annual income monthly expenditures. They are either non-recurring, or recurring on a monthly basis.

9.33 Cost of food on day previous to interview, Table 136

Food purchases were asked on the basis of food purchased on the day previous to the interview and raised to estimate the yearly expenditure. The decision was made to ask for only one day's expenditure rather than get the distortions of memory. On the whole the figure accords with intuition. The daily expenditure of 5.7 L.L. seems fair enough on a mean family expenditure of 2,000 L.L. per year. The modal expenditure of 1.51 L.L. per family per day (26 % of the cases) seems real. The grand total estimated expenditure per year for food was [illegible]

9.34 Total annual family household expenditure, Table 138

Total expenditures of respondents for the household for the year were figured in the post office from the individual item expenditures reported in the schedules.

p. 47 (A)

The total estimate was [illegible] L.L. per year for the population. This amounts to a mean household expenditure of [illegible] L.L. per year. This compares with the mean household income of [illegible] L.L. The average savings per household amounts to [illegible] L.L. making a discrepancy to our figures of [illegible] L.L.

9.11 Indebtedness, amounts, type and reasons for indebtedness, Tables 136, 137, 138, and 139

Respondents were questioned as to their debts. An estimate of the total population indebtedness was made from the sample and came to [illegible] L.L. of which twenty percent of those responding is in amounts over [illegible] L.L. per family. Almost one half (45 %) of the sample admitted to being in debt. Of these fourteen percent were unwilling to name the amount.

Over nine tenths (90 %) were private debts. It is believed that these are primarily family loans.

[illegible] were due to lack of sufficient income in almost three out of five cases (58 %). An additional fifth (20 %) were accounted for by investment or other business reasons, while the only other significant private reason was health (10 %).

Ch Churchill 1-4 (1918) 1954 1421 Lebanon 1421

556 Table 125

Furniture Expenditures in Year Previous to Interview

Furniture expenditures	Number	Percent
Total	1844	100.00
Under 25 LL.	19	1.03
25 – 50	21	1.14
51 – 75	19	1.03
76 – 100	19	1.03
101 – 200	39	2.11
201 – 300	34	1.84
301 – 400	32	1.74
401 – 500	17	0.92
501 – 750	22	1.19
751 – 1000	25	1.36
1001 – 1500	42	2.28
1501 – 2000	18	0.98
2001 – 3000	43	2.33
Over 3000	16	0.87
None	1406	76.26
No answer	12	0.65

[illegible]

p. 61 (A)

SSL #27

Table 124

Yearly Rental Cost (Actual or Imputed)

Rental	Number	Percent
Total	1851	100.00
Less than 100 LL.	74	4.00
101 — 200	202	10.91
201 — 300	233	12.59
301 — 400	133	7.19
401 — 500	169	9.13
501 — 750	243	13.13
751 — 1000	224	12.10
1001 — 1500	262	14.16
1501 — 2000	104	5.62
2001 — 2500	55	2.97
2501 — 3000	48	2.59
3001 — 3500	21	1.14
3501 — 4000	20	1.08
4001 — 4500	4	0.22
4501 — 5000	11	0.59
5001 — 5500	1	0.05
5501 — 6000	6	0.32
6001 — 6500	9	0.49
6501 — 7000	1	0.05
7001 — 7500	—	—
[illegible]	—	—
8001 — 8500	—	—
8501 — 9000	—	—
9001 — 9500	—	—
9501 — 10000	1	.05
10001 — 10500	2	.11
10501 — 11000	—	—
11001 — 11500	—	—
11501 — 12000	—	—
12001 — 12500	—	—
12501 — 13000	—	—
13001 — 13500	—	—
13501 — 14000	—	—
14001 — 14500	—	—
14501 — 15000	—	—
15001 — 15500	1	.05
No answer	27	1.46

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = 25.3$
$\sigma = .027$

P 41(a)

Table 125

556

Cost of Water Bill in Year Previous to Interview

Cost	Number	Percent
Total	1830	100.00
None	143	7.78
13	710	38.61
26	391	21.26
39	22	1.20
52	57	3.10
Over 52	16	0.87
Up to 25	135	7.33
26 – 50	68	3.70
51 – 100	50	2.72
Included in rent	236	12.83
Don't know	11	0.60

$\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = .388
v = .009

p. 4(c)

Table 126

Total Taxes Other than Income and Excise in Year Previous to Interview

Taxes	Number	Percent
Total	1851	
None	1148	100.00
1 — 50	291	41.40
51 — 100	180	25.61
101 — 150	63	8.96
151 — 200	42	5.98
201 — 250	24	3.41
251 — 300	24	3.41
301 — 400	24	3.41
401 — 500	17	2.42
501 — 750	14	1.99
751 — 1000	8	1.14
1001 — 2000	11	1.56
2001 — 3000	4	0.57
Over 3000	1	0.14

$\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = 5.637
v = .082

Table 127

Cost of Clothing Purchased in Month Previous to Interview

Cost of clothing	Number	Percent
Total	1838	100.00
Under 5 LL.	13	0.71
Over 5 — 10	39	2.12
Over 10 — 20	74	4.03
Over 20 — 30	80	4.35
Over 30 — 40	54	2.94
Over 40 — 50	62	3.37
Over 50 — 100	164	8.92
Over 100 — 150	74	4.03
Over 150 — 200	67	3.65
Over 200 — 250	41	2.23
Over 250 — 300	31	1.69
Over 300	102	5.55
None	1013	55.11
No answer	24	1.30

$\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = 3.637
v = .052

p. 62 (A)

10: Churchill 6-6 (1939) 1664 MFI Lebanon MFI

Table 128

Family Expenditure on Transportation in Month Previous to Interview

Expenditure	Number	Percent
Total	1785	100.00
Under 5 L.L.	390	21.85
6 – 10	337	18.88
11 – 15	107	5.99
16 – 20	114	6.39
21 – 25	82	4.59
26 – 30	106	5.94
31 – 35	31	1.74
36 – 40	33	1.85
41 – 45	16	0.90
46 – 50	52	2.91
51 – 75	53	2.97
76 – 100	47	2.63
101 – 200	68	3.81
201 – 300	20	1.12
301 – 400	8	0.45
Over 400	12	0.67
None	309	17.31

$\sigma_{\bar{y}} = 1.500$
$v = .855$

Table 129

Miscellaneous Monthly Expenditures Other than Food and Household Supplies in Month Previous to Interview

Monthly expenditures	Number	Percent
Total	1838	100.00
0 – 10 L.L.	176	9.58
11 – 20	348	18.93
21 – 30	305	16.59
31 – 40	231	12.57
41 – 50	147	8.00
51 – 75	213	11.59
76 – 100	111	6.04
101 – 150	94	5.12
151 – 200	53	2.88
201 – 300	35	1.90
301 – 400	19	1.03
401 – 500	13	0.71
Over 500	16	0.87
None	64	3.48
No answer	13	0.71

$\sigma_{\bar{y}} = 2.160$
$v = .837$

p. 62(a)

13: Chapbill 4-6 (1960) 1964 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 150

Expenditures on Recreation in Month Previous to Interview

Expenditures	Number	Percent
Total	1886	100.00
0 – 5	241	12.79
6 – 10	146	7.74
11 – 15	50	2.65
16 – 20	43	2.28
21 – 25	40	2.12
26 – 50	66	3.50
51 – 75	17	0.90
76 – 100	18	0.95
101 – 150	2	0.10
151 – 200	3	0.16
Over 200	7	0.37
None	1253	66.44

eq = .703
v = .114

Table 151

Incidence of Illness in Household in Month Previous to Interview

No. of persons ill	Number	Percent
Total	1852	100.00
One	403	21.76
Two	93	5.02
Three	21	1.13
Four	9	0.49
Five	6	0.32
More than five	3	0.16
None	1317	71.12

eq = .018
v = .045

10: Churchill 6-6 (1958) 1964 MFI Library MFI

p 62 (A)

Table 132

Cost of Medical Care in Month Previous to Interview

Cost of medical care	Number	Percent
Total	1865	100.00
Less than 10 LL.	104	5.57
11 – 20	95	5.09
21 – 30	77	4.13
31 – 40	39	2.09
41 – 50	52	2.79
51 – 100	99	5.31
Over 100	117	6.32
None	1282	68.70

$\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = 3.977
σ = .832

Table 133

Miscellaneous Expenditures in Week Previous to Interview

Expenditures	Number	Percent
Total	1860	100.00
0 – 25	270	14.38
26 – 50	26	1.38
51 – 75	15	0.80
76 – 100	10	0.53
101 – 150	11	0.59
151 – 200	12	0.64
201 – 300	8	0.43
301 – 400	4	0.21
401 – 500	3	0.16
Over 500	1	0.05
None	1520	80.85

$\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = .548
σ = .387

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556

Table 154

Cost of Food on Day Previous to Interview

Cost of food	Number	Percent
Total	1851	100.00
Under 1 L.L.	97	5.24
1 – 2	252	13.62
Over 2 – 3	233	12.59
Over 3 – 4	236	12.75
Over 4 – 5	216	11.67
Over 5 – 6	137	7.40
Over 6 – 7	97	5.24
Over 7 – 8	98	5.30
Over 8 – 9	57	3.08
Over 9 – 10	85	4.59
Over 10 – 15	108	5.83
Over 15 – 20	37	2.00
Over 20 – 25	17	0.92
Over 25 – 50	26	1.40
Over 50 – 100	2	0.11
Over 100	1	0.05
No answer	152	8.21

$\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = .165
σ = .820

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Table 135

558

Total Annual Family Expenditure

Expenditures	Number	Percent
Total	1548	100.00
501 – 600	41	2.22
601 – 700	26	1.41
701 – 800	25	1.35
801 – 900	24	1.30
901 – 1000	33	1.79
1001 – 1100	17	0.92
1101 – 1200	32	1.73
1201 – 1300	30	1.62
1301 – 1400	32	1.73
1401 – 1500	22	1.19
1501 – 1600	29	1.57
1601 – 1700	32	1.73
1701 – 1800	31	1.68
1801 – 1900	42	2.27
1901 – 2000	31	1.69
2001 – 2500	122	6.35
2501 – 3000	141	7.62
3001 – 3500	133	7.25
3501 – 4000	101	5.48
4001 – 5000	191	10.01
5001 – 7500	203	10.96
7501 – 10000	95	5.71
10001 – 15000	121	6.28
15001 – 20000	71	4.05
20001 – 30000	35	2.02
30001 – 40000	11	0.87
40001 – 50000	7	0.38
50001 – 100000	7	0.38
Over 100000	–	–

σ = .370
• = .028

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Table 156

Incidence of Debt

	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1317	100.00	
Yes	838	44.76	.011
No	1459	55.24	.011

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irrigated. The whole of the land is cultivated every year, the rotation being wheat followed by potatoes, the potato crop being irrigated. The wheat yield is below the average for Syria, amounting to 6 hundredweight per acre, and the potato yield is 5 hundredweight per acre.

However, in spite of the greater intensity of cultivation, the shortage of land means that the majority of the peasants are not able to attain an adequate standard of living, measured in terms of a few essential commodities: 10 kilogrammes of wheat and 4 kilogrammes of meat per head per month, 100 kilogrammes of olive oil per annum, and 5 tins of kerosene. To attain this standard a family must own 3 hectares of land, and as only the rich peasants and a few of the medium peasants own so much, the majority of the medium peasants and the poor landless peasants do not achieve it. The majority of these supplement their income by remittances from their emigrant relations abroad. Those who have no income from abroad leave the village to work as unskilled workers or servants in the towns.

In this village, therefore, the cause of poverty is the shortage of land, since the land is much more equally distributed than in Syria and the system fairly intensive. Living conditions are far better than in Syria: the majority inhabit stone houses with two or more rooms. The richer peasants are also more sophisticated than those of Syria, preferring to gamble their money away in the neighbouring summer resorts rather than spend it on jewellery.

From these three studies three conclusions emerge. The first is that a higher income per acre depends on irrigation, since the net income from irrigated land is two or three times as high as from non-irrigated land.

INCOME PER HECTARE ON IRRIGATED AND NON-IRRIGATED LAND (in Syrian Pounds)

	Akraibe		Mishrefe		Ein Sakat
	Non-Irrigated	Irrigated	Non-Irrigated	Irrigated	Irrigated
Gross Income	350	880	408	933	873
Costs	148	447	75	58	438
Rent	—	—	30	304	—
Net Income	202	433	84	571	435

[Ajlun Sa'ab in the north Lebanon -- Analysis]

WELFARE

In a very few cases of total incapacitation, individuals have had to be placed in public institutions for care. Otherwise, the village takes care of its own unfortunates, in conformance with the traditional attitudes of self-sufficiency. A unit of the Lebanese Red Cross visits the village at regular intervals to provide medical care for those who need it, but have been unable or unwilling to go to a doctor in the city. There is a regular, and entirely traditional, mechanism for caring for families who get into financial straits. A close friend of the family, who has learned of the situation because of his closeness, goes to each household in the village saying, "There is among us a family in need. I am going to give them some money; how much are you willing to give?" It is very bad form to ask for whom the collection is being made, and a contribution which is offered under such conditions may be refused by the collector. The strict anonymity which accompanies this behavior suggests that even in such a tight in-group as the village keeping up appearances is a conscious value. Cliques and lineage circles undoubtedly contribute to this.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONS

Everyone in the village, except for a handful among the very old, can literate. A quite respectable number have received or are receiving college educations. The significance of education in the village will be discussed in the next chapter; here it is appropriate to consider only the bearing which education has on occupations.

Literacy itself is no entry to Lebanon. In fact, among the Christians, at least, one can safely say that it is the expected thing. Mere literacy alone would relegate one's aspirations only above that of manual laborer, in the city. For professional status or for governmental positions college education are prerequisites. Medicine and the law require additional training beyond college which no one in Mutrajil has recently undertaken. The number of positions open to ordinary college graduates which are in line with the individual's ambitions (bestowing a learned and cultured person) are rather limited in Lebanon, and many such persons must be satisfied with whatever they can find. In consequence, a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction is to be found among those who have had advanced education.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

Mutrajil depends, and has always depended, upon crops which do not require rain or irrigation in the growing season. In order, the most important are olives, figs and grapes. Of these the major cash crop is olives. This has not always been true. Up to 1914 the major cash crop in the village, and in Lebanon as a whole, was the [illegible]-worm cocoon, fed on mulberry leaves. Sericulture has not died out completely in Lebanon, and it is still fairly strong in the Kisrowan, Kura, Metn, and Shuf districts (Hitti, 1949b, p. 389), but it has long since lost its economic

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forty-five or over is or has been married, except five men and six women. No one married, at least in the present generation, below the age of twenty. From [illegible] to forty-five each sex shows, as might be expected, a shift from one hundred per cent single status to nearly a hundred per cent married status. However, the table shows that more women than men are married in the various age groups concerned, this situation only ceases to be apparent in the ages forty to forty-four. Marriages for both sexes, but especially the men, tend to be rather late, and the reason can be inferred from several statements made by informants to the effect that a man should not marry until he is secure enough in his occupation to be reasonably certain of being able to support a family. A young man who wishes to be married cannot rely on being temporarily absorbed into and supported by an extended family headed by his father or an older brother. This sometimes happens, but ordinarily the father or brother of such a young married man is in no position to give such assistance, whether or not he would like to be able to. Most men have already been supporting themselves for a number of years before they get married.

A bit of local folklore, evidently traditional, has it that a man should be seven years older than his wife. Calculations made on a sample of fifty-six marriages revealed that the average difference in age between spouses is four years. The mode is between five and six years. The following tabulation indicates the range:

Difference in Age in Years	No. of Marriages	Difference in Age in Years	No. of Marriages
0- 1	6	7- 8	4
1- 2	5	8- 9	3
2- 3	5	9-10	3
3- 4	5	10-11	3
4- 5	7	11-12	4
5- 6	9	12-13	3
6- 7	5	13-14	1

In only two cases included above are the wives older than their husbands, by one and two years. There are six additional cases in which the husbands can be said to be excessively older than their wives—two cases of a 13-year difference, and one each with 17-, 19-, 20-, and 22-year differences. Nearly all the men in these cases had been emigrants who did not marry until they returned to the village in early middle age.

THE MISTRESS OF THE HOUSE

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One of the most widely held notions about the Middle East is that the average Arab woman is a "classic" example of a woman's being a mere chattel in a male-dominated household and society. Certainly Arab culture is strongly patrilineal, and "on the books" woman's status in it may appear to be rather subordinate. The present writer is of the opinion, however, that the restrictions of *legal* status (which

are being steadily removed in most Middle East countries at the present time) do not obtrude very much into everyday living in the average household, though they may do so somewhat more among the Muslims than among the Christians. For instance, he believes that that bugbear of American feminists, the female clerical, has been removed in any culture at any time except under special, hence exceptional, circumstances. The occurrence of such circumstances can be safely predicted only in individual families in a patrilineal system, which are so well off that the women can be relieved of all useful functions except sex. It is only in such families that extensive polygyny (if the culture permits it) is ordinarily to be found, and certainly an unlicensed wife in a wealthy polygynous household can even be deprived of the dignity of her sexual role.

In the Middle East village, however, the basic unit of everyday living is the single household. Among the Christians, it is always based on a permanent monogamous marriage, and the probability is that the same is true among the great majority of the Muslims. The very existence of the household, initially and as time goes on, depends upon the active participation of the wife. She is cook, housekeeper, seamstress, nurse, and, above all, mother of the children who, it is hoped, will project the house of the family into the future. She is *sitt al-bayt*, "mistress of the house," a title which, in Muslim, used to be given to quite a number of ladies as their personal name. Such a woman is no chattel, and there are numerous women in the village who, as individuals, are accorded very-much respect by all.

The average village-dwelling woman works hard and makes no pretense of "taking her ease." She will continue to work hard until decrepitude overtakes her. One occasionally may even see an old woman trudging along bent nearly double under the weight of a bundle of firewood sometimes nearly as large as herself. But if this woman is socially oppressed, it is the necessary physical labor enjoined by necessity which is the tyrant and not the lord-heartedness of her husband, her brothers, or her sons, who are as hardworking and work-worn as she is.

As has been noted, the great majority of the Muslim women are housewives or egocentric housewives. Domestic duties occupy most of their time, but, as will be seen in the next chapter, their regular chores do not prohibit social intercourse outside the house. Before the introduction of convenient and relatively inexpensive Western manufactures, the average housewife wove the cloth with which she made her family's clothes. Weaving, like shoemaking, has now completely disappeared from the village which is not exceptional in this respect (cf. Kahn, 1950, p. 169). A few housewives do occasional needlework to supplement the family income (cf. Fisher, 1950, pp. 208–09). The forty-four village women who have non-domestic paying jobs certainly represent something entirely new in the village culture. But the jobs themselves are something entirely new, and the extent to which or not the women's taking them is in general motivated primarily by necessity rather than by "career girl" ambitions. His impression is that most of the girls feel that their jobs are temporary arrangements before mar-

[5.2] 43.2 ships. The most popular occupation, morning, is, it will be remembered, preferred because it is "safe," among other reasons.

Perhaps it can be said, as Fei concluded from a somewhat analogous situation in China (1939, p. 214), that women have more social individualism than they used to have, but to argue that the status of women has or has not been "improved" would, in the present writer's opinion, be tilting at windmills. Ambiguity of one's status and role in life can be harder to bear than, for example, the lack of the legal right to vote.

EMIGRANTS AND EMIGRATION

[16] It is said that there are now as many Lebanese, or persons of Lebanese ancestry, living outside Lebanon as there are inside it (about 1,200,000). However this may be, there are certainly a great many, and the majority are in the United States.

Himadeh (1936, p. 53) points out that emigration from Lebanon started with the Phoenicians, the first Lebanese of whom anything is known, then as now experts in commercial enterprises. Lewthwaite (1949, p. 414) suggests that the primary impetus to the Phoenicians' emigration was the same as that in the twentieth century movement: overpopulation—ninety-three persons per square kilometer in ancient times (Himadeh, 1936, p. 14).

It is estimated that between 1860 and 1900, 130,000 persons left Syria and Lebanon. The climax period was between 1900 and 1914 when an estimated 15,000 per year emigrated (Himadeh, 1936, p. 14). There was virtually none during the war when the country was blockaded. The process was resumed after the war, but with less intensity than before. Most emigration to the United States was effectively halted by the Immigration Act of 1924. Since then, the Lebanese have gone to Central and South America, West Africa, and Australia.

The original purpose of all the emigrants was to make a good amount of money and then return to the old country. A great many did just this, and in almost every town were reported of men who came and went several times. The majority, however, remained for good in the new country, most never returning, although quite a few came back temporarily to the old village for holiday—telling evidence of the force of the principle of local endogamy. A few such men returned to Mansūf but none since the 1930's.

[17] It is the writer's private opinion that the emigrants themselves have not contributed a great deal to the process of acculturation in Lebanon, apart from showing the interest of the way-of-homes beyond their immediate locality. However, the emigrants have contributed substantially to the welfare of the old country which, in 1938 for example, had an adverse foreign trade balance of 6,000,000 pounds sterling (Hourani, 1946, p. 35). This was all set by money from tourists, foreign investments, and remittances from emigrants. The last amounted to $16,000,000, in 1934 (Himadeh, 1936, p. 14).

The people of Mansūf have done their share in the process of emigration.

553 The term *ma'allim* (teacher) is applied to the schoolteacher, usually immediately followed by the individual's name, whether in reference or in address. It was observed, however, that the title was often omitted in cases where the teacher was being addressed by an older man.

554 These titles symbolize the respect which in due certain statuses, and the criteria for respect are vested authority and learning. The only other point which needs to be made about them is the fact that they are extended to the wives of the men who hold the statuses to which they pertain. Of the three, *Shaykhah* appears to be the one which is taken the most seriously and used the most consistently. The status is very old, of course, whereas *mukhtarah* and *Ustazah* are new, and the use of *ma'allim* is greatly extended compared to the old days. No other titles are used in the village.

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7: Gullick E-5 (1952) 1955 MK1 Lebanon MK1

of a rather loose, the bulk of evening sociability takes place in private homes. There are several rather fixed groups of friends in the village who constantly interact with each other.

These evening gatherings may involve mostly gossip or small talk, but more often conversation is in addition to games. In one circle the most popular game is bridge, played according to Culbertson rules. Some years ago someone returned from America with the book, "Before that we had our own rules." The play is fast and shrewd and also rather noisy. American technical terms such as "grand" and "no trump" are intermingled with Arabic numbers and sub-names. No money is ordinarily bet on these games. Pinochle is another popular card game, and there are many others.

Board games are traditional in the area, and the most popular are backgammon (*zaudi*) of which there are three versions, *dames* (essentially the same as checkers but with elaborations), and *shesa* (*shishaq*) which seems to be played less than the others because the games are so slow.

Word games are very popular also, and very frequently writing is an essential element in them. For example, someone will write a dozen or so letters in their unconnected forms in a row. The others are then asked to make sense out of what appears to be meaningless. The principles involved in such games are typical while (e.g., the union of unconnected letters—somewhat analogous to a row of unconnected script letters in English), puns, and obscure grammatical relationships.

Of more interest and, sometimes, more emotional involvement, are poetry games such as the one called *gafa*. In this, contestant A recites a stanza or so of Classical Arabic poetry. Contestant B must then respond with a stanza which begins with the same letter that the first one ended with. A must then recite lines which begin with the last letter of B's. And so it goes until one of the contestants either repeats something which has been given before or cannot think of anything. Impromptu verses, provided they scan and rhyme properly, are legitimate. The writer once heard this game played at a social one of spend the hall on lasts without a break.

In these small gatherings of close friends the two sexes intermingle freely and equally.

NIGHT LIFE IN THE CITY

Those villagers who live and work away from Shuqif in the winter maintain very close contact with each other. For example, in Ras Beirut, the fast-growing western section of the city where the American University is located, there is a tight little group of six or seven nuclear families, all headed by young adults, who, it was said, visit together on a group almost nightly. Each takes its regular turn playing host to the others. One member said he thought that their separation from the village brought them closer together than they would be otherwise. The group is known as "little Shuqif" to outside acquaintances, and it appears to have such

water supplies are not only inadequate and unsafe, they are also unhealthy. In all cases the source is outside of the delivered and may be a mile or more away. This necessitates a long walk on the part of the women who carry the water in jugs to their homes.

One of the major items included in plans for the improvements project is that of furnishing domestic water to the villages. A well has been drilled near Loubieh by the Technical Cooperation Service and it is planned to pump from it to a reservoir to be built on a high point. From here a pipe line distribution system will furnish water to fountains in each village.

In each of the five project villages, the persons interviewed stated that the nearest doctor, nurse, or hospital is located in Saida. Only Loubieh reported having an midwife. Kawkaba reported two midwives while the other three villages each has one midwife living in the village. It is beyond the province of this report to report upon the qualifications or training of the local midwives.

Schools

The information on village schools in the project area was secured from the local teachers (Table X). All of the project villages have government-run elementary schools, with the exception of Loubieh. Ebshiya has no schools while Sahmaltiyeh has a privately-run school as well as the government elementary school. While the school in Ein Baalbeh has two rooms, the remaining were one simple, one-room affairs. None of the villages offer education beyond the elementary level. Such higher education, however, is available at Saida or Beirut.

The number of pupils in each school varies from 30 in the private school of Sahmaltiyeh to 140 in the Aabbasa government elementary school. This latter school is the only one reporting two teachers. The one classroom is usually small and the children sit, closely packed, at their desks. It is interesting to note the breakdown of the students according to sex. While 267 students attend the five schools, only thirteen of them are girls. The Shari'ah Moslems do not encourage their daughters to attend school. They feel that it is a hindrance to a happy marriage and often encounter disobedience on their children.

than a few months, a year or a few years, before emigrating again. Their business ties and the new ways of living they had adopted forced them to emigrate again. They began to realize that they had become partly strangers to their original culture.

The great majority of the emigrants, 372, never came back. These may be divided roughly into two classes—those who failed to come back because of their financial failure abroad, and those who emigrated fairly recently after the community ties began to break down. The latter did not feel especially attracted toward the village.

Of those who came back to visit, a great many of them did so with a view to getting married to village girls, before settling permanently abroad.

5. The village women attains economic independence: Cases 10 and 12 of the above quoted letter extracts are clear illustrations of the new tendency. Among the 180 women, who have emigrated, about one-half took that step independently. Some of them were single, some were widows and some left their husbands and children at home. Prior to emigration, village culture assigned to woman a status subordinate to that of man. It seems that farm economy demanded that type of subordination. Emigration by women severely tested that suitability of patterns of behavior. Through emigration, the village woman was suddenly thrown on her own resources. She moved from a status of subordination to one of dominance. She became the economic

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/6 head of the family, and her cash gave
6.24/ her prestige.

563. In this respect, the silk industry, the education movement, and emigration were equally influential. They brought about what may be called the "emancipation" of woman. However, it must be clearly stated that that emancipation brought in its wake a great deal of cultural conflict and social disorganization. Until now, people in the village are still confused about how to define a situation in which a woman is involved. Should they define it in terms of the old pattern of behavior, or in terms of the new economic prestige attained by woman? Can S. M. John ask his wife (who earned the money in America and who holds the property in her name) to do something for him, or must he obey her orders? Should the children of C. W. Deuk look up to their father as the head of the family, or to their mother who sends them the cash from abroad?

565 6. *The parent-child status relation-*
666 *ship is broken down.* Not only did
/77 the man-woman status relationship undergo a change but also that of the parent and child. Most of those who emigrated were young men, who had always played the role of dependents, subject to the authority of the parent or grandparent. Emigration put these young people on their own, when they had to face new situations as independent individuals. At the same time, they earned that coveted cash and sent it home. The symbol of economic prestige began to shift from the land to cash. With that, a corres-

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871 From the beginning the village people agreed to the idea of having their girls get the same education as boys, and in the same school house. The move was a departure from the commonly held belief of the area that the girl should be kept at home. However, Rishonizeem had been prepared for this. The American girls' school at Tripoli was the first strong influence. A few of the progressive leaders sent their girls to the Tripoli school. When these returned they were anxious to give the same chance to all village girls. Aside from that, the two sons in Rishonizeem had always school freely—as groups, not as individuals. To have both sons at the same school was not altogether outside the scope of the village tradition. All the same these returned emigrants had their influence, too. Also it must be noted that the silk factory had already paved the way for the mixing of the two sexes in one institution. If the villagers had accepted that, it was not so difficult for them to see their girls and boys studying together under the supervision of men and women teachers. Consequently, the idea was accepted, and the coeducational school began to function smoothly and normally.

872 While a few years the school became the focus 873 of village life. It seems that the more physical 874 existence of the school building—a building that belonged to the community as a whole—made it possible for various new community activities to take place. The school society began to feel it more logical and more convenient to hold its meetings in the school building. General village meetings, also began to take place there. From this, the next step was to hold receptions at the school and invite people from neighbouring villages. At first only village talent was used at these receptions; then talent from the city, in the form of lecturers, poets and singers, was brought in. This added to the importance of the educational movement in the village. The villagers became proud of their school and highly conscious of their community—Rishonizeem, the village of education.

875 One more vital activity began to take place at 876 the school, involving the whole of the village com- 877 munity and other villagers, too. That was the [illegible] of plays. Several factors contributed to the creation of this activity—returned emigrants, contact with the educational circles of Tripoli and Beirut, and the early summer school teachers. The drama had been there for some time, but it could not be satisfied, due to the lack of a suitable building. Shortly after the school building was

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536 [illegible] play acting [illegible]. At first only
617 young men acted. A year or two later, girls began to act, too. The village would not go beyond that and allow boys and girls to act together. That involved kissing and embracing between boys and girls on the stage, and the village held to the idea that such a line or an intimate embrace must be reserved to married couples.

534 It is essential that we should dwell briefly on
• 542 the attitude of the village people towards acting
536 by girls. The villagers had a strong taboo against
577 acting by girls. Acting involved the parading of the girl on the stage in front of the crowd including young men and strangers. Remarks might be made about the girl, causing trouble between her family and those who made the remarks. Such parading had the further implication that the parents were eager to present their girl for marriage. That went against the custom which demanded that the girl should wait at home until her suitor came for her. The strongest objection was due to the fact that the people had always associated regular actresses with "bad morals." Gradually, due to the influence of leading families who were willing to begin with their girls, all of the above objections were broken down, until acting by the girls became a matter of course.

536 While a few years acting became one more
621 established village festival, involving the whole community. They had been accustomed to religious village festivals, and it was natural to fit the play in with the previous pattern and make of it one more such festival. Without any exception, everybody—actors, workers, church authorities and leaders—offered his or her services free, for the community welfare. Over a period of two months, preparations for the play would engage the attention of the village with everybody waiting for the occasion with thrilled anticipation. The preparation involved the various activities of making, renting the equipment from Tripoli, constructing the stage, erecting rehearsals, marginal arguments to persuade a certain girl to accept a certain role and her parents to permit her to act, and the distribution of invitations to the neighboring villages. Two or three days before the play, the village children would enlist as volunteers who would go from house to house in the village and gather all available chairs to seat the guests. The children's reward was the enjoyment of the activity itself and free admission during one evening. The play would be presented for three or four nights.

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Schoenfeld. This has been due to several factors, as was shown in the previous discussion—the early work of the Protestant mission in the village, the leading personality of Amin Saliben, the failure of the Russian mission to establish a school in Bishchumm, and emigration by the village people to the United States.

The following figures show to what extent the Bishchumm people have been educated at American, French, and native schools, outside the village. No other system of education has been able to reach that community. The figures cover a period of fifty years, from 1890 to 1939, and show the number of men or women who have been educated at high schools or colleges. A total of 140 people have attended American high schools or colleges, for one or more years. Of these, 70 are men and 62 women. The share of the high schools is 92 (48 men and 51 women). The share of the colleges is 40 (20 men and 11 women).

It should be observed that men and women have been reached equally by the high school, as regards the number educated and the starting period in the history of the village. However, with reference to college students, there are almost three times as many men as women. Also, men started to go to college much earlier. A possible explanation for the discrepancy is that a high school education was as far as the village traditions would go in the case of girls. After all, the status of women has always been that of a housewife and mother. A more plausible explanation is that the American Protestant mission in those early days did not encourage college education for girls. Before 1919, the mission had no provision for girls' college education.

Coming to French high schools and colleges, we find that only 16 people have been reached by that system of education—12 men and 3 women. Of these 11 (8 men and 3 women) went to high school while only 5 (men) went to college.

The following figures on native education cover only high school, for no native college education has ever been established in Lebanon. A total of 56 people (16 men and 40 women) have been educated at native high schools. The great excess of women over men in this case is due to the presence of a good normalien school (Greek Orthodox) for girls in addition to the above school for both sexes. Native education is a new movement in the country, and it has not yet had the time to possess a stable and distinctive character.

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621 specialties as follows: mayor, 1; priest, 1; taxi driver, 1; barber, 2; storekeeper, 6; fisherman, 3; surveyor, 1; mason, 2; carpenter, 2; teacher 4. There are 6 small stores in the village. There are also two bakeries which are important social centers for the women. One of these is owned by the taxi driver, the other by one of the teachers.

621 The city occupations include a variety of white-collar jobs (such as clerk, librarian, and government official), semiskilled and skilled jobs, and the following specialties: Protestant preacher, 1; detective, 1; fireman, 1; soldier, 1; tailor, 2; seamstress, 3; waiter, 3; hospital attendant, 2; janitor, 2; surveyor, 1; merchant, 3; teacher, 17; medical nurse, 12. One man in the village had been a practicing physician but has now retired. The prevalence of school teaching is notable, and it will be remembered that the pattern for this specialty was established early in the process of culture change. Over two-thirds of the working women are nurses (including student nurses). It was explained that nursing is a respected occupation and that since the women work in the shelter of a large institution, it is a safer position for them than many other city jobs are.

The factors of change in the economics of the village can be summarized as: (1) a drastic reduction in the number and proportion of agricultural workers; (2) a rapid and extensive development of non-village and non-urban occupations, of which there is a considerable variety; and (3) women working outside and away from home for the first time in the history of the village. The variety of the women's occupations is much more conspicuous than the men's. The majority of the women are under 30 years of age and appear to consider their jobs as preludes to marriage rather than as life-long careers.

621 *Religion.* Religion does not appear still to permeate the everyday life of the villagers. In those activities and problem areas which have been, generally speaking, strongly affected by modern rationalism and technology — in the prevention and cure of disease, for example, — rationalistic procedures seem to take precedence over rituals.

621 In addition to the village church, there are three saints' shrines in *Al-Shamā'il*, functioned with each structure is a section of waqf land of which the priest is the custodian, and the produce of which contributes to his support. Each shrine is at some distance from the others and from the village proper, so that it is impossible to get to a shrine without deliberate intent and effort. Traditionally, the shrines are used primarily for the purpose of special prayers, offerings, and vows on behalf of those who are sick. It might be supposed that as the rationalistic treatment of disease increases, the intensity of the use of shrines would decrease. This is a subtle matter and really conclusive evidence on it could not be obtained. However, it was clear that the opinions of the villagers regarding the meaning/abuse of the shrines are varied and conflicting. One church was that the saints could not

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Parents, after the birth of their first son, cease to be addressed by their given names. They are now addressed by the name of their son, as the father or the mother of so-and-so. On the other hand, the members of the younger generation, until they are married, are referred to and introduced as the children of so-and-so, of such-and-such a family.

An outstanding characteristic of this rural family organization is that, with minor exceptions in certain parts of Lebanon, the woman occupies a relatively high status. Moslem or Christian, she does not submit to the veil, nor does she suffer from undue segregation. In the majority of cases, boys and girls attend the same village school. Wherever both men and women do farm work, we find, as a general rule, that division of labor prevails, with the lighter tasks assigned to women. In many villages of the mountain region, an increasing proportion of women do not do any farm work at all, applying themselves completely to homemaking. Some fifty years ago the doors of higher education were opened to the village women of Lebanon. Since then they have played an increasingly important role in national leadership and development as teachers, writers, doctors, lawyers, and enlightened homemakers.

Recreational activity, to one degree or another, is characteristic of every rural existence. This seems to be an essential need, biologically and socially, of human group life. By this means the group gives spontaneous expression, in symbolic form, to the fundamental values of its life and to its aspirations. The rural society of Lebanon is outstanding in this respect, having developed a rich recreational heritage that is well known in the Arabic-speaking world. Some aspects of this heritage have been carried to, and kept alive in, foreign countries by Lebanese emigrants. The Lebanese farmer is characterized by a well-developed sense of humor and a lively tendency or indulge in pranks. He loves to compose folk music and sing folk songs, when alone working in his fields or when in the company of friends. From his early childhood he learns to be a good folk dancer. At the same time his community life is characterized by an abundance of recreational expression.

Customs for community festivities and group-play activity

have retained close contact with their homeland, a factor which has had a profound influence on the social and the economic development of the country.

Unlike the neighboring Arab states, Lebanon is a compact territory. The density of population in the four administrative provinces, exclusive of Beirut district, averaged over 300 per square mile in 1948. It was 466 per square mile in Mount Lebanon, 356 in North Lebanon, and 391 in South Lebanon, but declined to 111 in the potentially fertile districts of the Bekaa. About 45 per cent of the inhabitants live under rural conditions in some 1,200 large or small villages. Urbanization has increased progressively within recent years, however, and almost one half of the population is now concentrated within easy access of Beirut. The city, which is not only the capital and the industrial metropolis of Lebanon but the principal port for the Levant states, had a population of 300,000 to 400,000 in 1950. Tripoli, the second largest city and the terminus of the pipeline from the oil fields in northern Iraq to the Mediterranean, had a population of roughly 75,000. Numerous towns in the southern and the central portions of the Lebanon range are popular resorts, with an annual influx of summer residents.

The fact that Beirut has become one of the leading cultural and educational centers of the Near East has stimulated the spread of education to the rest of the country. The literacy rate is consistently higher among the men than among the women: it probably averages from 75 to 90 per cent in Beirut and the neighboring districts of Mount Lebanon and from 40 to 60 per cent in the other provinces. The expansion of education has been influenced by the activity of French, American and other foreign groups, but the division between the different systems has hindered the development of a unified national program. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory, although the facilities are inadequate, especially in the rural areas of the south.

p. 110(a)

to maintain their Lebanese citizenship abroad are Christians, the overwhelming majority of whom are Maronites.

(c) The natural increase among the non-Christian population of the Lebanon, and particularly of the Shi'ah and the Druze, is more than twice as great as that of the Christian population. These facts are stressed as a key to explain various developments, the influence of which may be decisive in shaping the social character and political fate of the Lebanon.

Any person reviewing the demographic problems of the Lebanon cannot but observe a number of basic elements in the Christian population of the Lebanon and the Yishuv (the Jewish community) in Palestine. The natural increase of the Christians in the Lebanon is roughly equal to that of the Yishuv in Palestine.*

Against this, however, the Yishuv in Palestine has incomparably more potential reserve in the way of immigration from abroad than that which is available to the Lebanese Christians through the return of emigrants. And just as the chief concern of Zionism in Palestine is the creation of possibilities for the absorption of Jewish immigrants from abroad, so the Christians of the Lebanon are faced first and foremost with the problem of preventing emigration from the country, and, in consequence, the creation of opportunities for absorbing emigrants who do return and who can return to their homeland, given suitable absorptive conditions. In addition, attention is devoted to the creation of opportunities for absorbing Christians who require a refuge.

The absence of dynamic economic resources in the Lebanon which could increase and expand the sources of livelihood for a progressive population has led to a steady emigration from the country since the middle of the last century. This process has chiefly affected the Christians whose requirements are more developed and whose living standards are higher than those of their Druze and Moslem neighbours; it has created a serious social and political problem which, when together with their lower rate of natural increase, places the future of the Lebanese Christians in permanent danger.

Robert Widmer described the economic reasons for a migration from the Lebanon in the following passage:†

> "Lebanon is over-populated. As has been stated, the density of population is about 93 people to a square kilometre. In view of the topography of the country, its rocky mountains and its thin soil, its scarcity of mineral wealth, and its undeveloped industries, the land cannot support all its people. Consequently it is to be expected that some of them have to emigrate, leaving many dependents on their remittances."

As long as emigration was temporary, it was to many more advantageous. For the general broadening of outlook resulting from contact with more advanced countries were added the economic benefits of an influx of money to the country's capital (brought in by returning emigrants), an addition

* Previous preamble among the Christians of the Lebanon is against those generally among the Jews of Palestine.

† R. Widmer, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 14.

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the village imports it provides manufactured goods, and the village supplies the city with food. Fisher concludes:

> From data from elsewhere, clearly integrated by material and cultural ties, he writes the primary complex pattern of society in the Middle East, and it is on this basis that we can proceed to study the region as a whole. As a tapestry or patterning owes its special character to an intermingling of diverse color strands, so the Middle East can be considered as a unity based on a number of distinctive yet related ways of life. (Ibid., p. 436.)

A recent paper by Patai (1992) deals with important aspects of this same topic.

Cora brings a functional approach to bear on the situation, to which he gives a name, the "mosaic system." His specific view is that the mosaic system is based on an ethnic division of labor:

> . . . the ideal was to emphasize not the uniformity of the citizens of a country as a whole but a uniformity within each special segment, and the greatest possible contrast between segments. The members of each ethnic unit feel the need to identify themselves by some configuration of symbols. If by virtue of their history they possess some social peculiarity, this they will enhance by special behavior and the like; in any case they will wear distinctive garments and behave in distinctive fashion. Working through the homes you have an erudite identifying everyone you meet, once you have learned the use of symbols. These people must to be identified. If you know who they are, you will know what to expect of them and how to deal with them, and human relations will operate smoothly in a crowded space. . . . Obviously the mosaic system is best suited for a civilization in which cradle neglect a maximum of skill, taught from father to son, and a minimum of organizational complexity. (Cora, 1970, pp. 5, 10n.)

Cora's interest is primarily in how the mosaic system is made to work in face-to-face contact situations. Such situations, when they involve members of different elements in the mosaic, are generally economic, that is, trade relationships. Economic, or subsistence, needs necessarily override temporarily in any given interaction the divisive pull of sanguinary hatred and suspicion. They do, that is, if they are successful and complete transactions. Since most Middle East cities owe their very existence to the fact that they are long-standing trading centers, where members of every element in the mosaic have interacted more or less peaceably, it is clear that group coexistence can be, and have been, for a long time, sometimes successfully. But they have not been dishonored; indeed, they maintain their vigor. The fact of the matter seems to be that they can be "forgotten," or if seen, only on an individual basis, and temporarily, in the interest of a transient need, of which economic need is a prominent example.

David Aberle has come near the point at issue, referring it to the problem of the "integration of sub-systems with diverse values, within the total social system" (1970, p. 464). In this connection, he points to the coexistence of Catholics,

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Protestants, and Jews in the United States, and says that toleration depends in part on the special position of each not being actual discrimination in the eyes of the others (ibid., p. 497). In other words, disparate values cannot be too disparate, if the groups are to interact at all. The individual's religious role, per se, must not exclude him from full participation in other cosmological role systems (ibid., p. 498). Applied to the Middle East, we may paraphrase Hsieh in terms of Cantril's analysis, by saying that the diverse sect affiliations of Middle Easterners do not prevent them from interacting successfully with each other in the cosmological role system of the marketplace.

However, the phenomenon of intense in-group cohesion and out-group hostilities remains as one of paramount importance. We must still deal with a system in which a large number of individuals apparently approach their social relationships with an attitude which can be summed up by the following Lebanese village saying: "I am against my brother; my brother and I are against my cousin; my cousin, my brother, and I are against the stranger" (Thomas, 1948b, p. 350).

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Prothro and Melikian, psychologists on the faculty of the American University of Beirut, have recently reported on a social distance test which they administered to one hundred and thirty students in the University. In the test, social distance was put in terms of attitudes toward sect and national groups, primarily. Their general conclusion is that social distance between groups are greater than in the United States, "but they reflect, in general, reserve toward out-groups rather than an elaborate class-hierarchy system" (Prothro and Melikian, 1952, pp. 10-11).

But if we are to analyze the in-group system of the Middle East, a class-hierarchy device is precisely what we must have. For, with a multiplicity of loyalties and aspirations impinging upon the emotions of every average individual, there is excellent reason to inquire why (1) anarchy does not prevail in the Middle East, and (2) why the average individual is not torn by irreconcilable conflicts. The answer to the first question is that anarchy very frequently does prevail in the Middle East or large sections of it. To answer the second question and to explain why anarchy does not always prevail in every part of the Middle East, we must put the events, or in-group, system into a more theoretical frame of reference than we have done so far.

THE CONCEPT OF SPHERES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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The following theoretical analysis of the complex social structure of the Middle East is based, in part, on the theory of "balanced antagonisms," and the associated theory of "group segmentation," which Evans-Pritchard developed in his study of the Nuer (1940).

Evans-Pritchard describes the overall social structure of the Sudanese Nuer tribe as a distinct cultural unity whose relations with its immediate neighbors are typically hostile; as an "amphictonic kinship state" (1940, p. 181). The society is

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: THE SUBSIDIARY GROUPS

621 The group called *Peripheral to the Core* is rather heterogeneous, and it is not intensely unified. It includes three house servants, one of whom is a Druze, another a Maronite, while the religion of the third was not ascertained. Both of the laborers in the village has a professional father and both of these men are included in the Peripheral Group. One is a Maronite from Jbeil, and he is the brother of the husband of a member of one of the Affiliate Families of the Core Group. The other is a Sunni Muslim who has his wife and one small child with him in the village.

Three members of the Peripheral Group are outsiders to the village in terms of religion and local origin. There is only one affinal tie with the Core Group, and it is with a family whose Core Group status is marginal.

The remaining seven members of the Peripheral Group consist of a single nuclear family, parents and five children. This group is Greek Orthodox in religion, and it came from Ayrs about five years previous to the study. The father does agricultural wage labor. Between this family and the Core Group there is no religious barrier, but it is not a part of the Core Group because of its immediate outside origin and because it has no kinship or marriage connections with the Core Group. Its very presence in the village was discovered only after the period of study had been under way for some time, and explanations were supplied by Core Group informants only in response to questions put by the investigator.

621 The *B'noonee* are all Maronites (Lebanese Roman Catholics). They are sharp and 231 good herders who regularly drive their flocks down to Mamjé every October from the 232 two high villages of which they are members, which are buried in snow all winter. They 233 return to the high slopes in April. They are all united by their religion, and each village 234 group is particularly cohesive because it is a village group and because of kinship and marriage ties. From the village of Jaaj there are three residence units: (1) a nuclear family consisting of father, mother, one son, and two daughters; (2) an adult, single man and his mother; (3) a brother of the single man, his wife, five sons and three daughters. From the village Ehmij there are, first of all, two independent nuclear families. One of these (parents, one son, and two daughters) lives in the village proper; the other (parents and several children) lives at 'Aaqla. Also from Ehmij is a family which is headed by two adult brothers and is known, as a group, by the name of their father. One brother lives in the village proper with his wife and, sometimes, two sons and their wives. The other brother lives at Ehmij with his wife and several children. It was stated that the members of this family are *shirkeyn* (partners), that is to say, the property of the brothers is not divided and they pool their resources.

621 The *Shawk* (designation of the Lebanese Shi'a Muslims) consist of three house-
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holds and in order to describe the relationships between them, capital letters will be used to designate individuals. From the village of Fidar (south of Jbeil on the main highway) there are two households: (1) A, his wife, and his mother B; (2) C, his wife D, and three children. From the village of Hjoula (southward and inland from Beirut) there is one household consisting of E, his wife, an unmarried daughter, a son F, and F's wife G. 621 563

E, now a widow, was married twice. By her first husband she bore C. By her second husband she bore A and G. At one time, E's second husband was married to another woman, and from this union there came D who is C's wife. In other words, C's mother was once the wife of his wife's (D's) father. C is the half-brother of A and G who are full siblings. D is a half-sister of A and G, and by stretching things a little one might be able to say that she is a step-sister of her husband (C).

This information came to light as the result of a Core Group informant's comment that C and his wife were brother and sister. After the explanation had been made, the informant said, "Well, they *call* each other brother and sister sometimes." The relationship clearly evoked humor, but it is possible that lurking beneath the humor was a feeling that the connection was a little too close for comfort in the eyes of the Christians. 588 189

The presence and various activities in Munsif of the Peripheral Group, the Witnesses, and the Jehovah's are, with one exception, concrete evidence of the *ethnic division of labor* which, in Cohn's view (1951), accounts for so many of the salient characteristics of Middle East culture. With this view the present writer is in essential agreement, and a full discussion of its theoretical significance for this study is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations." 463

In this instance, the ethnic distinctions are primarily religious in nature. This conforms with the general pattern of the phenomenon, but there are lacking in Munsif most of the visible cultural differentiations, such as costume, which are often so conspicuous elsewhere. One reason for the homogeneity of appearance in Munsif is the fact that nearly everyone concerned is from the same rather small region, Northern Lebanon, although several different communities are represented.

It has been noted that there are really two classes of people in the Peripheral Group. One of these, the Greek Orthodox nuclear family from Syria, represents the kind of internal migration which is of common occurrence in the region. Long ago, a similar group by a similar action established the community itself. With respect to the Core Group, the Orthodox family in the Peripheral Group really does not exemplify Cohn's ethnic division of labor. The remainder of the Peripheral Group do, however. They differ among themselves, and with respect to the Core Group, in the important matter of religion. Also, they are outsiders to the local group. In terms of the structural theory which is presented in the chapter, "Some Theoretical Considerations," each is a representative of a more widely distributed segment of Sphere 4 (Sect Group) within another, locally established, Sphere 4 segment which is itself an enclave in the area of another segment of Sphere 4. Functionally, all these members of the Peripheral Group serve the Core Group as hired hands in capacities which are generally regarded as menial. It was quite evident that members of the Core Group would be very unwilling to serve each other in such capacities. 461

What is true of members of the Peripheral Group as individuals is essentially true

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of the Wimmen and the Mawali as groups. The Wimmen are tradesmen, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thesiger, 1954, pp. 139–51). According to Core Group informants, they, or other Marwanies like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily in their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. Moreover, the Core Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The flocks furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mawali are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mawali as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a prearranged sum to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this sum is agreed upon with a view to the Core Group members' getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mawali, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the balconies or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or laundresses. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of superiority-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degree of numerical superiority and local establishment which obtain in the particular area. In other words, as has been suggested above, Mansif is simply one localized example of the operation of Gulick's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way colored by group avoidances or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in *all* social relationships in the village is equalitarian, combined, to be sure, with the various limitations which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of itinerants: (1) Tinkers and scissors grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the liveliness of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright; others seek, perhaps sincerely, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawar (Gypsies). One group of them was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular head-dress, their faces tattooed, marching up the road with

432. Where there is a religious group of Armenians, they are entitled to representation on the council by the addition of members over and above the regular number in proportion to their relative numerical importance in the community.[1]

433. The councils are elected for a term of four years and are renewed as a unit. Municipal elections take place on the third Sunday of May in electoral years.[2]

434.

Basis of Representation.

Proportional religious representation is secured by the apportionment of the council seats among the various religious sects in conformity with their relative numerical strength in the electoral list.[3] Thus it is a fixed ratio based on potential voting strength rather than population figures. The allocation of seats is made by decree of the administrator subject to the approval of the Minister of the Interior. All electors vote for all the positions to be filled in their ward or municipality so that the votes of a majority sect may determine the choice of representatives for minority seats. One seat is reserved for minority sects having at least half but less than a whole electoral quotient. The allocation of seats is effected by the "list system" of proportional representation, the method being applied to registration rather than voting figures.

435. Qualifications for membership in the municipal councils are the same as for a seat in the national assembly as determined by Arrêté No. 1807 of March 10, 1932.[4] [Candidates must be Lebanese citizens, at least twenty five years of age, literate, and in the enjoyment of full civil and political rights.[5] Aside from the general restrictions of the electoral law, the municipal law of 1922 expressly disqualifies the following :—

1. Those deprived of their franchise.
2. Persons under tutelage or supervision of judicial council.
3. Persons exempted from municipal taxes or aided by any charitable organization.

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1 Loi du 11 Mars 1930, Journ. Off. No. 441, p. 2.

2 Arrêté No. 2320, 10 Fev. 1926, Journ. Off., No. F. 288.

3 Arrêté No. 1388, 10 Fev. 1926, Journ. Off., No. F. 288, Art. 10.

4 Arrêté No. 1388, loc. cit., Art. 12.

5 Recueil des Actes Administratifs du Haut Commissariat, Supplement 2me Ann. Beyrouth), Vol. III, p. 197, Art. 2.

[illegible] 433. Cf. REPORT SUPRA, P. 46 — AUDIGIER.]

the households are of minimum size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

Unified in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Mansūrī maintain a basically equalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is work of this sort which is done in the village. There are those who do it live in al-Mansūrī, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These additional inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 51 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the widows or aged of the laborers. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Maronites and they come to al-Mansūrī in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are mentioned at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Mansūrī and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Mitwalī (Lebanese Shī'ites). This group has been in al-Mansūrī only about 12 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.[1] The ethnic distinction in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Location. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme localism of al-Mansūrī has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Mansūrī.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

[1] Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1951).

9: Denton M-S (ca. 1861) 1862
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the palace. Near the residence of the Pasha stands the principal mosque of Belgrade. It is appropriated to the use of the soldiers of the garrison, but is in very bad repair, the plaster having pealed off in large masses from the body of the building, as well as from the minaret by its side. Internally, the whole building is as ruinous as on the outside. Close to the gate which leads into the square stands a tomb, which a former pasha erected to the memory of his daughter, who has the reputation of a saint amongst the Turks. The tomb itself stands in a small apartment with glazed windows; and half a dozen wreaths of flowers strewed on the floor or hanging over the tomb, carried the imagination back to Père la Chaise, and the jet-black immortelles of a French cemetery. Round this and a second quadrangle are barracks for the accommodation of about four thousand men, and in a low irregular building in the main square are, at this moment, confined three hundred and sixty Druse prisoners. Their numbers, however, are fast diminishing: a disastrous fortress, a black hole almost as bad as that of Calcutta, and a sun at times hardly less powerful, are converting their sentence of imprisonment into one of death.

However strongly our sympathies are called forth for the suffering Christians of the Lebanon, I confess that the treatment which the Druse chieftains have received has always appeared a shocking instance of the capricious tyranny and injustice which are found throughout Turkey. These chieftains have but too faithfully complied with the traditions of their country and with the

9: Denton M-S (ca. 1861) 1862
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Lebanon MF1
Druze MF6
Middle East-Turkish Empire MF2

barbarous instigation of the Government, and it is hard that their fidelity should be rewarded with the cruel punishment which they are now suffering merely to enable that same Government to set itself right in the eyes of Christian Europe. Had it not been for the interference of England and France, it cannot be doubted but that the murder of the Maronite Christians would have been tacitly approved or even actually rewarded by the Porte; but the authorities which at first prompted and then connived at the massacre of the Christians, have been allowed to purge themselves by visiting the consequences of their sin upon the heads of the instruments of the wrong. Turkey is governed not by acts of parliament, nor even by the hatti-cherifs and firmans of the Porte, nor by treaties made with foreign powers, but by public opinion and the Koran; and so long as the Koran, which is the very foundation of all authority in Turkey, prescribes or encourages acts of outrage towards unbelievers, it is hard that obedience to its dictates should, in order to satisfy the Western powers, subject men to the cruel and continuous torture under which the Druse chieftains are at this moment groaning and dying.

The government of five of the six fortresses which have been reserved by treaty to the Turks, together with the diplomatic intercourse with the Servian authorities, is at present divided between two Pashas, one of whom, Ashir Pasha, possesses the chief rank and authority, and resides in the palace within the fortress of Belgrade. To him is intrusted the conduct of the

made a determined effort to modernize and strengthen their Empire. Two aspects of this effort are of interest here:

(i) The attempt of Abdul-Hamid II to create a new basis of loyalty to the Empire by reviving the Ottoman claim to the Caliphate. Largely this was undertaken as propaganda for external use, to frighten Europe with the threat of a union of Islamic nations under a single head. Partly also, however, it was an attempt to create for the dynasty a place in the hearts of its subjects, in an age in which the dynastic principle was growing weaker. But it was only its orthodox Moslem subjects who could share in this new loyalty; in an Empire based upon Pan-Islamism and the Caliphate there would be no place for Christians, Jews or even heterodox Moslems who rejected the doctrine of the Caliphate.

(ii) The Sultans tried to "conquer their Empire": to turn it from a group of loosely connected feud, racial and religious units into a military and highly centralized state. The means to this end were various: the abolition of feudalism, the creation of an elaborate bureaucracy and provincial administration, the improvement of communications. Among the tasks which were undertaken, an attempt was made to break down the immemorial local autonomies. The feudal and tribal system of the Kurds was gradually broken down from the early decades of the century onwards. On several occasions Kurdish revolts in defence of their autonomy had to be crushed; the last important uprising was that of Bedr Khan Bey in the eighteen-forties. The Turcoman and Kurd principalities were subdued in the same way in the middle of the century. Towards the century's close, several attempts were made to establish the Imperial authority over Jebel Druze, but with little effective success in spite of the formal submission of the Druzes.

Lebanese Autonomy

In one instance, however, the new policy of destroying the autonomies was a complete failure. In the nineteenth century the autonomy of Lebanon, far from being destroyed, was strengthened and formalized.

The sectarian character of Lebanon, its desire for autonomy, and its organization under feudal lords and spiritual hierarchies were already well established when the Ottoman Sultans conquered Syria. Although the Mountain recognized the sovereignty

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of the Sultan, it preserved its autonomy under hereditary Amirs who paid tribute to the Porte. And although it was frequently afflicted with civil wars, local tyrants and anarchy, it was rarely if ever torn by sectarian strife, until the period of the Shihab Amirs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was then that the rivalry appeared between Maronites and Druses, which grew throughout the reign of the great Amir Bashir (1788–1840), and culminated in the disturbances of 1841 and 1860.

This rivalry was no doubt fed and embittered by religious differences, but its causes were mainly political and social. In part they were external to the life of the Mountain: the general unrest caused by Ibrahim Pasha's invasion of Syria; the international rivalry between France, which supported the Maronites, and Great Britain, which supported the Druses; and the desire of the Ottoman authorities to weaken the autonomy of the Mountain by destroying the tradition of religious tolerance on which it rested. But there were also causes in the Mountain itself. There was growing unrest among the Maronite peasants against their feudal landlords, both Maronite and Druse; this showed itself in North Lebanon in the agrarian revolution of 1858 and the establishment of a short-lived agrarian republic. More important still, there was a gradual shift in the balance of the population: the Maronites were spreading southwards into regions which had formerly been chiefly Druse; the Druses were emigrating to the Hauran, and those who were left feared for their predominance.

In 1860, at the climax of a long period of unrest and growing hatred, the Druses of the Mountain and the Moslems of Damascus killed some thousands of the local Christians. The Powers intervened, and the result of their intervention was the formulation of Lebanese autonomy in the Statute of 1861. This Statute (which was amended and definitively promulgated in 1864) made Lebanon into a self-governing Sanjaq, the territory of which excluded the Mountain but excluded the larger coastal towns. It was ruled by a Christian governor, appointed by the Sublime Porte and assisted by an administrative council representative of the sects. The Sanjaq had its own fiscal system, its own judiciary and its own gendarmerie. The Ottoman authorities had practically no control over its administration.

The system established in 1861 remained in force with no essential change until the outbreak of the Great War, when the

Turks abolished the self-government of the Sanjaq and subjected it to a regime of oppression and exaction. But during the half-century of autonomy, Lebanon enjoyed freedom from civil strife and from Turkish oppression.

The Egyptian Government

In Egypt the line of political development was different. Under Muhammad Ali and his successors the country became even more free of control from Stamboul than it had been before. Their rule was comparatively favourable for the minorities. There was a gradual shift from the concept of theocracy to that of a nationalism which could include Copts as well as Moslems: and the Copts continued, as before, to hold many positions in the Government. The rulers welcomed foreigners who wished to live and work in the country; Armenians, Syrians and others found an official career open to their talents, and vast opportunities in the commercial and financial life of the country. The dynasty was receptive to Western culture, and under its aegis a veneer of Western ideas and refinement spread over the upper classes at least, but the enlightenment was much less profound than it seemed, and beneath the surface Islamic feeling and hatred of the Christian West continued to be strong.

When the British occupied Egypt, they carried further certain tendencies begun by the dynasty of Muhammad Ali. They ensured greater freedom of religious thought and expression, greater equality before the law (although still far from complete equality). They opened the country still wider to foreigners, and they made full use of Eastern Christians as government officials: for example Syrian Christians in both the Egyptian and Sudanese Governments, and a small but important group of Armenians, of whom the most famous was Nubar Pasha. But contrary to what might have been expected, they neither attempted to use the Copts as instruments of government nor gave them in any way a privileged position. Individual Copts co-operated with the British, like Butrus Pasha Ghali, but in general there were fewer Coptic officials under the British than there had been in previous periods.

The Rise of Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire

In the second half of the nineteenth century there appeared a new factor, destined to have great effects, for better or for worse,

MINORITIES IN THE ARAB WORLD

(49) full guarantees for the rights of individuals and communities. Article 9 declared:

> Le libre et consciencieux exercice de toutes les religions, l'libre exercice [illegible] ne soit pas porté atteinte à l'ordre public. Il garantit également aux populations, à quelque rite qu'elles appartiennent, le respect de leur statut personnel et de leurs intérêts religieux.

In addition, Article 10 stated that education was free, provided it did not conflict with public order or morals or touch the dignity of the confessions. There would be no infringement of the right of communities to have their schools, under reserve of the general regulations on public education issued by the State.

Personal Status and Communal Organization

(192) (196) (263) Before the war of 1914-18, certain matters of personal status fell within the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts of the millets; while all others were within the competence of the Shariah courts, which were on a higher level than the communal ones. In 1917, at the height of the war, the Ottoman Family Code deprived the Christian and Jewish courts of their jurisdictions, which were conferred on the Shariah tribunals. But this law was never effective and it was annulled in 1921. Soon afterwards the Moslem Shariah courts were placed on a level with those of the other communities by the transfer of all matters of personal status except marriage, divorce, separation, annulment and alimony, to the civil courts. But this measure met with opposition from all sides, and the decree containing it was suspended pending further consideration of the whole subject of personal status.

After several attempts to reform the whole system of jurisdictions had come to nothing, the High Commissioner issued in April 1938 a comprehensive decree defining the position of religious communities. The decree gave explicit legal recognition to the historic communities. Their statutes were given the force of law, and the application of them placed under the protection of the law and the control of the public authorities. They were to enjoy corporate personality, and to be represented in their relations with the public powers by their spiritual heads. Members of the communities would be obliged to conform to their statutes in matters of personal status, and to the civil law

where the statutes of the communities were silent. But anybody who had attained his majority would be at liberty to leave his community and enter a new one. The decree also provided for the recognition of communautés de droit commun, in addition to communities possessing personal statute jurisdiction. They would enjoy certain rights, such as that of acquiring property, but in matters of personal status their members would be subject to the civil law. This last provision was to apply also to individuals who were not members of any religious community.

This decree was opposed by the ecclesiastical authorities; and in December 1936 a new one was issued, modifying it on certain points. For example it was now made clear that in cases of secession, children who were minors would follow their father's confession, even after the father's death and even if the mother had the custody of the children after separation or divorce.

The decree of 1936, like that of 1936, was opposed from many sides, and has not been fully carried out. The position of the religious courts is still undefined and unsatisfactory.

Social Structure of the Communities

There is a considerable difference between the social structure of the different communities. The Maronites are mainly an agricultural community: many of the large estates were broken up in the course of the nineteenth century and a class of freeholds farmers created. As a whole, the standard of life is higher among them than among most other communities, owing to the fertility of their lands and emigration to the New World. In addition to the farmers, there is a large and prosperous bourgeoisie in Beirut. The force which holds together the community is the Church, whose priests, like those of all the Uniate Churches, are more highly educated than those of the independent Eastern Churches: the Patriarch has immense social power, which is, however, challenged by the large land-owning families with feudal traditions.

The Sunni Moslems are almost wholly an urban community, concentrated in Tripoli, Beirut and Saida. They form a great part of the proletariat of these towns, but there is also a Sunni commercial and professional bourgeoisie and some large land-owning families. They have nothing comparable with either the religious or the temporal solidarity of the Maronites, perhaps because they never had the millet organization of Ottoman days.

The Shi'is are mainly peasantry in the southern districts and

to the Bogʿ, although they are also to be found in fields and fur and in the lower strata of the working-class of Beirut. Economically they are the most backward of the communities and are mostly serfs on the estates of semi-feudal lords. In the Bogʿ their lords are largely Sunnis and Christians, but in the south they are mainly Shiʿis, who in the past were practically autonomous; this gives the community a particularly great degree of cohesion.

The Druzes also are mainly an agricultural community, careful farmers, relatively prosperous, and socially the most solidly organized of all the communities. They have a double organization: the religious with its hierarchy, and the feudal with its gradations of ranks. The organization, however, has long been weakened by factional disputes, of which the political rivalry between the great families of Jumblat and Arslan is only the latest phase; and the whole land-system on which it is based is gradually breaking up.

The Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics are partly peasant communities: they contain a large proportion of small freeholders, prosperous through emigration, and in general are less dominated by large land-owners than are other communities. They also form a considerable part of the commercial class of Beirut and other towns, and indeed include some of the wealthiest trading and land-owning families.

The Armenians

There is another community which differs from all those mentioned above by reason of not speaking Arabic and of having come recently into the country: this is the Armenian community.

There are about 70,000 Armenians in Lebanon. They are mostly of recent settlement in the country. A few were established in Beirut before the war of 1914-18, but most of them entered in successive waves during and after it, fleeing from persecution or from the expectation of it, as in 1939 after the cession of Alexandretta to Turkey. Most of them arrived penniless, and settled in huts on the outskirts of Beirut. But in the last two decades, thanks to their own efforts and to those of the Nansen Office, their economic situation and their living conditions have much improved. They are mainly craftsmen, small traders and office-workers; almost all of them are town-dwellers.

Socially they are still a half-isolated community, centred around their churches. They retain to a large extent their own social

customs and their strong sense of family and national solidarity. They cling to their language and maintain their own schools. They have their own charitable organizations, press and cultural life.

They have not always been popular with the Arabs, even with the Arab Christians. Arab nationalists complain that their presence has given rise to an additional minority-problem, and one particularly difficult to solve. Lebanese Moslems regard them as one of the factors making for Christian predominance; and it was been for their immigration the Moslems would now have a majority in Lebanon. They are also disliked for having come into the country destitute and being now prosperous. Being concentrated in a relatively small number of urban callings, they are peculiarly open to attack. But their high standard of morality and culture, their energy and persistence make them a good element in the community and will in time remove the prejudice against them.

Educational Differences

There are considerable educational differences between the sects, which spring in general from the fact that education is mainly in the hands of private organizations, largely confessional, or of foreign missionary societies. This is particularly true of secondary and higher education. The Government maintains no higher institutions, except two normal colleges and one technical school; apart from these, all secondary schools and the two Universities (the American University and the Jesuit Université de St. Joseph) are in the hands of private, mainly religious bodies. In 1938, out of 1,867 primary schools, only 177 were Government schools, while 1,180 were controlled by local and 510 by foreign organizations. Of 102 higher schools, 3 were governmental, 44 local and 75 foreign.

Of the local private schools, by far the greatest number is controlled by the Maronite, Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic communities; while the majority of the foreign schools are owned by French Catholic missions. Thus, Lebanese education is predominantly Christian and clerical in spirit and control, and more particularly Catholic.

The proportion of Christian children who attend religious schools as against those who attend Government schools is much greater than the corresponding proportion among Moslems.

Moreover, the total number of Christian scholars is far greater than that of Moslems, particularly in secondary and higher education.

Several conclusions may be drawn from these facts. First, education does nothing to diminish communal differences but rather the opposite, since for the most part it is under communal control. Secondly, the Christian communities are as a rule more highly educated than the Moslems, and this leads to obvious differences in their social and economic structure. Thirdly, the Christians in general are receiving a different kind of education from the Moslems: this is particularly true of the Maronites and other Uniates, who have gone far towards adopting French civilization and the French language as their own.

Christians and Moslems

Apart from the differences between particular sects, there is a general division between Christians and Moslems which is not quite the same as that existing in the neighbouring countries. Lebanon is the only Arabic-speaking country in which the Christians have managed to preserve an autonomous Christian life, both individual and social, and to resist the tendency to moral and social assimilation. This is particularly true of the Maronites, who have never been deprived of connexion with the main body of Western Christendom, thanks to their position on the Mediterranean coast, to their traditional connexion with the French Government and to the work of Catholic missions among them.

The position of the Moslems also is unusual. The Sunnis are outnumbered by Druzes and Shi'is combined, and are thus far from being in a majority or from being able to construct a solid Moslem block, but they still retain to some extent the mentality of a ruling community. As has been mentioned, before the French occupation, the coastal towns in which most of the Sunnis live did not form part of Lebanon, but of the Ottoman vilayet of Beirut; by their transfer to Lebanon they found themselves changed suddenly from a ruling group to one set among many in a State with a largely Christian atmosphere. This is a change which has been difficult for them to accept.

Coastal and Inland Lebanon

Still another significant distinction is that between the old

Republic. At the same time, however, an attempt was made to keep the other sects hopeful and satisfied enough to prevent them trying to break up the Republic. This was done by the careful distribution of posts, large and small, among members of the different sects, and by the encouragement of Lebanese particularist feeling.

Sectarianism in Politics

In a country divided so fundamentally and in so many different ways, it has not been possible to create any genuine sense of solidarity. From its beginning, at least until 1943, the Lebanese Republic was only held together by the control and constant intervention of France; within the framework provided by that control, sectarian feeling maintained and even increased its strength.

The Constitution of the Lebanese Republic, promulgated in 1926, provided for a political organization which should take into account the sectarian divisions of the country. It laid down two principles. The first was that all Lebanese citizens were equal before law, possessed of the same rights and duties, and equally admissible to all public offices, without any distinction (Articles 7 and 12). The other was that, at least provisionally, the confessions should be equitably represented in public offices and in the Ministry, in so far as that did not detract from the welfare of the State (Article 95).

All parts of the political organization of the State show the influence of these principles. Thus the President of the Republic has always been a Christian. To counterbalance this, the Prime Minister has usually been a Sunni Moslem, and the other Ministries have been distributed among the confessions. The Chamber of Deputies, during periods when it has been functioning, has been so composed as to represent the confessions roughly in proportion to their numerical strength; deputies have been elected by their co-religionists, organized for the purpose on a confessional as well as a geographical basis.

In matters of appointments and promotions in the public service, the equitable representation of the sects is a more important consideration than merit, in the minds not only of those who make appointments but also of the public, and more especially of the leaders of the different communities, who watch closely to see that the balance is not overturned.

[illegible] no essential sense a part of the Arab world, but its people constitute a separate nation. It should therefore be an independent State with its face turned towards Europe.

(iv) There are others who try to extract and combine the elements of truth in all these views. They admit that Lebanon is an Arab country by character and by destiny; but they believe that its special traditions confer upon it a special destiny in the Arab world: as a centre of Arab Christian life, as a gateway to the West and as a place where adherents of different religions can meet on absolutely equal terms.

[illegible] Speaking generally and with large reservations, one may say that the first idea is held mainly by Sunni Moslems; the second by Moslem Arab nationalists and those Christians who believe that a lay nationalism is possible and desirable; the third by members of all minorities, particularly among the older generation; the fourth mainly by Maronites and other Uniates; and the fifth by Christians who want to remain fully Christian while being fully Arab nationalists.

These differences of conception involve different points of view on various particular issues:

(i) The question of the frontiers of Lebanon. In general, those who regard Lebanon as a separate entity have wished to preserve the frontiers of 1920, since otherwise it would be even less defensible and economically self-supporting than at present. The adherents of the first two views on the contrary have wished to return to the frontiers of the old Sanjaq, possibly with the addition of Beirut.

(ii) Many of those who regard Lebanon as an independent country or as a refuge wish it to be under the protection of a Western Power which will take in it an interest which is more than political. For most of them that Western Power must be France, but there are others who would prefer Great Britain or the United States. Those who regard Lebanon as in any sense a part of the Arab world, however, consider such protection too dangerous both for Lebanon and for the Arab world to be permitted.

(iii) A great many of those for whom Lebanon is a separate country recognise nevertheless that she must have a close connexion with Syria and other Arabic-speaking countries; but they insist that it must be based upon formal equality. The other countries must recognise the independent existence of

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CHAPTER IV

LEBANON

Of all the Arab League countries, Lebanon was the most reluctant to take part in the recent outbreak of anti-Jewish persecution. It was also the first member-nation of the Arab League to restore normal conditions after the conclusion of the armistice with Israel and to abolish restrictions which had been imposed upon the Jews during the fighting.

Lebanon differs from the rest of the Arab countries in a number of ways. First, there is no Muslim majority. Its population is composed of a number of minority groups, none of which individually constitutes a clear majority. The Muslims, both Sunni and Shia, together number only about 967,000, against approximately 600,000 Christians (Maronite, Greek Orthodox, Armenian, etc.) and 77,000 Druses. The latest census — held in 1946 — gives the number of Jews as 6,293, a figure probably increased since then by the steady influx of Jews from Syria to something over 6,700.

A number of Christian Arabs in Lebanon have, it is true, played an important part in the revival of Arab nationalism, mostly in the field of literature. But this has not prevented the Christian community as a whole from regarding the movement with a certain feeling of uneasiness. Albert Hourani (*Syria and Lebanon*, Oxford, 1946, p.126) describes the uneasy relations between Christians and Muslims in Lebanon as follows:

> Arabism has not yet determined its relationship with Islam. Thus there is a tendency for many of the nationalists, although not their more thoughtful leaders, to regard members of the minorities as imperfect Arabs because they are not Muslims, or not Muslims as well; equally there is a tendency among the minorities to be suspicious of nationalism as a movement for introducing Sunni Muslim domination.

Apart from the tendency of the greater part of the Arab nationalist movement to rely on Islam as a rallying cry, its generally anti-Western orientation has provided a further obstacle to whole-hearted support in the country. For no country in the Middle East has taken as easily to Western civilization as Lebanon.

The fact that so high a proportion of its inhabitants are Christians has always made it a specially fruitful field for Western educational missions. The French *Mission Laïque* and the American University at Beirut have both played an important part in raising the general level of education, and there is scarcely a middle-class family in

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Lebanon that has no relatives in the United States, France, or some other Western country.

Lebanon joined the Arab League, very hesitatingly, because it wanted the League's support in its campaign for complete independence from France.

Typical of Lebanese uncertainty in support of Arab nationalism is the fact that the Maronites, who number 328,000 and are the largest single group in the country, have never shown opposition to the Zionist Movement in Palestine. Both the Maronite Archbishop of Beirut, Mgr. Ignatz Mouhar, and the Maronite Patriarch have even, in the past, welcomed the progress and civilization which the Jews have brought to the Middle East.

The Lebanese Jewish community is mostly concentrated in the capital, Beirut, with a smaller number living in Tripoli in the north, and in Tyre and Sidon, in the south. They are as deeply rooted in the country as any other group, the first Jewish settlements dating back to biblical times. Like the Christian population, they have gladly accepted the influence of Western civilization. Most of them are bilingual in Arabic and French. For many years they have suffered no restrictions in either commerce or the liberal professions, and thus form a fair proportion of the middle class, some Jews holding high positions in the Government service. Jews are not confined to any special area, though most of the poorer Jews live in streets which, in former times, used to be a Jewish quarter.

As a member of the Arab League, Lebanon found itself willy-nilly bound to take part in the invasion of Israel. Once the fighting in Palestine had started, the Government was forced to apply security measures similar to those introduced in all countries of the Arab League.

All foreign Jews, including the students at the American University and the French college, were ordered to leave the country in January, 1948. When military operations started in May, 1948, about 200 political suspects were arrested. According to a Reuter message sent from Beirut at that time, however, they included only a few Jews.

The hysterical Jew-baiting which then broke out throughout the Muslim Arab countries naturally affected also Lebanese Muslims. On May 15, an anti-Jewish demonstration assembled in the early hours and a mob, armed with bricks, incendiary bombs, and whips, proceeded towards the Jewish quarter. The President of the Jewish community received a telephone call from the head of the Christian Arab community, suggesting the Jews should take steps to guard their houses.

When the mob reached the Jewish quarter, they were halted by guards who had been posted there by the Christian Arab community. At the request of the President of the Jewish community, the authorities sent armed troops, who prevented the rioters from entering the quarter.

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Only one large shop—the joint property of three Muslims and one Jew—was damaged.

There were only a few incidents during the months of fighting in Palestine. On one occasion alone were there casualties—when a bomb thrown at the school of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* injured a few Jews.

When, during the operations in Galilee, large numbers of Arab refugees entered the country, and Israel forces occupied some territory in Southern Lebanon, Muslims in the Sidon area seized Jewish-owned buildings and installed refugees therein. After some days, however, the Government ordered the police to provide protection for the Jews and to restore the buildings to their owners. Jews were not allowed to leave the country, but special permits were issued for travelling to Syria on business.

On the advice of well-disposed Government officials, the Jews did all they could to keep quiet and to escape notice. The wish to avoid any offence led the Jewish newspaper *Al-Alam al-Israeli* (The World of Israel) to change its name to *Al-Salam* (Peace). On the other hand, the Jewish community had to yield to the pressure of public opinion, and to contribute considerable sums towards the Arab Palestine Fund; the total amount is estimated to be not less than £L500,000 (about £55,000). Yet things never reached the stage where they could not carry on their occupations; and the merchants among them were always able to keep their businesses running.

As soon as the fighting was over, the Lebanese Government was the first to restore normal conditions for the Jewish population. The ban on travelling abroad was lifted, and a number of senior Jewish officials who had been dismissed were reinstated, some even being promoted. Nine Jews who had fled to Lebanon from Iraq (where they had been sentenced to death *in absentia*) and three other Jews, who had previously lived in Palestine, were permitted to leave the country for Israel.

There is every evidence that with the return of normal relations with Israel, the Jewish minority in Lebanon will enjoy again the freedom, the full and equal rights, and the friendly relations with their neighbours which existed before the invasion of Palestine.

11: Hourani 5-4 (no date) 1968 MDI Syria MSS LSE and AGI

Uniate Churches: that is, those Churches whose members formerly belonged to one or other of the non-Catholic Churches, and at some time in the past acknowledged the papal supremacy and gave up doctrines which the Roman Catholic Church regards as heretical, but retained their own liturgies and certain distinctive features of discipline and organization. There are five Uniate Churches with important bodies of adherents in Syria and Lebanon: the Greek Catholic, Syrian Catholic, Armenian Catholic and Chaldaean Catholic Churches, which split off from the Greek Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox and Nestorian Churches respectively; and the Maronite Church, which originally held the Monotheiete doctrine that Christ has two Natures but one Will, and which returned to Rome finally and as a whole in the twelfth century. The Maronites, like the Syrian Orthodox and Assyrians, have a Syriac liturgy, and a Patriarch of Antioch, resident in Lebanon, as their spiritual head. There are comparatively few Roman Catholics of the Latin or Western rite.

(v) The Protestants are the fruits of the labours of American and other missionaries during the nineteenth and present centuries.

The Jews are mainly Arabic-speaking and long-settled in the country.

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Of these religious communities, the Armenians (Orthodox and Catholic), the Assyrians and some of the Syrian Orthodox and Catholics are not Arabic-speaking and have, for the most part, come recently into the Levant States. The Armenians came originally from the Caucasus and have their own language and national traditions. Most of those now resident in Syria and Lebanon have entered the country during the last half-century, in consequence of the great massacres in Asia Minor (1895–1915), and more recently of the annexation of Alexandretta by Turkey.[1]

Most of the Assyrians have been settled in Iraq since the

[1] See Chapter XI.

last war, when they were dislodged from their original homes in the Kurdish mountains; the Chaldaeans have lived in the Mosul area of Iraq for many centuries. In 1933 a period of tension between a section of the Assyrians and the Iraqi Government ended with the killing of some hundreds of them by Iraqi troops. Several thousands in consequence crossed the frontier into Syria, and although some of them later returned to Iraq, others were settled in the Jazirah with assistance from the League of Nations. Their settlement became an integral part of the Syrian State in 1942.

A large part of the Syrian Orthodox and Catholics still speak Syriac. They have been settled since before the coming of Islam in north Syria and south Turkey, in and around the Taurus hills, against which the wave of Arab influence exhausted itself. Thus they have been able to preserve their Syriac dialect which farther south has been replaced almost everywhere by Arabic. Many are, however, bilingual in [91] Arabic and Syriac, and others have abandoned Syriac and are now Arabic-speaking.

There are certain other groups which resemble the Armenians and Assyrians in not being Arabic-speaking, but unlike them are orthodox Moslems. The most important of them are:

(i) The Kurds, of whom there are perhaps 200,000.[1] They are mountaineers from the high country which links the Anatolian and Persian plateaux, and speak a dialect akin to Persian. Some of them have long been resident in the country, but others have emigrated in the last twenty years from their homes in the mountains of eastern Turkey, in order to escape the repressive measures of the Turkish Government. There are small numbers of Kurdish-speaking Yazidis, Alawis and Christians, but most of those who speak Kurdish as their native language are Sunnis.

(ii) The Turcomans, who number perhaps 30,000. They came originally from Central Asia, and their language is a dialect of Turkish. Originally nomads, they have now become semi-sedentary or wholly sedentary cultivators of the soil.

[1] These figures are only rough estimates; there are no official statistics for national and racial minorities.

11: Nearest 5-4 (no date) 1968 MDI Boris Arch/ LEBANON FIL 1

(iii) The Circassians, who are by origin Moslems from the Caucasus. They fled from their homes after the Russian conquest of the Caucasus in the nineteenth century, and were settled by the Ottoman Government along the western edge of the Syrian Desert, to prevent the encroachments of the tribes. There are about 10,000 of them.

(iv) There are also a number of Yazidis, adherents of a secret dualistic religion and with a dialect of their own; but they are only a small offshoot of the main community in Iraq.

With these exceptions the minorities are Arabic-speaking and have lived in Syria and Lebanon for many generations; akin to the majority in many things, their basic difference is one of religious loyalties.

The general nature of the problem which they raise can be stated briefly. It is a product of two factors: first, of certain traditional differences which linger on in a new age; secondly, of the varying relations of the different elements in the population to the process of Westernization.

Serious at any time, religious differences were made more serious in the past by the prevalence of the theocratic view of life; differences of religious belief involved different political loyalties and principles of social conduct. The theocratic view was the basis of the 'millet-system', which, while it allowed certain autonomy to the minorities, also increased the completeness of their separation from one another and from the majority. This was particularly true of those minorities of which a large proportion lived compactly in a single area; they came to regard themselves, if they had not always regarded themselves, as a 'peculiar people' linked by no moral or political tie with their neighbours. To complete their isolation there was added the memory of injustices, real or imagined, which they had suffered at the hands of the majority.

The persistence of these divergences in the present age adds a new and complicating factor to the problem of Westernization. It is not only that different communities have different paths to tread if they are to Westernize themselves: for example, the problems of social organization

11: Hourani 8-4 (no date) 1968 MDI Syria Lebanon 401

held only by Christians: the fourth by many of the Maronites, the fifth by those who have been moved by the nationalist sentiment without trying to make it a substitute for religious belief.

Probably the majority of French missionaries and officials in the last generation have professed the third or fourth views: that is to say, they have regarded Arabism as primarily an Islamic movement in which the Christians can have no place, and thus they have tried to make Lebanon into a place where the Christians can at least be safe and can perhaps even build up a national life of their own. Their attitude is determined partly by religious belief, partly by a sense of France's historic obligations and partly by a certain conception of French interests. As for the third party to the question, the Arab nationalists in Syria and the other Arab countries, they believe that Lebanon is a part of the Arab world and are afraid of its being used as a centre for foreign intrigues against them; but the more reasonable and responsible of them recognise the peculiar traditions and needs of Lebanon and are prepared to make special provision for them.

8

The problem of the Shi'is is in some ways similar to that of the Christians and Druses of the Mountain, since it arises from distinct religious loyalties complicated by a separate tradition and memories of persecution. But there is also another complicating factor: the backwardness of the Shi'is in social organization and their low standard of living. Their first need is for a reformed social organization and improved economic conditions. Once this need has been satisfied, it is possible that their outlook and feeling will be near enough to that of the Sunnis to make special treatment unnecessary.

There is one community which possesses a special relation to all the rest. The Armenians, whether Gregorians, Catholics or Protestants, have two characteristics which distinguish them from the remainder of the population of Lebanon. First, they are not Arabic-speaking, but have their own language, culture and national consciousness. Secondly, they are mainly of recent settlement there. The majority established themselves in and around Beirut in consequence of the measures taken against them by the Turkish authorities

11: Houran 3-4 (no date) 1946 MDI Syria

during and after the war of 1914–1918; and a large number entered the country even more recently, in 1939 after the cession to Turkey of the Sanjaq of Alexandretta, where many Armenian refugees from Turkey had settled. Most of the Armenians arrived penniless and were dependent in the beginning upon international relief organizations, but in the last twenty years their economic situation has greatly improved. They are mainly craftsmen and small traders and almost all are now town-dwellers.

Foreign in language and appearance and socially half-isolated, they have not always been popular with the inhabitants. Some nationalists disapprove of them because they are still unassimilated and because they have added another minority problem to those already existing. Their competitors accuse them, as minorities in their position are often accused, of depressing the level of wages and of monopolizing the trades and crafts to which they have applied themselves.

These Armenians have several alternative conceptions of their future as a nation. There are some, mainly those who have made good, who are prepared to live permanently in Lebanon as a minority; in order to make this possible they wish the Armenians to learn Arabic, to prove themselves good citizens and to co-operate with the bulk of the population in matters of common interest, but at the same time to retain their Armenian characteristics and loyalty. Probably the majority of the Armenians however regard their residence in Lebanon as a temporary exile, and hope sooner or later to return to their own country. Of these, the Tashnak party wish to see their country once more an independent national state, while the Communists and others accept the incorporation of Armenia in the U.S.S.R. and are eager to return and become Soviet citizens. Both these parties recognize that their exile although temporary may be long and that therefore an interim policy is necessary. Some of the Tashnak have tried to follow the example of the Maronites and throw themselves upon a foreign protector; but very many of their party, and all the Communists, desire to reach a *modus vivendi* with the political forces among the Arabs, either with the Arab nationalists or else with the Arab Socialists and Communists.

642, 728, 177, 565

Syria	MD1
Israel	MF1
Jordan	MG1
Iraq	MH1
●Lebanon	ME1

/For an account of the political regime, social stratification, and Westernizing of administration under the British and French Mandates following the First World War, see 66: Bonné, M1 Middle East, category 116, pp. 88-101./

The boarding-school, as well as the day-school, students include both boys and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The chief criterion is that none is a manual laborer, and they were obviously all considered to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practicing physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

Protestant preacher	1	Seamstress	3
Detective	1	Waiter	3
Fireman	1	Hospital attendant	4
Soldier (sergeant)	1	Janitor	2
Tailor	2	Surveyor	1

The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus close village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in itself. Parents and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of the girl to a doctor, a very prestigeful status.

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15-44

	Men		Women			Men		Women	
Age	Single	Married	Single	Married	Age	Single	Married	Single	Married
15-19	39	0	27	0	30-34	6	7	4	7
20-24	30	1	17	7	35-39	3	6	3	12
25-29	13	0	10	10	40-44	2	14	0	12

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

There is a definite difference between marrying an Orthodox outsider and an outsider of different religion. The saying is: *Al-mar'a tsîr' marjha*, "The woman follows her husband." This means that in the case of mixed-religion marriages, the children will be raised in the religion of the father, a custom which is a major deterrent to such marriages. Such cases in Munjid constitute a minority of the outsider-marriages. They are all very recent. The first (which for a long time was the only one) occurred about 1914 when one of the village girls married a Maronite wage-laborer who was living in the village. He settled permanently, and one of the third class affiliate families was thus established. In general, the reaction to the marriage of village girls to men of other religions seemed somewhat sad but passively resigned.

However, on one point in relation to mixed marriages village opinion is very strong. If a village man wished to marry a girl of another religion (necessarily also of another village), it is assumed that the children would take the religion of the father. Suppose, however, that the girl's parents refused to agree to this? In such a case, village opinion is that the man should give up any idea of the marriage. If, however, he insisted on acquiescing to the girl's parents' demand, he would be strongly condemned and very likely ostracized, at least for a time. Such an action would be a violation of religious and community mores as well as of those relating to the proper relationship between man and wife. And it is certainly true that if a number of men should adopt this practice, the religious structure of the village would be seriously undermined.

CLIQUES

The existence of cliques in Munjid has been mentioned before, but it has also been mentioned that data on them is wholly inadequate. This much can be said: There are two clear-cut groups of close and constant companions, and during the course of the study, various members of each group made unflattering remarks about members of the other. It is possible that the whole village is split into factions with the two groups as nuclei, but only some inconclusive suggestions of this were encountered. Others who have had experience with Middle East villages generally agree that this type of faction-split is frequently encountered. (cf. Gibb & Bowen, 1950, p. 266). It is important to note that the members of each of the two groups do not belong to any one minimal lineage or maximal lineage.

SOCIAL CLASS

In Munjid there is not now, and apparently never has been, a particular family which owns a large proportion of the village, on whose land other villagers work as tenants. In some parts of the Middle East, this type of organization results in a rather clear two-class system.

In Munjid, as in many other Lebanese villages, the social structure is equali-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

tation. Though *individuals* are rated on a scale of values from excellent to worthless, such judgments do not seem to be applied to groups of people. Every person and every family are social equals because *everyone* is descended from the same man, the founder of the village. No one is a tenant on the land of anyone else, and it is important in this connection to recall a statement made earlier to the effect that villagers do not like to work for each other in menial tasks.

Families are to some extent distinguished from each other in terms of prosperity, but this seems to apply only to conjugal, or at most, to extended families. Numerous examples were given of families now well off which a few years ago had been poor, and vice versa. Notable prosperity or poverty both seem to be regarded as transitory situations mostly due to "luck." No patriline or lineage seems ever to have become entrenched for a long period either in poverty or in wealth.

The only groups which appear to be blanketed as socially inferior are some of the affiliate families whose founders came as outsiders to work as wage-laborers. (*cf.* Barth, 1954, p. 166.)

There *are* some suggestions that in time there *may* develop a distinction which could definitely be called a class distinction between villagers who are well-educated workers and those who remain in the village as manual laborers and farmers. The distinction would be the result of a wide divergence of interests and values.

CONCLUSION

A few important points which have been made in the course of this chapter should be isolated and fixed in mind before we proceed further.

1. Genealogically and conceptually, ...*ouail* is a single superlineage, segmented into maximal and minimal lineages.

2. Village endogamy is the traditional pattern and, in general, is still the ideal. The fairly numerous exogamous marriages are concomitant with recent culture changes whose impetus is external to the village.

3. In terms of function, the maximal lineages appear to be vestigial institutions.

4. The minimal lineages are name groups, they define ordinarily the maximum range of inheritance privileges, and they probably serve as solidary units in times of crisis.

5. There is inconclusive evidence of a dual organization of the village both in the past and the present, but it cannot be satisfactorily correlated either with lineages or cliques.

6. Marriage choices are free within the village, except that the marriage of all first cousins, and closer relatives, is prohibited.

7. The specific marriage prohibition is an aspect of the fact that every individual is a member of a strong bilateral kindred of two, but usually not more than two, generations.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

is as naive and visionary as its opposite—the deliberate prevention of all further acculturation and a general turning back of the cultural clock, a procedure advocated by certain groups.

For the most part, the Maronites appear to belong to a much larger group than either of the two extremes, whose approximate situation has been described as follows:

> They (the Syrians and Lebanese) are peculiarly aware of the "tension" between East and West and between Islam and Christianity. This is partly because their minds are exceptionally subtle, flexible, and sensitive; but partly also because Syria has always been exposed to influences coming in from Mediterranean lands and tends to be affected by them sooner and more profoundly than the other Arab countries. Through the mission-schools, through emigration, and in other ways, there has been built up in Syria an educated class westernized in spirit as well as in externals, but still Arabic in language and for the most part sympathies and feelings. Thus the conflict between East and West has become a conflict inside their own souls; as such it raises problems which pose themselves with peculiar urgency. (Hourani, 1946, p. 78.)

the following: accountants, college teachers and upper administrative officers, dentists, engineers, lawyers, nurses, newspaper publishers, editorial writers, reporters, surveyors, clergymen and school teachers. The range of income of these groups was large as was the amount of training undergone.

Managers, officials, large businessmen and rentiers

There was considerable difficulty in forming this category, but in general it is meant to include an upper-class group which has general power and influence in the city, either from high-ranking official position or because of position in the business world. It formed the largest group, other than miscellaneous, with almost twelve percent of the total sample. Of these, almost half were large merchants as might be expected in a city which depends on commerce for its existence. This is a much larger group of this type than would be found in most cities.

One reason for the size of this category is that Beirut is a capital city and therefore would have an inordinate amount of public officials. Another reason is that the attractions of a metropolis lure people of wealth.

Small businessmen

Almost equally as large as the managers etc., category, is the group of small businessmen. The largest percentage of these are small retail owners. As a group, they represent marginal enterprises which fill small niches in the economy. They are very often such small ope-

8.2 **Incidence of money from any source other than employment in year previous to interview. Tables 115, 116**

434 Four hundred and twenty-one (22.25 %) of the sample had received money from miscellaneous sources. The largest group of these was people receiving money from rent of property (33 %). The second biggest specific source was relatives (19 %). Of particular interest are the remittances from overseas. About two and one half percent of our total sample, or an estimated 1250 families in Beirut, received income from abroad.

8.3 **Total income. Table 117**

Total income of the household from all sources for the previous year was tabulated in intervals of 1000 L.L. Over eight percent of the households had incomes of below 1000 L.L. The modal interval was 1001 - 2000 L.L. making the crude mode 1500 L.L. per year (20 %). Assuming that the average family needs 3000 L.L. as a minimum of health and decency per year, we find that about sixty-five percent do not meet this minimum.

434 565 Arbitrarily assuming the middle class to have incomes ranging from 3001 L.L. to 25,000 L.L. it is noteworthy that this class constitutes about one third of the population (31 %) leaving four percent of the families making more than 25,000 L.L. per year.

Percentage-wise those sixty-five percent of the households which make 3000 L.L. or less receive twenty-one percent of the income, those thirty-one percent which make between

p. 29(c)

5001 - 25,000 L.L. receive forty-three percent of the income and those four percent which make over 25,000 L.L. receive thirty-six percent of the income.

The total income of Beirut from all sources is estimated at 340,992,200 L.L. The mean income per family, which is not a good measure in this instance, is 6702 L.L. or 1170 L.L. per capita.

Distribution of income in the various census districts is much more even than is generally assumed. All income groups seem to be found in equal numbers in all census districts except Ain el Mreisseh which has a higher average.

5.4 Amount of savings in year previous to interview. Table 118

Only one household in twenty claimed to have saved money in the previous year or 2841 families estimated in the general population. However, only three percent of the households saved over four fifths (84 %) of the total. The estimated total for the population is 14,752,000 L.L.

Table 117

Total Income Per Year by French Census Districts of 1962

	Total	Percent	Poor	Illiterate of Illness	Zakah of Illness	Re-chosers	Built	Mis-farmer	Re-small	Adult-rubish	Illness re'd	Illness withheld	Non Wel-ned	Abroad Maintenance	Non-drink VD Age	Complete Economic Reports	Random Cho-hamma
Total	1702	100.00	1	30	70	83	54	66	174	264	300	300	173	60	58	50	50
1 – 1,000	111	6.62	–	4	5	8	5	4	14	25	25	25	10	1	25	1	3
1,001 – 2,000	303	19.64	–	8	17	21	7	14	22	64	70	63	21	9	21	6	12
2,001 – 3,000	334	19.64	–	10	10	14	8	16	38	71	72	66	20	10	11	6	10
3,001 – 4,000	210	11.72	–	3	6	7	8	18	27	37	41	38	15	5	2	5	5
4,001 – 5,000	123	6.88	1	1	8	5	2	5	15	14	20	12	10	2	1	9	3
5,001 – 6,000	134	7.68	–	5	5	7	7	5	15	14	27	18	14	4	–	7	4
6,001 – 7,000	56	3.12	–	1	5	1	5	2	3	9	10	4	6	1	–	–	1
7,001 – 8,000	69	3.85	–	4	1	2	3	1	7	11	14	14	9	1	–	–	2
8,001 – 9,000	35	1.95	–	4	1	2	1	–	4	3	6	5	3	1	–	1	–
9,001 – 10,000	21	2.64	–	–	3	5	–	1	5	7	12	1	3	6	–	2	2
10,001 – 11,000	19	1.06	–	1	–	–	2	–	–	3	3	7	3	2	–	–	–
11,001 – 12,000	10	2.06	–	1	1	3	–	1	4	6	5	6	7	2	–	–	1

p. 52 (a)

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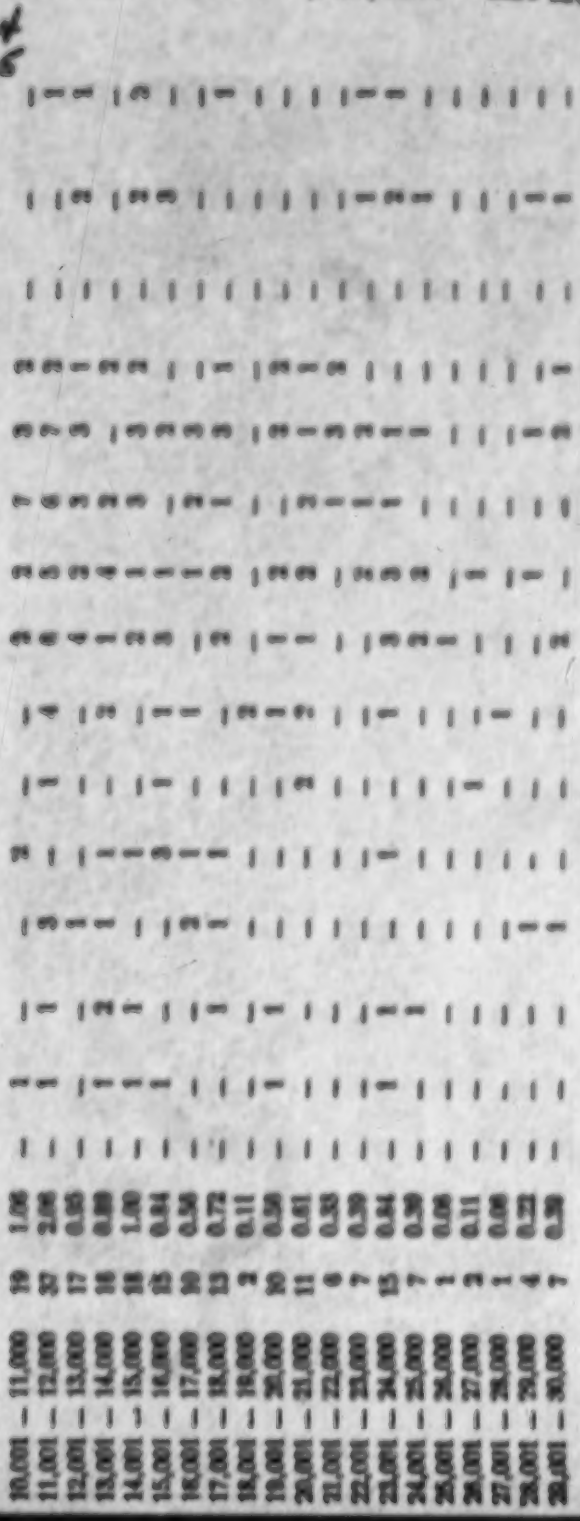

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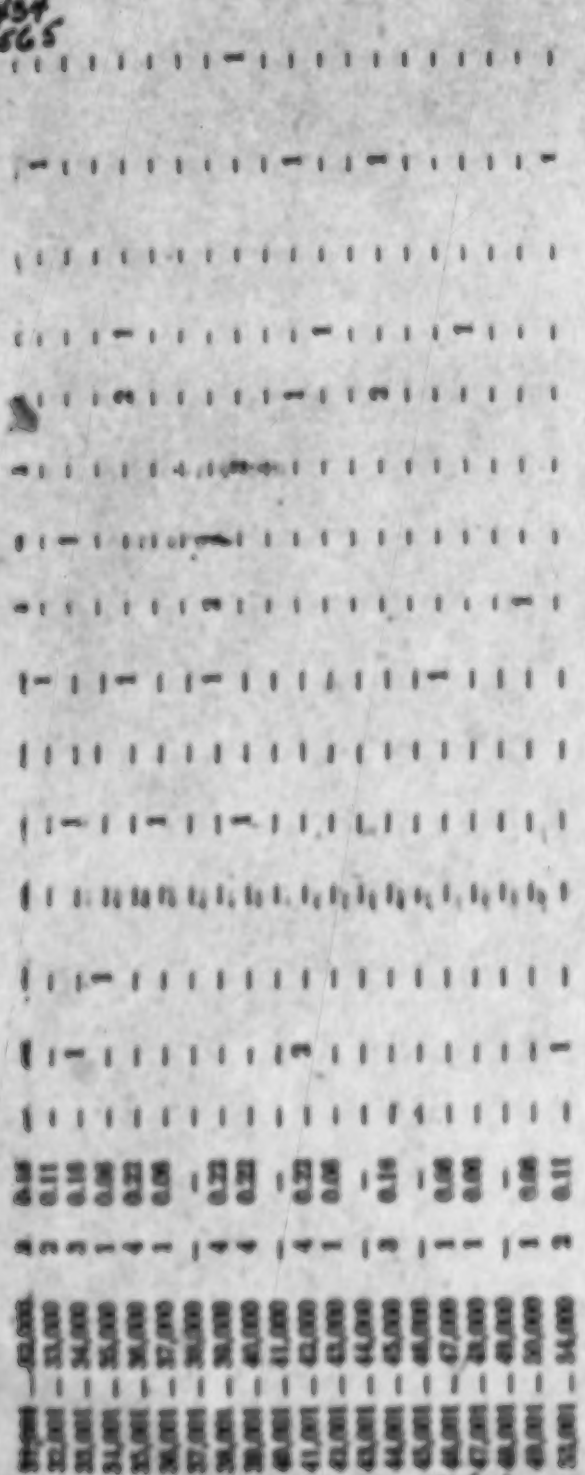
#34
565



56,001 – 57,000	1	0.06	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
57,001 – 58,000	1	0.06	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
59,001 – 60,000	5	0.28	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
66,001 – 67,000	1	0.06	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
68,001 – 69,000	1	0.06	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
72,000	1	0.06	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
84,000	1	0.06	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
88,000	1	0.06	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
89,000	1	0.06	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–
100,000	3	0.16	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
102,000	1	0.06	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
120,000	3	0.16	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
175,000	1	0.06	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
220,000	1	0.06	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
300,000	1	0.06	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
540,000	1	0.06	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = 437.82$

$v = .060$

p. 59 (a)

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 MI Middle East
LEBANON MEI
SYRIA MDI

In neither country is there an officer caste or a strong military tradition, though the present Syrian regime is trving to create one.

Social Survey

The ruling class in both countries is drawn from wealthy families; titles do not exist and the 'old' rich families, whose position and wealth come from land, mix freely with the 'new' rich families, whose money comes from commerce. There is no stigma in engaging in trade and even members of the upper class are merchants. A middle class of functionaries and employees has been growing up since 1948 in the three main cities. Their flats, between the splendour of the rich quarter and the huddle of the *suq*, are being built in quantities and their new, middle-class way of life is based on European standards. The mass of the people are artisans and labourers. The urban artisan approaches the middle class and the rural labourer approaches the hard life of the nomad; for the farm labourer the standard of living is generally low.

The Press

The press of both countries is important but no one paper or group of papers has established an ascendancy. Damascus had at one time over twenty daily papers none of which could guarantee a circulation of over 3,000. The same state of affairs holds true in Beirut where most parties issue Arabic and in some cases French papers; there are also Armenian newspapers and one English daily.

Individual Lebanese have founded papers and *Le Commerce du Levant*, published in Beirut, has a standing comparable with *La Bourse Egyptienne*. In both countries press censorship has frequently closed down a paper only for it to re-emerge under another name, and in Syria the military dictatorship has reduced the press to a mere mouthpiece of official propaganda.

Education

In both countries there are primary and secondary schools, and the number of schools and students increase each year. Primary education is compulsory, and although reliable figures of literacy are not available,[1] it may be assumed that the percentage of illiterates is decreasing in both countries, but is higher in Syria than in Lebanon. In Syria, most of the schools are run by the state and of the private schools (which are

[1] An estimate for Syria for 1947 given in UN, Dept. of Social Affairs, *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation*, 1952, was 40–50 per cent.

16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

the households are of minimum size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

Unified in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Munsif maintain a basically equalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is work of this sort which is done in the village. Those who do it live in al-Munsif, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These additional inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 58 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the stokers at each of the bakeries. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Maronites and they come to al-Munsif in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are snowbound at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Munsif and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Mitwali (Lebanese Shi'is). This group has been in al-Munsif only about 12 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.[2] The ethnic distinction in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Localism. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme localism of al-Munsif has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Munsif.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

[2] Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1951).

Zn Warriner S-S (no date) 1948 MI Middle East
Lebanon ME1
Syria MD1

the land. In 1926–31, 182 villages comprising 181,000 hectares were colonized in small properties by 6,000 families. The Government of Latakia compelled large proprietors in the region of Homs to give up their villages in the district of Masyaf in 1929; the land was distributed among the occupying peasants and sold to them at a price to be paid for in ten annual instalments. The village of Jib Ramle was also settled in 1929, in part by occupying peasants, in part by refugee Armenians.

But the French administration did not complete the settlement of these areas. In some regions the Turks settled these lands with nomad tribes, who were themselves averse to cultivation and either rented the land to Alawi villagers or continued to live themselves as nomads on the land without cultivating much of it. Consequently this land is now very sparsely settled. Round Homs there are said to be 2,000 to 4,000 hectares with only 10 per cent of the land cultivated: this is some of the most fertile and best situated land in the country, and could be developed by colonization schemes.

In several respects the French authorities have modified the Turkish system in ways which strengthen the landowners against the cultivators. One of these was the sale of the extensive *Waqf* properties to business enterprises, irrigation concessions, or landowners. Another was the abrogation of the right of ownership acquired by ten years cultivation which benefited the small cultivators in enabling them to acquire new land.

Efforts were made to start co-operative and agricultural credit banks, but these never succeeded in breaking the peasant's indebtedness. Several large-scale irrigation schemes were started, but produced more water than could be used. The educational system did not extend to the villages. Within the framework of the existing system, these reforms did little to raise the standard of the peasants. As a mandatory Power the French relied on the collaboration of the wealthy upper class, that is, on the landowners, and so could make no fundamental reforms in the land system.

POSSIBILITIES OF DEVELOPMENT

So far as dry land farming is concerned the possibilities of improvement are hampered by the dry summer, which necessitates a long period of fallow. However, it would be possible by

in the form of cheese, buttermilk and *laben*, the last a fermented product made from cow's milk. Fresh milk is rarely used, however, except in limited sections in the larger cities. In the rural districts, milk is obtained chiefly from sheep and goats, less frequently from cows. Legumes, potatoes, onions and other vegetables are widely cultivated. Green, leafy varieties are scarce in the inland districts, but wild herbs are often utilized as substitutes. Many types of fruits are abundant, especially in the coastal valleys. They form important supplementary items of diet when in season.

Much of the meat is imported from Syria or Turkey, but relatively little reaches the people outside the larger towns. The average villager seldom consumes meat more than once a week. Mutton and, secondarily, beef are used most extensively. Both are employed, in a cooked or a raw state, in *kubi*, a national dish prepared from meat and *burghul*. Goat meat is found everywhere, while pork is available in the Christian communities. Poultry and eggs are plentiful in most localities and fish in the coastal region. Olive oil and butter are the primary sources of fats.

In spite of the generally satisfactory level of nutrition, a definite decrease in the consumption of protective foods is apparent in the inland districts and in South Lebanon. In 1950, the Lebanese government appointed a Nutrition Committee to promote a better understanding of the elementary principles of nutrition among the people. The different religious customs of the Moslem and the Christian communities influence their nutritional habits and limit the application of mass educational measures.

Housing

Lebanon has a large so-called middle class, and the disparity between the living conditions of the rich and the poor is less pronounced than in most of the neighboring countries. Moreover, many families maintain financial and social contacts with

their relatives abroad. The villages are less compact than in other parts of the Near and Middle East, and separate farmsteads are common. Extremes of poverty, associated with primitive standards of sanitation, are most frequently encountered in the villages of southern Lebanon. In the cities, substandard housing is found chiefly in the old, congested quarters and in the Armenian sections.

The typical dwellings in all parts of the country are constructed of stone, cement or concrete blocks, with a surface of whitewashed or tinted plaster. The roofs are of two general types: peaked and of red tile; or flat, with a covering of cement or of mud and brush. The houses vary in size from one to several rooms, sometimes with two or more stories. The use of wood as a building material is prohibited by the fire regulations in the towns, but small wooden shacks are occasionally seen on the outskirts.

Beirut is a cosmopolitan city, a mixture of Arabic and Western culture. The older parts of the city are overcrowded, with narrow streets lined by innumerable small shops, which frequently have living rooms in the rear. Apartment houses, interspersed with detached dwellings surrounded by colorful gardens, dominate the newer developments. Architecturally, all gradations are encountered between old Arab-style houses and modern villas.

ENVIRONMENT AND SANITATION

Water Supplies

Water supplies are obtained from streams, springs and wells, and, in general, are abundant in the coastal and the mountain districts but deficient in the interior. Beirut derives its water supply from the Nahr el Kelb, or Dog River, which is fed from an underground spring in the hills about 18 miles from the city. It flows by gravity through a tunnel and open canals to Dubaiya, 9 miles distant, where it is treated by preliminary rapid filtration, slow sand

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

tristic personality traits of a large number of Arabs. A few of these statements seem to be germane to this discussion.

Tannous (1944, p. 526) lists a number of Arab cultural themes two of which, in particular, are constantly reflected in individual personalities. One of these is hospitality, and the other is the predilection for the personal touch in human relationships.

Bonne (1948, p. 255), quoting from Huvelin, characterizes the Syrians as spontaneous, impulsive, versatile, endowed with excellent memories and capacities for assimilation, but somewhat less endowed with initiative and perseverance.

Kohn (1936, p. 75) characterizes the Middle East villager as a "hard worker, cautious and suspicious, but with great natural intelligence." He also remarks on the "personal element" which, he says, coupled with "the tendency of likes and dislikes to outweigh rational and practical considerations, often leads to nepotism and to the granting of personal favors which interfere with the quality of administrative service" (*ibid.*, p. 83). He also notes quickness in comprehension, the gift of oratory, and deftness in the handling of other people (*ibid.*, pp. 83–84).

Thoumin (1936, p. 29) writes: "Neither Christianity nor Islam could ever modify the Syrian mentality, its mysticism (ascetic and voluptuous by turns), its passion for talk, and the pride of the individual in possessing a different faith from that of his neighbor" [author's translation.]

IN-GROUPS

The matter of in-groups in the culture of Munṣif is one of central importance. A large amount of material has been given on it already, more will be said in Part Two; here the situation will be summarized very briefly.

There are three criteria for the formation of in-groups—three standards, as it were, around which the passions of loyalty and identification cluster. They are kinship, locality, and religion. These three criteria have led to the formation of four units of social structure. Kinship is the basis of the family and the lineage; locality is the primary basis of the village; religion is the primary basis of al-Qurni. To some degree the village is also a religious unit, and al-Qurni is also a local unit from the point of view of all its inhabitants.

Family, lineage, village, and Qurni—for any one individual these four form a series of in-groups of ever increasing inclusiveness from his family outwards. We should ordinarily be inclined to assume that the cohesiveness and solidarity of these units would vary inversely as their size and inclusiveness. In one respect, at least, this generalization does not appear to hold true for Munṣif, for there are strong suggestions that to the average Munṣifi, the village as a whole is more meaningful as a unit than his particular minimal lineage, and this is unquestionably true as far as the maximal lineage is concerned. In this connection, it must be

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

remembered that genealogically and conceptually (the villagers' concept), Munşif is a single kinship unit.[1]

This structure of in-groups is traditional, and it appears to have maintained its vitality in the face of great culture change, to which a limited amount of local exogamy seems to be the only major concession. When, however, we turn to the other areas of behavior which are reviewed in this chapter, we find that none of them can be discussed at all without reference to the problems of acculturation.

MONEY

The villagers' need for, and great concern about, money is very clear indeed. This is entirely understandable since the expense of education and manufactured products, alone, require much of it.

Money as it is known in the Western world is very ancient in the Middle East, in fact it apparently originated there. However, before about seventy-five years ago its use in most villages was limited, since for most needs barter and mutual help in a regime of local self-sufficiency were ordinarily enough to motivate exchange of goods and services.

Money began to come in large quantities into villages like Munşif from emigrants in America. At the same time, Lebanon began to receive foreign manufactured articles which could only be obtained through payment of cash. Today, money is the only means of exchange in the village, and prices are an incessant topic of conversation among the villagers. This is, of course, due in part to the fact that the country has suffered severe inflationary trends during the past ten years, in part, according to Murray, to "a natural speculative proclivity on the part of most of the people" (1947, p. 15).

However, there are some indications that this recent emphasis on money as a thing in itself has set up disturbing conflicts in many people. For example, it is often heard that the Western powers are obviously bent upon buying the friendship of the Arabs, but that true friends cannot be bought. Such an attitude might either be a projection of attitudes and behavior prevalent among the speakers themselves, or it might be an expression of sincere and objective distaste for one of the unpleasant consequences of overemphasis on money. In any case, a conflict in values relating to money is consciously recognized.

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

"In Munşif you will find many people who live in poor houses but have much education. This is because we would rather, if we must choose, use our money for a fine education than for a fine house." This was one of the first remarks that was made to the writer about the culture of the village, and, as time went on,

[1] For additional perspectives on the structure of the village see Gulick (1953, pp. 370–71).

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SOME THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS

IN-GROUPS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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WE have seen that Munqif has preserved its integrity as a social unit at the same time that other aspects of its traditional culture have been greatly altered in the process of acculturation. Before we develop a theoretical approach to this rather striking example of persistence, we must put the village in cultural perspective. We must see it not as a single, unique group of people, but as just one example of numberless units of the same general sort which constitute an essential part of Middle East culture.

Of all these units in the Middle East the same basic fact holds true: each one is an in-group. An in-group is a well-defined unit of people which has a very high degree of esprit de corps. This esprit is maintained by the constant operation *within* the unit of behavior and values which can generally be described as altruistic. But toward persons or groups who do not belong to it, any particular in-group (or individual member thereof), entertains essentially negative attitudes which range from reserve to hateful hostility. Murdock (1949, p. 83) thinks that this characteristic out-group behavior is due to the fact that since the frustrations of daily life cannot be relieved by aggressive actions directly within the group without destroying esprit de corps, they are therefore relieved by aggressive actions *outward*, resulting in intergroup antagonisms. The writer believes that this generalization is valid—though it is not very encouraging to anyone who tries to maintain a sanguine view of "human nature."[1]

ME 571 L 571

One might expect that an in-group might be effective as such *only* if it is small, and if it is the sole focus of loyalty and identification of its members. Perhaps the in-group is *most* effective under such conditions, but, as the Middle East plainly demonstrates, they are not essential to the operation of the in-group principle. As we shall see, the average Middle Easterner belongs to not one, but to a multiplicity of in-groups.

Lest the reader gain the notion that the importance of in-groups in the Middle East is a chimera, a figment of the obsessed mind of a social structuralist, he is invited to peruse the following quotations. First, for historical perspective, it appears likely that the final victory, in the Hellenistic Period, of non-anthropo-

[1] For a lucid discussion of the types of in-group frustrations, and their possible genesis, which have been observed in another Middle East village, see Ammar (1954; especially chap. 6).

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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morphic monotheism among the Jews was in part due to their solidification as an ethnic in-group after the Babylonian exile. (Witness, for example, the statement: "Thus I cleansed them from everything foreign. . ." Nehemiah 13:30). Moving forward in date, we are told that in the Arabian centers at the time of Muhammad,

> The group-bond was stronger than the bond of citizenship, and feuds between group and group often divided a town against itself (Robertson Smith, 1885, p. 2).

And at a later period, we find that the Ottoman Empire

> was composed of a large number of groups, local, tribal, linguistic and religious. On the whole, these groups formed close communities. Each was a "world," sufficient to its members and exacting their ultimate loyalty. The worlds touched but did not mingle with each other; each looked at the rest with suspicion and even hatred. Almost all were stagnant, unchanging and limited. (Hourani, 1947, p. 22.)

ME 571 621 L 571 621

And the following brings us to the present situtiion, of which it emphasizes the regional aspect:

> And so there grew up in the Arab world as we know it: an association of peoples, who are vividly conscious of a network of traditions, interests, feelings and sympathies that unite them, but who live in communities each with its separate social, economic, and political structure, its local loyalties, its attention to particular interests.
>
> But we must not think of these communities as being Egyptian, Syrian, Iraqi, and so on, to begin with. They were primarily much smaller and more local, for example, Baghdadi and Mosuli, Damascene and Aleppin, Upper Egyptian, Middle Egyptian, Cairene, Deltaic—with a host of other regional communities and often deeply marked subdivisions as well. (Gibb, 1942b, p. 73.)

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The political aspect of the situation is stressed in the following:

> The population of almost all 26 political units (in the Middle East) is splintered into a number of minority and tribal groups many with an intense internal loyalty. It is a region of nation against nation, and within one nation, group against group, and cross-cutting nations cooperating groups with stronger loyalties to themselves than to their nation. The national rivalries are similar to those in the Balkans and Ireland. The group conflicts are similar but usually more intense than those in the United States between old Americans and immigrants, Catholics and Protestants, Gentiles and Jews, labor and management, Negroes and whites. And the groups with loyalty cross-cutting national ties are similar though less effective than world Communists. (Richardson and Batal, 1949, p. 483.)

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Fisher views the situation from an ecological point of view. He points out (1947, p. 419) that there are three basic ecological groups in the Middle East—nomads, villagers, and city dwellers. The nomads detest the settled people but depend upon them for some of their food. The villagers hate the town and city dwellers because they look upon them as extortioners; yet the city is necessary to

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the village because it provides manufactured goods, and the village supplies the city with food. Fisher concludes:

> From these three elements, closely integrated by material and cultural ties, has arisen the present complex pattern of society in the Middle East; and it is on this basis that one can postulate a unity for the region as a whole. As a tapestry or painting owes its special character to an intermingling of diverse color masses, so the Middle East can be conceived as a unity based on a number of distinctive yet related ways of life. (*Ibid.*, p. 420.)

A recent paper by Patai (1952) deals with important aspects of this same topic.

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Coon brings a functional approach to bear on the situation, to which he gives a name, the "mosaic system." His specific view is that the mosaic system is based on an ethnic division of labor:

> . . . the ideal was to emphasize not the uniformity of the citizens of a country as a whole but a uniformity within each special segment, and the greatest possible contrast between segments. The members of each ethnic unit feel the need to identify themselves by some configuration of symbols. If by virtue of their history they possess some racial peculiarity, this they will enhance by special haircuts and the like; in any case they will wear distinctive garments and behave in a distinctive fashion. Working through the bazaar you have no trouble identifying everyone you meet, once you have learned the sets of symbols. These people want to be identified. If you know who they are, you will know what to expect of them and how to deal with them, and human relations will operate smoothly in a crowded space. . . . Obviously the mosaic system is best suited for a civilization in which trades require a maximum of skill, taught from father to son, and a minimum of organizational complexity. (Coon, 1951, pp. 3, 153.)

Coon's interest is primarily in how the mosaic system is made to work in face-to-face contact situations. Such situations, when they involve members of different elements in the mosaic, are generally economic, that is, trade relationships. Economic, or subsistence, needs necessarily override temporarily in any given interaction the divisive pull of intergroup hatred and suspicion. They do, that is, if they are successful and complete transactions. Since most Middle East cities owe their very existence to the fact that they are long-standing trading centers, where members of every element in the mosaic have interacted more or less peacefully, it is clear that group enmities *can* be, and have been for a long time, overridden successfully. But they have not been obliterated; indeed, they maintain their vigor. The fact of the matter seems to be that they can be "forgotten," as it were, only on an individual basis, and temporarily, in the interest of a transitory need, of which successful trade is a prominent example.

David Aberle has come near the point at issue, viewing it as the problem of the "integration of sub-systems with diverse values, within the total social system" (1950, p. 496). In this connection, he points to the coexistence of Catholics,

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME: Lebanon ME:

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Protestants, and Jews in the United States, and says that toleration depends in part on the special practices of each not being actual abominations in the eyes of the others (*ibid.*, p. 497). In other words, disparate values cannot be *too* disparate, if the groups are to interact at all. The individual's religious role, per se, must not exclude him from full participation in other nonreligious role systems (*ibid.*, p. 498). Applied to the Middle East, we may paraphrase Abegglen in terms of Coser's analysis, by saying that the diverse sect affiliations of Middle Easterners do not prevent them from interacting successfully with each other in the nonreligious role system of the marketplace.

However, the phenomenon of intense in-group cohesions and out-group hostilities remains as one of paramount importance. We must still deal with a system in which a large number of individuals apparently approach their social relationships with an attitude which can be summed up by the following Lebanese village axiom: "I am against my brother; my brother and I are against my cousin; my cousin, my brother, and I are against the stranger" (Tannous, 1943b, p. 332).

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Prothro and Melikian, psychologists on the faculty of the American University of Beirut, have recently reported on a social distance test which they administered to one hundred and thirty students in the University. In the test, social distance was put in terms of attitudes toward sect and national groups, primarily. Their general conclusion is that social distances between groups are greater than in the United States, "but they reflect, a general reserve toward out-groups rather than an elaborate classificatory system" (Prothro and Melikian, 1952, pp. 10–11).

But if we are to analyze the in-group system of the Middle East, a classificatory device is precisely what we must have. For, with a multiplicity of loyalties and suspicions impinging upon the emotions of every average individual, there is excellent reason to inquire why (1) anarchy does not prevail in the Middle East, and (2) why the average individual is not torn by irreconcilable conflicts. The answer to the first question is that anarchy very frequently *does* prevail in the Middle East or large sections of it. To answer the second question and to explain why anarchy does not *always* prevail in every part of the Middle East, we must put the mosaic, or in-group, system into a more theoretical frame of reference than we have done so far.

THE CONCEPT OF SPHERES IN THE MIDDLE EAST

ME 184 671 621

The following theoretical analysis of the complex social structure of the Middle East is based, in part, on the theory of "balanced antagonisms," and the associated theory of "group segmentation," which Evans-Pritchard developed in his study of the Nuer (1940).

Evans-Pritchard describes the overall social structure of the Sudanese Nuer society (a distinct cultural entity whose relations with its immediate neighbors are typically hostile) as an "acephalous kinship state" (1940, p. 181). The society is

7: Gulick E-5 (1954) 1955 ME: Lebanon ME:

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2. Probably more significant, however, is the fact that the lack of preference for lineage endogamy is but one point of evidence for the general tendency in the village toward de-emphasis of the individual minimal lineages as formal institutions. The other points of evidence on this matter are: (a) a minimum of lineage ward's (communal) landholdings; (b) clique-groups cross-cutting lineage lines; (c) rarity, and perhaps absence, of lineage feuds; (d) lack of apparent interest in lineage names; (e) marriage prohibition crosses lineage lines in Sphere 1; (f) emphasis on bilateral connections in Sphere 1.

This de-emphasis of individual minimal lineages does not indicate that there is a weakness in the adherence of the Mountain to lineage (Sphere 2) values. Rather, it is a consequence of the fact that these values have been applied to the Core Group (i.e. the village) as a whole, and that this unit is, for the most part, a relatively stronger focus of identification than individual lineages are.

We have seen that structurally (whether by reason of actual development or of folk-unified conceptualization) the village is a single super-lineage, and that behavior in regard to it conforms to this structural status, even in small details. (1) It is ideally, and still, for the most part, actually, endogamous. (2) When exogamous marriages do occur, outsider husbands are referred to by the term essentially reserved for a man who takes a wife from ego's lineage. (3) Individuals who are uncertain of all the maximal and minimal lineage affiliations are very certain of the over-all common descent. (4) Feuds are not only rare (as they must be within a lineage), but the villagers are proud of the fact. In terms of the concept of spheres, Mazraʿ as a whole can be looked upon as an expanded segment of Sphere 2 (Lineage).

STABILITY AND CHANGE: CONCLUSION

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During the course of this work, we have seen that acculturation has wrought severely disruptive changes in the village economy and significant changes in "material culture." In addition, it has created disconcerting conflicts in certain values, conflicts which remain unresolved. Yet it has had very little effect on the values and behavior associated with the community itself as an institution and as an in-group.

In seeking an explanation of this phenomenon of cultural persistence we have not chosen simply to dismiss it as an example of the "negative response" (Hallowell, 1945, p. 180) which is frequently encountered in culture contact situations. Rather, starting with the assumption that no particular cultural trait as such necessarily shows a peculiar resistance to change (Ogburn, 1950, p. 136), we have proceeded to the assumption that pre-existing *configurations* of traits may indeed prove to be barriers to change (Herskovits, 1945, p. 154).

We have presented a conceptual scheme of the basic social structure of the Middle East, an elaborate structure of in-groups within in-groups. This is a one-

T: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 ME: Lebanon ME:

figuration of very far-reaching significance. We have found that while for the area as a whole, certain disruptions in these patterns have occurred and more are threatening, they have remained remarkably vigorous in Munjid. Why?

We can now, at last, propose an answer to this question: In-group values and behavior in Munjid have remained fruitful and alive because the village itself represents not just one of the structural spheres of the Middle East, but three of them, interlocking, and mutually supporting. In Munjid, Spheres 2 (Lineage) and 3 (Local Group) are coterminous, and these two are virtually coterminous with Sphere 1 (Sect). Each one of these spheres involves some of the most deep-rooted and cherished values of Arab culture. The integration of three of these creates a cultural configuration which is highly resistant to change.

Such a structure cannot easily be undermined by direct attack. The increasing trend of village emigrants, for example—a violation of a well-established rule—does not seem to be associated with any devaluation of the village as an in-group, and so this behavior *in itself* is not, or has not so far been, a direct threat to the integrity of the village. However, if a new generation developed under urban acculturative influences, in which a large number of individuals were cut off from the effective ties and the values of the village and also prevented from developing new ties and values—if, in other words, a large number of village members developed anomic personalities—then the integrity of the village would very definitely be weakened because the values which now give, and always have given, cohesion to its structure, would have ceased to be effective.

* * * * * * *

Knowledge is gained by asking questions and then seeking the answers to them. We began with a question. We have concluded with an answer; but this is an answer which is satisfied partial in itself, nor is it complete, for it leads to a further question which we cannot answer here, but with which it is fitting that this work be ended.

In Hourani's words (1946, p. 59), how will it be possible for the villagers "by preserving or modifying the old and accepting what is new, once more to form a unified world of thought and life which they can call their own?"

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[Munsif]

of the Wimmers and the Mawali as groups. The Wimmers are transhumants, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thomsen, 1914, pp. 134-35). According to Core Group informants, they, or other Maronites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily in their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. However, the Core Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The flocks furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk; some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mawali are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mawali as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a prearranged sum to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this sum is agreed upon with a view to the Core Group members' getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mawali, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the industries or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or housekeepers. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of superiority-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degrees of numerical superiority and local establishment which obtain in the particular area. In other words, as has been suggested above, Mawali is simply one localized example of the operation of Cooley's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way colored by group avoidance or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in *all* social relationships in the village is equalitarian, conditioned, to be sure, with the various barriers which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of *itinerants*: (1) Tinkers and scissors grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the bedlam of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright; others seek, perhaps discreetly, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawar (Gypsies). One group of them was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular head-dress, their faces tattooed, marching up the road with

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

fessions, although they flourish in urban centers, have either had a direct rural upbringing or are but one generation removed from it.

II

Nearly all farmers of Lebanon live in villages, not on isolated farmsteads. This is the prevailing pattern of the Middle East and of most the Old World. In some parts of Europe and in most of the United States farmers live in relative isolation, each on his own land. These two different patterns have contributed to marked differences in the way of life among farming folk.

The typical Lebanese farming settlement consists, in the first place, of the village proper. This is a conglomeration of dwellings concentrated in a relatively small area. The houses, ranging in number from about 100 to 500, stand close to one another. Sometimes there is room between them for small gardens or orchards. Usually the center of this nucleated structure is the church or the mosque. In the adjoining open space, the *sahe*, the people assemble to celebrate, exchange news, or hold a market. Dwellings stretch from this center in various directions. Usually, sections of the village are differentiated along kinship-group lines. Another important center is the well, or spring, in the village proper or just outside it. Agricultural land, consisting mainly of orchards, vineyards, and open fields, extends in all directions from the central group of dwellings. During the greater part of the year, the farmers and their animals take a daily trip, going to the fields early in the morning and returning to the village at sunset.

The outstanding feature of this type of close settlement is that it provides the individual with a situation that is highly socializing. People know one another intimately. In many important situations they act as a group, yet leave room for individual initiative. A genuine feeling of neighborliness, or *jiwar*, prevails. The Arabic term is significant, properly meaning "help" or "cooperation." A child growing up in such a milieu must learn from his early days how to rub elbows with people and get along with them. He must develop the art of adjustment not only to his age group but also to his elders and those younger than himself.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

There is a definite difference between marrying an Orthodox outsider and an outsider of different religion. The saying is: *Al-mar'a tikbi' sawjha* "The woman follows her husband." This means that in the case of mixed-religion marriages, the children will be raised in the religion of the father, a custom which is a major deterrent to such marriages. Such cases in Munşif constitute a minority of the outsider-marriages. They are all very recent. The first (which for a long time was the only one) occurred about 1914 when one of the village girls married a Maronite wage-laborer who was living in the village. He settled permanently, and one of the third class affiliate families was thus established. In general, the reaction to the marriage of village girls to men of other religions seemed somewhat sad but passively resigned.

However, on one point in relation to mixed marriages village opinion is very strong. If a village man wished to marry a girl of another religion (necessarily also of another village), it is assumed that the children would take the religion of the father. Suppose, however, that the girl's parents refused to agree to this? In such a case, village opinion is that the man should give up any idea of the marriage. If, however, he insisted on acquiescing to the girl's parents' demand, he would be strongly condemned and very likely ostracized, at least for a time. Such an action would be a violation of religious and community mores as well as of those relating to the proper relationship between man and wife. And it is certainly true that if a number of men should adopt this practice, the religious structure of the village would be seriously undermined.

CLIQUES

The existence of cliques in Munşif has been mentioned before, but it has also been mentioned that data on them is wholly inadequate. This much can be said: There are two clear-cut groups of close and constant companions, and during the course of the study, various members of each group made unflattering remarks about members of the other. It is possible that the whole village is split into factions with the two groups as nuclei, but only some inconclusive suggestions of this were encountered. Others who have had experience with Middle East villages generally agree that this type of faction-split is frequently encountered. (cf. Gibb & Bowen, 1950, p. 268). It is important to note that the members of each of the two groups do not belong to any one minimal lineage or maximal lineage.

SOCIAL CLASS

In Munşif there is not now, and apparently never has been, a particular family which owns a large proportion of the village, on whose land other villagers work as tenants. In some parts of the Middle East, this type of organization results in a rather clear two-class system.

In Munşif, as in many other Lebanese villages, the social structure is equali-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

361 of each other, along the flank of a crest which descends noticeably in the direction
487 of the sea whose far horizon rises high in the western sky.

Shaykhan seems deserted as we drive through it, and then go down into Munṣif.
361 At first, olive terraces rise above us on the right and fall away below us on the
609 left, but almost immediately they are replaced by houses. We stop in what appears to be the middle of the village, where an old car is parked and human activity is apparent. In the next half minute or so, a group of small barefooted boys, dressed in shorts, gathers, and they eye us intently as they talk among themselves in low tones. Across the road, an old man in a long striped gown leans on a heavy cane. While he stands looking at us, he is joined by a young man in a sport shirt and neatly pressed European-style trousers. Other figures appear, but no one moves, and everyone keeps his distance. Two women walk close by the car, peering into it as best they can without upsetting the large wicker trays which they carry on their heads. They do not stop, however, and disappear into a windowless building nearby. The loud chatter which has been coming from this building dies down suddenly to a murmur, and more people appear. Their faces seem expressionless except that they manage to convey a feeling of withdrawn, yet unabashed, curiosity. No one steps forward.

As we get out of our car, someone picks up a stone and hurls it at a large dog which has been barking savagely at us. It runs off, yelping. We approach the young man in European clothes and address him haltingly in Arabic, asking the whereabouts of one whose name we have been given. Almost before he has finished his reply, spoken in good English, the one we seek himself appears. We introduce ourselves, and he leads us to his house, elaborately inquiring after our
[574] health. Seated under his roof, we are offered cigarettes and small candies, soon his wife brings us coffee, and we experience for the first time the warm hospitality for which the people of Munṣif are famous.

We have arrived and can begin our study.

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585 members of the groom's party sat down on chairs on the right wing of the *maq'ad*. The rest of the *maq'ad* was occupied mostly by women and children from the bride's village. The bride was soon hustled off behind the cabinets, and she did not reappear for about half an hour, at which time the ceremony began.

After some shifting around, the central section of the *maq'ad* was occupied by, among others, the best man (*shbiin*), the groom, the Munşif priest, and the elderly priest of the other village, who is now largely inactive except for special occasions.

The waiting people seemed to divide themselves into three groups. One was gathered around the bride, the second at the *maq'ad*, the third (rather formless) moved in and out from the porch and stood around talking in the part of the house near the entrance. Occasional shots and fire-crackers were heard from outside.

[535] The *darbakky* was passed around from hand to hand several times, and perhaps six women did solo dances in the center of the *maq'ad*. A handkerchief in each hand, the woman either holds them aloft, twirling them, or waves them together as she dances. In most cases, there was little body motion, and the step simply carried the woman around in slow circles, but in one case—a woman who had to be persuaded to dance—some movement of the pelvis was apparent. Usually, the faces of the performers were rather expressionless, and the women, mostly young, but one or two middle-aged, seemed to be dancing merely as an expected part of the proceedings.

[533] While this was going on, there were repeated cries, especially by older women, to the group in general, of *ii-jay al-'ariis wal-'aruus*, followed by a shrill and very rapid "lu-lu-lu-lu-lu," with hand held to mouth. A third type of cry arose repeatedly from groups of men. They would sing some praise of the bride and groom and end it with a long-held high note, hands raised high, one finger pointing upwards. This was done at the greeting outside the house.

The solo dances did not follow immediately upon one another, and the intervals were marked by little or no activity in the *maq'ad*, people either sitting quietly or talking with each other, some changing places, others coming in. One

● [574] feature in general of social gatherings is sitting rather quietly in a circle—no pressure, apparently, to babble if one does not feel like it. Small glasses of *'araq* and wine, with small candies and sugared almonds, were passed around at one point.

Finally, a round wooden table was placed in the center of the *maq'ad*, and a white cloth was put over it. The two priests stood at one side together, with a lay assistant (a nephew of the bride although her contemporary in age). The bride, dressed in white with veil, was escorted to the table, her arm held by her *shbiini* (maid of honor). Her eyes were downcast, her arms folded across her stomach, and she stood in this pose throughout the entire ceremony. The groom stood beside her, and the *shbiin* was to his right—bride and groom flanked by *shbiin* and

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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For the most part, the adolescent and young adult Munṣifiin seem to be committed to the rejection of the more obvious concomitants of their peasant background, and their de-emphasis on the *dabki* is probably an aspect of this. Rather than the *dabki*, it is the samba, rumba, and tango which please the young people most. In this respect, Munṣif is by no means an isolated case. Spanish and South American rhythms are immensely popular among the Lebanese. That well-known tune, "La Compecita," was a popular classic in Lebanon in 1943, and it remains so today. The appeal appears to be more rhythmical than melodic, and of course Spanish music has for a long time been influenced by Arab modes.

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THE HOME

Hospitality is a virtue which the Arabs value very highly, in part because it implies generosity, another trait which is explicitly valued. At whatever time a guest may arrive at a house, a cup of coffee is made specially for him; and if the occasion requires it, he is invited to dine and even to spend the night. All this is, as often as not, done without any prior notice at all.

The principle of hospitality applies among the villagers in their daily lives, although ordinarily it involves no further effort than making coffee. In the absence

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

of a coffee house, the bulk of evening sociability takes place in private houses. There are several rather fixed groups of friends in the village who constantly interact with each other.

These evening gatherings may involve mostly gossip or small talk, but more often conversation is in addition to games. In one circle the most popular game is bridge, played according to Culbertson rules. Some years ago someone returned from America with the book. "Before that we had our own rules." The play is fast and shrewd and also rather noisy. American technical terms such as "pass" and "no trump" are intermingled with Arabic numbers and suit-names. No money is ordinarily bet on these games. Pinochle is another popular card game, and there are many others.

Board-games are traditional in the area, and the most popular are backgammon (*tawli*) of which there are three versions, *dawma* (essentially the same as checkers but with elaborations), and chess (*shitranj*) which seems to be played less than the others because the games are so slow.

Word-games are very popular also, and very frequently writing is an essential element in them. For example, someone will write a dozen or so letters in their unconnected forms in a row. The others are then asked to make sense out of what appears to be meaningless. The principles involved in such games are optical tricks (e.g., the series of unconnected letters—somewhat analogous to a row of unconnected script letters in English), puns, and obscure grammatical technicalities.

Of more interest and, sometimes, more emotional involvement, are poetry games such as the one called *qafa*. In this, contestant A recites a stanza or so of Classical Arabic poetry. Contestant B must then respond with a stanza which begins with the same letter that the first one ended with. A must then recite lines which begin with the last letter of B's. And so it goes until one of the contestants either repeats something which has been given before or cannot think of anything. Impromptu verses, provided they scan and rhyme properly, are legitimate. The writer once heard this game played at a rapid rate of speed for half an hour without a break.

In these small gatherings of close friends the two sexes intermingle freely and equally.

NIGHT LIFE IN THE CITY

Those villagers who live and work away from Munṣif in the winter maintain very close contact with each other. For example, in Ras Beirut, the fast-growing western section of the city where the American University is located, there is a tight little group of six or seven nuclear families, all headed by young adults, who, it was said, visit together as a group almost nightly. Each takes its regular turn playing host to the others. One member said he thought that their separation from the village brought them closer together than they would be otherwise. The group is known as "little Munṣif" to outside acquaintances, and it appears to have estab-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

lished no identification with its urban surroundings nor to have established any strong ties with non-Munṣifiin. These people are, of course, by no means cut off from the village. People come and go from the village constantly for brief visits. The evening gatherings of this group are similar in form to those in the village proper.

GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS

The majority of men and women smoke cigarettes, and the rate of consumption appears to be high. European briar pipes are not smoked at all, but the old-fashioned water pipe is still enjoyed both by men and women.

It has been mentioned before that foreign influence has been particularly strong in the field of communication. Communication and means of entertainment overlap in such things as radio, the movies, books, magazines, and newspapers. Owing to its lack of electricity, Munṣif has only three battery-run radios, and this instrument is not particularly important in the village as a means of entertainment. The available programs are limited in scope, consisting mostly of news and "disk-jockey" broadcasts. From his limited observation, the writer was impressed with the esthetic appeal of the spoken word (radio broadcasts are in Classical Arabic) to the listeners.

Cities like Beirut are over-equipped, if anything, with movie houses which show Egyptian, European, and American pictures indiscriminately. There is no question but that they provide welcome diversion and enlarge the villagers' horizons, although the American movies have spread some very erroneous impressions of life in America. To some degree there is a cult of movie-star worship, but this is far less pronounced than it is in America, and it appears to be limited to the leading lights of the Egyptian screen.

Illustrated weeklies and paper-bound novels are very numerous and widely distributed. Their format seems crude to eyes which are accustomed to slick periodicals. The novels, for example, tend to have garish illustrated covers which are reminiscent of "pulps." However, this impression is deceptive, for most appear to be serious works by Arab authors or translations of Western best-sellers and classics. For example, Wilder's *The Bridge of San Luis Rey* and Maugham's *Of Human Bondage* were two which were being read in the village. In addition, there is in Munṣif some distribution of imported American paperbacks. No generalizations can be made here about the effect of this literature on the villagers. It can be said, however, that it seemed clear that Classical Arabic, spoken, retains a great deal of affective force which transcends the actual content of what is being said or recited. Western literature, on the other hand, is read merely out of intellectual curiosity or for sheer diversion, but it carries no emotional or esthetic charge.

434 It is evident that in all the villages the great majority of the breadwinners must depend on sources of income other than their own fields. Therefore, younger members of the family seek income outside of the village, while the farmer himself must work part-time for one of the larger landlords or the oil company, hold a government job, get money from abroad, or subsist on a very low level.

Physical Description of Project Villages

342 365 It is not possible to describe with statistical accuracy the «average village home» in the project area. A very general description must suffice until more detailed information is available. Homes are usually one-story stone structures of one or two rooms. They do not have electricity or running water. Usually the animals are accomodated in a stable connected to the house, or in a room in the house itself.

364 514 744 515 The villagers do not seem to be concerned with keeping their surroundings sanitary. In none of the villages is there any attempt to collect and properly dispose of garbage. The uniform practice is to «throw it in the fields». There are few toilets. Stone walls and fields close to town attest to means commonly used for sewage disposal. To serve the 5,645 people in the project area there are 82 pit privies. There are no tubs or showers. Homes have no screens and flies are free to contaminate food and mosquitoes to torment and transmit disease.

515 60% 574 Homes are nearly always neat and clean and the people attempt to clothe themselves decently with well-scrubbed garments. Though extremely poor, the village family is very hospitable and insists on sharing with a guest its meager supply of cigarettes or treasured coffee and sugar.

361 In the five project villages there are 1,100 buildings. This number includes 912 dwelling units, 34 business establishments, 143 separate barns and 11 public buildings. A detailed break-down of the types of buildings by village is shown in Table VIII. Included in the category of public buildings are seven mosques. Sarafand and En-Nsariyah have two mosques each, while in each

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

872 Since 1946, public school students have had the option of taking French or English (*ibid.*, p. 426), and in Munṣif English is the universal choice.

The national school follows more or less the same pattern, at the same and also more advanced levels, but of course the master is free to choose his own texts and to present his courses as he chooses. The one in Munṣif is very much concerned with having up-to-date books (American and English), and holds his pupils and students up to strict hygienic standards. The school has a modern toilet, and the drinking water is filtered.

THE "SPORT CLUB"

575 The building which houses the government school is also the center of the 345 Sport Club which was founded by the young people of the village about 1950.

[524] The building has a large central room in which there is a stage and four or five tables for playing cards and other games. There are four side-rooms, one of which has a shelf of books and pamphlets and is the headquarters of the club. The other three are schoolrooms, equipped with small wooden desks for the students and blackboards. The large room is used as an everyday meeting place for the [524] adolescents and young adults. It is also used for the annual play. So far, it appears that though the club itself is new, it has focused already existing activities, such as the plays and volleyball games, but has not initiated any new kinds of activity. It is active as a unit only in the summer when there are many older students and young adults in the village on vacation, and if causes may be adduced, it can be said that the primary cause of the club's coming into existence is the need of idle vacationers to organize their activities. There was no need for this before the beginning of the recent changes in the culture.

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

632 The village government consists of a mayor (*mukhtar*) and a four-man 623 council of elders (*'aḍaa' ekhtyariyyeh*). All five men serve concurrently for a term of four years. They are elected by the men of the village who have attained the age of twenty-one. The present mayor (C,XXI) has held the office for about twelve years. The tenure of his predecessor (B,XII), who was his father-in-law, extended back to about 1900.

[631] The present municipal statutes of Lebanon define three types of community. Beirut is in a class by itself. There follow one hundred and twenty "incorporated" towns. The remainder, about 1380, of which Munṣif is one, are classed as "unincorporated" villages. The unincorporated villages are governed according to the *Loi des Mukhtars* of 1928 (Ritsher, 1932, p. 1). Before 1928, the unincorporated villages were governed under the provisions of the Ottoman Vilayet Law of 1864 which, at the local level, was originally a formalization of the traditional pattern of government by a council of heads of households, one of whom was chosen as *shaykh*.

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SECULAR RECREATION

IT should not be necessary to read very deeply between the lines of the two previous chapters in order to understand that there is much of what Americans would call "recreational behavior" which is tightly integrated with economic and religious behavior. Stores and bakeries are foci of social interaction. Rites of passage and other rituals are occasions for parties and celebrations. 517

The purpose of the present chapter is to describe what might be classified as "recreation for its own sake," behavior which is certainly recreational but does not appear to be closely integrated with any of the other cultural categories which have been discussed.

THE CLUB

The "Sport Club" of Munṣif is a new institution which appears to have been started for the sole purpose of organizing the leisure activities of adolescents and young adults. If it has any other purpose, such as political activity, no hint whatever was given of it. 575

PLAYS

We have seen that the club's headquarters is regularly used as an everyday gathering place. It is also used for giving the annual village play in August. The village play antedates the club by many years, but the club seems to have taken over the greater part of the responsibility in putting it on. It is not clear exactly when the play was introduced into the village. Middle-aged adults seem always to have remembered it, but though traditional Arab culture has something resembling plays—actually narrative poetry recited by several individuals—the observed phenomenon in the village seems clearly to be part of the recent acculturative process. 536 545

Perhaps the account of the introduction of plays into Bishmizzîin early in the twentieth century gives some idea of what happened in Munṣif. Tannous says that the play was introduced into Bishmizzîin through the inspiration of returned emigrants, contact with city customs, and the encouragement of mission-school teachers. After a couple of years, girls started taking part, though over the strong objections of some elders. The play soon became a village festival with guests invited from other villages, the whole community taking part in one way or another. The plays were all in Classical Arabic, the plots all taken from Western novels or plays, or derived from Arabic historical events (Tannous, 1943, pp. 341–42).

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536 Presumably the development in Munşif was similar. The plays are given on
545 the stage in the government school, which is equipped with footlights (candles with reflectors) and a painted backdrop (European forest scene). Arab themes have been used extensively, but *Hamlet* has been presented several times. (One young adult said he thought it was not a good play to give because the lion's share went to only one actor. It was better, he thought, to give a play in which six or seven, at least, took an equal part.) At the time of the writer's final departure from the village, the question of what play to give was being vigorously debated at all age levels. There appeared to be two opposing schools of thought, and tempers were running high in some cases.

COMPETITIVE SPORTS

526 Competitive games such as weight-lifting and javelin throwing have always been popular among the Arabs, but team athletics are something new, introduced by the American mission schools.

In Munşif, volleyball is *the* game, and it appears to date, like the plays, from early in the twentieth century. At present, the village has three teams, ranked in order of the collective skill of their respective players. Most of the games are "intramural," within the village, but a regular series is played with the teams of other villages in the Qurni. In 1951, the first team played a team from Bruumaana, [575] a large resort town above Beirut. The club appears to take a major role in organizing the teams and arranging games. The girls have their own team.

The following quotation, introduced here for comparative purposes, is taken from a chapter in Dodd (1940) which is credited to Afif Tannous, and probably the village mentioned in it is Bishmizziin.

> A few years ago, a group of us started the game of volleyball in our village in Northern Lebanon. The game was new, and the villagers were at first lukewarm about it. However, it did not take long before the enthusiasm for the game began to touch one individual after another and lead him to request the privilege of participating. Even old farmers, who would not hear of the idea at first, began to feel proud of having their boys belong to the village team. . . . The following summer, the girls of the village caught the spirit and organized their own teams. From our village the idea spread to several neighboring villages and in these volleyball teams were also organized. The next step that naturally followed was the interchange of volleyball matches among these different teams. Each week a match would be arranged for in a different village during which time hundreds of villagers would come from neighboring villages to attend the match. Volleyball became the game for the district, supplying the villages with an excellent opportunity for recreation. (Dodd, 1940, pp. 638–39.)

DANCING

535 Although no one put it into so many words, the impression was given that such traditional dances as the *dabki* are looked upon at best with sentimental attach-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

ment by most of the middle-aged people and with unfeigned derision by many, though not all, younger people. One middle-aged woman said that of course everyone knew how to do the *dabki*, and that "it is done sometimes, and at weddings." "But," she said, "it is better when everyone does it dressed in *thiwaal* and *agal* and *kuffiyyah*." The only interpretation which the writer can give to this remark is that the *dabki* is associated with the old days which are no more. There is some evidence that the dance is done far less now in general than it used to be. An acquaintance of the writer's in Beirut, an American of Lebanese ancestry, said that for two years he had looked around unsuccessfully for a performance of it in Beirut. On at least one occasion his inquiries were met with the scornful remark: "Oh, the *dabki* is just for peasants in the mountains."

For the most part, the adolescent and young adult Munsifiin seem to be committed to the rejection of the more obvious concomitants of their peasant background, and their de-emphasis on the *dabki* is probably an aspect of this. Rather than the *dabki*, it is the samba, rumba, and tango which please the young people most. In this respect, Munsif is by no means an isolated case. Spanish and South American rhythms are immensely popular among the Lebanese. That well-known tune, "La Compecita," was a popular classic in Lebanon in 1943, and it remains so today. The appeal appears to be more rhythmical than melodic, and of course Spanish music has for a long time been influenced by Arab modes.

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Hospitality is a virtue which the Arabs value very highly, in part because it implies generosity, another trait which is explicitly valued. At whatever time a guest may arrive at a house, a cup of coffee is made specially for him; and if the occasion requires it, he is invited to dine and even to spend the night. All this is, as often as not, done without any prior notice at all.

The principle of hospitality applies among the villagers in their daily lives, although ordinarily it involves no further effort than making coffee. In the absence

621 it the beginning of a movement that may be
794 termed "progressive." On the other hand, one can see the dangers it implied for village solidarity.

621 A third significant point to observe is that a new
578 type of conflict arose in the village, as a result of the school incident. It was conflict between two new groups—those who wanted to have a Protestant school in the village and those who opposed the idea. It was a division that cut across the family and church groups. It was also conflict between a traditional value and a new one—between the need for the preservation of church integrity and the need for education. All of this tended to shake the village organization; all of it demanded new adjustments on the part of the people.

III

871 After the first Mission teacher left the village,
199 his students, and the village people in general, were
191 set afire by the desire for further education
621 Other mission teachers came to the village and gave additional impetus to that desire. At the same time the first emigrants began to return to the village and tell the people about the wonders of education in that "marvellous country of America." English was the language through which they could attain some status with the American people and reap some of the gold in that country. They wanted their children to learn English and get an American type of education. The Syrian Protestant College at Beirut was beginning to flourish, and the road was now open for a village boy to become a doctor or a college teacher. All of this meant more cash income, and cash was becoming more and more the significant symbol of comfort and new forms of prestige. Village boys and girls began to come back from Tripoli with American high school certificates in their hands. They were "fully" educated and they could share in the establishment and running of an independent village school.

871 All of these factors combined to bring about the
621 fruition of the village school idea. In 1904, under
875 the leadership of the Mission's early students and some influential emigrants who had returned to the village, a fully representative society, the first in the history of the village, was formed and given the name of "Raja-ei-Watan"—the hope of the country—the country here meaning nothing more than the village. The sole aim of the society was to establish and run a school for the whole village community.

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44-Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945–1946)1949 MI Middle East
Lebanon MEI

architectural training. Entrance is by a competitive examination based on the second *baccalauréat*. The preparatory year is for students who do not pass the examination or for holders of the first *baccalauréat*. Its program is identical with the *classe de mathématique* with the addition of drawing and design. In 1945–46 the architectural course consisted of only three years; the fourth year had not yet been started.

The course in music is divided into three stages: a first stage of three years, a middle stage of four years, and a final stage of two years consisting largely of repertoire selections. Every student must study at least one instrument. Instruction is given in piano, violin, cello, flute, clarinet, oboe, brass, and voice. All students take courses in theory of solfeggio, theory of music, harmony, counterpoint, composition, and instrumentation. The Academy has a choir composed of some of its men and women students and of girls from the National School. An amateur orchestra is made up of the Academy students, and for major performances some professional musicians are hired. The Academy has given programs in choral and instrumental music, including Beethoven's *Missa Solemnis*, Haydn's *The Creation*, Bach's *Christmas Oratorio*, Mendelssohn's *Elijah*, and Handel's *Messiah*, all under the direction of the president of the Academy.

The art section has no definite length of time for study. It gives instruction in painting, water colors, wood engraving, photography, and sculpture, together with theoretical studies in anatomy, shading, and history of art (the last named in conjunction with the School of Architecture).

In 1945–46 the Academy had 43 students in architecture, 150 in music, and 30 in art. It was staffed by about forty-five teachers, most of whom were part time. Fees were £L120 ($54.50) for art students, £L140 ($63.50) for music, and £L440 ($200) for architecture. Gifted poor students are exempted from payment of fees, as are students studying the rare musical instruments such as the oboe. The Lebanese government in 1945–46 granted £L8,000 ($3,636) toward the support of the Academy.

The movement for the foundation of private schools controlled by boards and societies seems to be spreading in Lebanon. For example, the League of Lebanese Women, which is perhaps the foremost association of women in Lebanon, established a progressive kindergarten in Beirut which quickly attained popularity. The Commission, however, was unable to visit it. In the summer of 1946 plans were being laid for the foundation of two boys schools of secondary level in the two well-known Lebanese villages of Suq al-Gharb and Shuwayr on premises formerly occupied by American and Scotch mission schools. The movement was led by graduates of the Ameri-

1. The Lebanese Academy of Fine Arts. - Analyst

vention of tuberculosis, assists in the hospitalization of needy cases and subsidizes a sanatorium at Dahr el Baidek. The Armenian Charitable Society furnishes treatment facilities for the care of Armenian patients. The Young Women's Moslem Association was established for the promotion of education among Moslem women, and since 1948 it has maintained a training school for nurses in Beirut. The Mouassat Society, an organization of Moslem women interested in infant welfare work, finances a small maternity hospital in Beirut.

The medical schools of the American University of Beirut and the Université Saint-Joseph have affiliated medical care and preventive services. The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in America supports a medical mission in Tripoli. The Near East Foundation directed a general health and rural improvement program in the Anjar villages in the Bekaa valley from 1944 to 1951, when it retired from Lebanon. It also instituted an extensive malaria control project in the Anjar and the Aramik swamp areas. The Kevorkian Corporation, in America, contributed substantially to the work of the Foundation in the Armenian villages, and provides for the maintenance of child welfare centers in Anjar and Beirut.

The Lebanese Public Health Association is prominent among the professional societies. It is concerned with the promotion of public health in Lebanon and with the dissemination of educational materials. The Lebanese Medical Association is likewise active, and publishes a journal for its membership.

Two industries maintain medical facilities for the benefit of their employees—the Iraq Petroleum Company, at Tripoli, and the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company, at Beirut and Sidon. The Iraq Petroleum Company also subsidizes a medical insurance scheme for the families of its employees. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees carries on public health programs in the various camps

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553 The term *ma'allim* (teacher) is applied to the schoolteachers, usually immediately followed by the individual's name, whether in reference or in address. It was observed, however, that the title was often omitted in cases where the teacher was being addressed by an older man.

554 These titles symbolize the respect which is due certain statuses, and the criteria for respect are varied authority and learning. The only other point which needs to be made about them is the fact that they are extended to the wives of the men who hold the statuses to which they pertain. Of the three, *Sheeriyyah* appears to be the one which is taken the most seriously and used the most consistently. The status is very old, of course, whereas *mukhtarah* and *shaikhah* are new, and the use of *ma'allim* is greatly extended compared to the old days. No other titles are used in the village.

p.10

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 MK1 Lebanon MK1

The table in the upper part of the *mag'ad* was moved away first, and dancing continued as before in the space provided. In moments when there was no dancing, solo songs were sung by one or another sitting around the circle. A complete silence fell over the crowd while the *shâ'ir* sang many verses in numerous Classical Arabic of the tragic epic of Qays and Layla, whose plot, though set among Bedawin of the Umayyad period, bears striking resemblance to that of the story of Romeo and Juliet. During the recitation, familiar to all, the peoples' faces seemed thoughtful and reflective, and there was applause when the song was finished. Usually there was no applause after the dances during which everyone was clapping in time anyway.

The couple subsequently took up residence in the groom's own house. Neolocal residence is not uncommon at the present time, and it appears to be preferred by most young couples.

This account requires comment at a number of points.

1. In contrast to funerals, weddings are attended only by those who are invited. In this case the number of those invited by the groom was said to be limited because it was his second marriage, and because two large families happened to be in mourning, hence it was not fitting for their members to attend. Weddings are forbidden outright during the major part of Lent. There is a general sense of the incompatibility of happy and sad events or periods, and these rules and practices have the purpose of avoiding conflicts in emotions.

2. Paghidi (1935, pp. 296-97) writes in some detail of what he calls a *mark battle*, of a verbal sort, which takes place in Moroccan mountain villages when the groom's party approaches the bride's house. The incident reported above might not deserve to be called a verbal "mock battle" at all, but there was a definite sense of the groom's party being stopped for a time before it was allowed to approach and enter the house.

3. Writing of marriage practices in a Palestinian Muslim village, Granqvist (1935, p. 40) says that since they are losing a daughter, the bride's family do not rejoice at the wedding, and the bride herself is supposed to behave in a sad and subdued manner during the ceremony and must weep before leaving her father's house (*ibid.* p. 43). The same concept appears to be held by Lebanese Christians, and the behavior of the bride was undoubtedly largely conventional. The conventional aspect of this matter would explain the general lack of concern for the bride's tears. In this connection it should be mentioned that, like the European Mediterranean peoples, the Lebanese see no reason to suppress the expression of strong emotions in public. In fact, they interpret the inexpressiveness of North Europeans and their American cousins as evidence of either heartlessness or "deepness." By the same token, women in labor are free to scream loudly even when they are not actually suffering acute pain.

4. In the Middle East generally, the chief traditional solo woman's dance is some variation of what is commonly known as the "belly dance," the basic move-

1. - [A newly married couple of the village -- Analyst]

If we think in terms of kinship and marriage behavior only, the use of 'amm for father-in-law and of *khaalo* to specify that cousin appears to be nothing less than the "locking" of kinship grammar or the result of some sort of linguistic inertia. It is not necessary to leave the matter at this, however, in the case of 'amm.

'*Amm* meaning *father-in-law* may have originated as an extension from "father's brother," but its continued use in Christian Arab cultures is, in this [illegible] and terms of address used by a younger person to a man of his or her parents' generation, even if they are not relatives at all. Very frequently, in this use, the term is prefixed to the addressee's name. The usage is obviously not due to mistaken assumptions of kinship, nor is it a means of establishing fictional kinship. It is an honorific. Brenda Seligman (1925, p. 57) reports this use of 'amm among the Sudanese Kababish, and she says that it is universal among Arabic speakers.

Jiddi (my grandfather) is sometimes addressed to a man so much older than the speaker that he seems like a grandfather, but the occurrence of this is not very common. ('*ammti*, "father's sister" and *sitt*, "grandmother," are used analogously with women.)

Concerning this usage, a young adult informant pointed out that unless one uses a teknonymous form of address, '*amm* is the only way in which an older villager can properly be addressed. To use his name only, as to a contemporary, would be disrespectful. On the other hand, he said, it would be inconceivable to use such titles as *sayyid* (Mr.), *sitt* (Mrs.), *ammo* or *khaloh* (sir) to a fellow villager of whatever age. These terms are used by the *fellahin* in cities and among strangers. They connote the formality of strangeness and distance equally as much as, if not more than, respect.

It is not uncommon in modern America to encounter "uncle," with the individual's first name, used by younger people for very close friends of the family, to whom the use of the first name alone would be unseemly because of great difference in age, but with whom "Mr." would be too formal. To a limited extent, the Arabic and American usages are analogous, but of course the extension of it in the former to include nearly every older person in the community is peculiarly Arabic. Perhaps it would be going too far to say that this particular usage in itself indicates a general conception of the entire village as a sort of kinship unit, but nevertheless it is important to note the use of a kinship term in definite preference to a formal title among the villagers.

We may now consider three kinship terms whose functional significance is clear and, in one case, rather important. All three are affinal terms.

The first is *silfat*. This term is used by women only, and it is a reciprocal term. Two (or more) women are *silfat* to each other when they are married to brothers. In addition, each *silfat* refers to the other's husband as *silf* (the masculine form of the word). This term seems to serve the function of giving recogni-

and purposely here, for the reciprocal use of ascendant, parental, and grandparental terms by their respective referents is not meant literally by them nor is it to be taken literally in interpretation. These reciprocal usages are, it would seem, clear evidence of the semantic logic aspect of kinship terminology. In this case, the structure which is heralded by the logic is the inherent unity which is felt to bind close blood relatives together. And so, the argument with which this discussion began has come full circle. We can easily perceive that the reciprocal use of close familial terms is, [illegible] functional," and so on. Viewed in terms of a semantic system, however, the usage turns out to be the source of significant insights one of which is that the usage serves a consistent function. Where, then, is the controversy? The answer should be that there really is none, that both the functional and the linguistic points of view are valid and necessary in the interpretation of kinship systems.

One final point should be made. In actual practice, in Mungil, the use of personal names by elders addressing juniors and by contemporaries addressing each other is more frequent than the use of recursive kinship terms.

MARRIAGE

MARRIAGE PATTERNS

The Orthodox Church explicitly forbids the marriage of all types of first cousin. In Mungil this means that if two first cousins wish to be married, they cannot be married by the village priest. They may, however, appeal to the bishop of the district, and he is empowered to grant a dispensation. If he does, he performs the ceremony himself.

There is no formal rule for or against the marriage of a person to a member of his own minimal lineage. In Mungil, however, it is considered a better idea to marry outside the minimal lineage. The reason for this, according to one informant, is that all members of the minimal lineage are close relatives, and it is a poor idea for close relatives to marry because the children might be defective. The investigator volunteered the idea that, for example, a second cousin related to one through one's mother (wholly acceptable as a spouse) is more closely related as far as "blood" goes, after all, than a lineage-mate who is a fourth cousin. The informant did not deny the truth of this, but its significance was denied. Lineage-mates are all close relatives, maintained his, except first cousins and their parents, are not. This is the villagers' definition of the situation.

At the present time, one's particular maximal lineage affiliation appears to have no bearing whatever on the choice of spouse. It is insignificant whether one marries inside or outside one's maximal lineage.

At this point, let us consider briefly Table 9 which indicates the closest degree of relationship, reckoned bilaterally, between the members of eighty-four married couples in Mungil. *Closest* degree of relationship is specified because many of

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It is, of course, no surprise to the anthropologist to learn that acculturation in the Middle East, as elsewhere, shows that material cultural traits are more readily transmitted than non-material ones. Nor is it any surprise to him that these material traits, the automobile for example, though readily *accepted*, cannot be *assimilated* without some major social readjustments. Before the latter are completed, there is bound to be turmoil and discomfort. But the turmoil in the Middle East is greatly aggravated through education by the introduction of a motley assortment of Western ideas, ideals, and concepts which confuse or ignore yet which the average student does not have the background to evaluate. If this were not confusing enough, the Arab student has become keenly aware of the frequently extreme discrepancy between Western ideals and some Western actions.

At the village level, one effect of modern education which has been of great significance in Munejf, is summarized by Kazzaz, ". . . the kind of education which is being offered in the public and most of the private schools tends to draw youth away from the villages and renders them unfit for work on the farms" (1951, p. 163).

In one respect, however, as we have already intimated, modern education has not, except in extreme cases, weakened the great value which the Arabs place upon their beloved native language. The very sound of the words is a profound delight to them. This has always been true, but one suspects that in recent years their pride in it as something uniquely their own has been greatly emphasized. Here is one treasure that the Westerners, for all their material skill and wealth, do not possess, which they can never make their own, which most Westerners who are given the opportunity fail to master even as a tool, which a few Westerners do master but only after considerable effort and application. And so, to its native speakers, Arabic is more than just a semantic tool; it is a source of everyday pleasure and inspiration; and it is a symbol of cultural integrity.

Associated with this is the cultural trait of elaborate verbalizing. There are courtesy verbal formulas which cover every conceivable occasion from giving condolences to asking for, giving, and receiving a drink of water. Preferably, one does not come directly to the point on any issue; one approaches it circuitously, not because one is necessarily evasive in personality, but because it *is* the thing to do. And it is the thing to do because it is enjoyable. One Arab has put the matter thus: "Brevity is the soul of singleness." (Ribbany, 1916, p. 208.) In the present writer's opinion, not enough thought has been given to the possibility that the great difference in this respect between Arab and, particularly, American values has been responsible for a noticeable portion of the mutual irritation and misunderstanding which has occurred in recent years.

In Munejf, as elsewhere, Arabic retains its paramount status. The wide knowledge of English is not to be interpreted as a breach in the villagers' cultural defenses, for English is learned, used, and looked upon as a tool only.

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444 candies, each kind in a large glass jar; bottles of *'araq*, sweet summer drink extracts, and denatured alcohol (for preheating Primus stoves and lanterns); writing paper, pens, pencils, and ink; hairpins, combs, toothpaste, and soap; flashlights and batteries—all of these on shelves set against the walls. We can generalize by saying that the stores provide the villagers with all their purchased food except bread and with small items of everyday use. Conspicuously lacking are clothes, furniture, and all household utensils except the pottery drinking jars which are carried by some of the stores. All other larger items are bought directly from Jbayl or Beirut.

One person said that he made it a practice to patronize all the stores in order not to slight any of the proprietors. How common this practice is the writer does not know. Since the stores are so close together, patronization on the basis of proximity is not likely to be a factor in the determination of particular clienteles.

477 One would expect that the stores would be in keen competition, and, certainly, commercial competition is nothing new or foreign to Lebanon. But among the village stores there appeared to be little if any competition, and some assistance between proprietors was observed. One informant explained the situation in this way:

> Well, they *are* in competition, but you see [and here he seemed quite at a loss for words. He started again:] There is a saying in Arabic *Likull 'insaan rizquhu*. It means: "Every person has his fortune." Well, you know, it really means everyone will receive his due. You see, one helps the other because later the other will help the one. But it is more than mutual help; when X helps Y, they may not want to do it, but they do it *anyway* because they do not want people to think that they are enemies or jealous of each other.

577 621 476 The saying which was used by this informant is a positive expression, similar in connotation to the lilies of the field passage in the Sermon on the Mount, of the fatalism which is commonly attributed, with some justification, to the Arabs. We might elucidate its full meaning by paraphrasing it as follows: "You will get your just reward in whatever you are doing if you behave justly." In this case, behaving justly involves the kind of mutual help within an in-group (the village) which is essential to its solidarity. But also, in a wider sense, it is the writer's opinion that among the Arabs, competition for its own sake is not a *generalized* behavioral value, though they do come close to this in their social and cultural group rivalries. Furthermore, none of the four proprietors concerned in this matter is dependent solely on his store for his income. Each is a landowner and maintains his property for agricultural purposes.

444 517 [265] Turning, now, to the function of the stores as meeting places for the men, we are reminded of the interesting notion, set forth by Kohn (1936, p. 70), that in the Mediterranean area generally, the center of personal and social life is the open, public place—forum, agora, coffee house, and open shop.

In Munsif, there is no coffee house and the stores to some extent take the

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ment by most of the middle-aged people and with unfeigned derision by many, though not all, younger people. One middle-aged woman said that of course everyone knew how to do the *dabki*, and that "it is done sometimes, and at weddings." "But," she said, "it is better when everyone does it dressed in *shirwal* and *agal* and *kuffiyyah*." The only interpretation which the writer can give to this remark is that the *dabki* is associated with the old days which are no more. There is some evidence that the dance is done far less now in general than it used to be. An acquaintance of the writer's in Beirut, an American of Lebanese ancestry, said that for two years he had looked around unsuccessfully for a performance of it in Beirut. On at least one occasion his inquiries were met with the scornful remark: "Oh, the *dabki* is just for peasants in the mountains."

For the most part, the adolescent and young adult Munsifiin seem to be committed to the rejection of the more obvious concomitants of their peasant background, and their de-emphasis on the *dabki* is probably an aspect of this. Rather than the *dabki*, it is the samba, rumba, and tango which please the young people most. In this respect, Munsif is by no means an isolated case. Spanish and South American rhythms are immensely popular among the Lebanese. That well-known tune, "La Compecita," was a popular classic in Lebanon in 1943, and it remains so today. The appeal appears to be more rhythmical than melodic, and of course Spanish music has for a long time been influenced by Arab modes.

The social gatherings in the club are, in sum, featured by the playing mostly of Spanish and South American dances and songs on the phonograph. In traditional Arab culture there is no "concert" music. Music is either to be danced to or it is merely background for a poetic recitation. The second function is maintained today by the traditional forms, but the first has been expanded and taken over by Western forms. Dancing to Western music involves close physical contact between the sexes, and this is very much at variance with traditional norms. One older man, in fact, said, "All this touching is not good for the young people." In general, Western free social intercourse between the sexes has been a difficult kind of behavior for young people of the Middle East to adjust themselves to. To many of them it suggests an invitation to free sexual intercourse, an understandable misinterpretation which has led to much pain and embarrassment, for example, among students in the city.

THE HOME

Hospitality is a virtue which the Arabs value very highly, in part because it implies generosity, another trait which is explicitly valued. At whatever time a guest may arrive at a house, a cup of coffee is made specially for him; and if the occasion requires it, he is invited to dine and even to spend the night. All this is, as often as not, done without any prior notice at all.

The principle of hospitality applies among the villagers in their daily lives, although ordinarily it involves no further effort than making coffee. In the absence

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WELFARE

In a very few cases of total incapacitation, individuals have had to be placed in public institutions for care. Otherwise, the village takes care of its own unfortunates, in conformance with the traditional attitudes of self-sufficiency. A unit of the Lebanese Red Cross visits the village at regular intervals to provide medical care for those who need it, but have been unable or unwilling to go to a doctor in the city. There is a regular, and entirely traditional, mechanism for caring for families who get into financial straits. A close friend of the family, who has learned of the situation because of his closeness, goes to each household in the village saying, "There is among us a family in need. I am going to give them some money; how much are you willing to give?" It is very bad form to ask for whom the collection is being made, and a contribution which is offered under such conditions may be refused by the collector. The strict anonymity which accompanies this behavior suggests that even in such a tight in-group as the village keeping up appearances is a conscious value. Clique and lineage rivalries undoubtedly contribute to this.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONS

Everyone in the village, except for a handful among the very old, are literate. A quite respectable number have received or are receiving college educations. The significance of education in the village will be discussed in the next chapter; here it is appropriate to consider only the bearing which education has on occupations.

Literacy itself is no rarity in Lebanon. In fact, among the Christians, at least, one can safely say that it is the expected thing. Mere literacy alone would raise one's aspirations only above that of manual laborer, in the city. For professional status or for governmental positions college educations are prerequisite. Medicine and the law require additional training beyond college which no one in Munṣif has recently undertaken. The number of positions open to ordinary college graduates which are in line with the individual's ambitions (befitting a learned and cultured person) are rather limited in Lebanon, and many such persons must be satisfied with whatever they can find. In consequence, a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction is to be found among those who have had advanced education.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

Munṣif depends, and has always depended, upon crops which do not require rain or irrigation in the growing season. In order, the most important are olives, figs and grapes. Of these the major cash crop is olives. This has not always been true. Up to 1914 the major cash crop in the village, and in Lebanon as a whole, was the silkworm cocoon, fed on mulberry leaves. Sericulture has not died out completely in Lebanon, and it is still fairly strong in the Kisrawan, Kura, Meten, and Shuuf districts (Février, 1949b, p. 249), but it has long since lost its economic

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TABLE 8. LINEAGE DEVELOPMENT AND NUMBER OF MALES, ACCORDING TO GENEALOGICAL GENERATION

GENERATION:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13
		A-1	1	2	I-1	1	1	1	1	1	3	4	1
						II-1	1	2	3	6	3		
				III-1	1	1	3	3	4	13	19	6	
					IV-1	1	2	3	5	6	7		
						V-1	3	6	14	3			
						VI-1	2	5	5				
						VII-1	5	8	10	4			
						VIII-1	4	11	24	21	12		
					1	IX-1	4	2	3	4	5		
					X-1	2	2	4	8	12	8	4	
							XI-1	4	7	7	1	4	
		B-1	1	4	XII-1	1	1	1	1	2	2		
					1	3	5	3	5	7			
					XIII-1	1	2	3	11	7	5		
	1						Dec.-1	5	13	9	1		
					Dec.-1	1	2	4	6	6			
					Dec.-1	1	1	2	2				
					Dec.-1	3	6	8	7	6			
					XIV-1	3	5	8	9	11			
					XV-1	1	6	5	10	1			
		C-1	2	2	(XVI)-3	2	7	12	16	15			
						XVII-1	2	2	3	5			
							XVIII-1	1	2	2	3		
							XIX-1	1	2	6	3	2	1
				XX-1	1	1	2	1	2	4	11	17	
					XXI-1	2	1	2	3	8	11	12	
							Dec.-1	2	5	2			
NUMBER OF LINEAGES:				2	11	7	5						

ported. If a feud, or some other crisis calling for group loyalty, occurred, quite possibly loyalty lines would, minimally, follow lineage lines. In this connection, one informant said with evident pride that there were never any feuds in the village. The writer has no evidence that the present behavior associated with the lineages represents any recent change, with the exception of a possible change in marriage patterns which will be discussed later.

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morphic monotheism among the Jews was in part due to their solidification as an ethnic in-group after the Babylonian exile. (Witness, for example, the statement: "Thus I cleansed them from everything foreign. . ." Nehemiah 13:30). Moving forward in date, we are told that in the Arabian centers at the time of Muhammad,

> The group-bond was stronger than the bond of citizenship, and feuds between group and group often divided a town against itself (Robertson Smith, 1885, p. 2).

And at a later period, we find that the Ottoman Empire

> was composed of a large number of groups, local, tribal, linguistic and religious. On the whole, these groups formed closed communities. Each was a "world," sufficient to its members and exacting their ultimate loyalty. The worlds touched but did not mingle with each other; each looked at the rest with suspicion and even hatred. Almost all were stagnant, unchanging and limited. (Hourani, 1947, p. 22.)

And the following brings us to the present situtation, of which it emphasizes the regional aspect:

> And so there grew up in the Arab world as we know it: an association of peoples, who are vividly conscious of a network of traditions, interests, feelings and sympathies that unite them, but who live in communities each with its separate social, economic, and political structure, its local loyalties, its attention to particular interests.
>
> But we must not think of these communities as being Egyptian, Syrian, Iraqi, and so on, to begin with. They were primarily much smaller and more local, for example, Baghdadi and Mosuli, Damascene and Alepin, Upper Egyptian, Middle Egyptian, Cairene, Deltaic—with a host of other regional communities and often deeply marked subdivisions as well. (Gibb, 1942b, p. 73.)

The political aspect of the situation is stressed in the following:

> The population of almost all 26 political units (in the Middle East) is splintered into a number of minority and tribal groups many with an intense internal loyalty. It is a region of nation against nation, and within one nation, group against group, and cross-cutting nations cooperating groups with stronger loyalties to themselves than to their nation. The national rivalries are similar to those in the Balkans and Ireland. The group conflicts are similar but usually more intense than those in the United States between old Americans and immigrants, Catholics and Protestants, Gentiles and Jews, labor and management, Negroes and whites. And the groups with loyalty cross-cutting national ties are similar though less effective than world Communists. (Richardson and Batal, 1949, p. 483.)

Fisher views the situation from an ecological point of view. He points out (1947, p. 419) that there are three basic ecological groups in the Middle East—nomads, villagers, and city dwellers. The nomads detest the settled people but depend upon them for some of their food. The villagers hate the town and city dwellers because they look upon them as extortioners; yet the city is necessary to

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the village because it provides manufactured goods, and the village supplies the city with food. Fisher concludes:

> From these three elements, closely integrated by material and cultural ties, has arisen the present complex pattern of society in the Middle East; and it is on this basis that one can postulate a unity for the region as a whole. As a tapestry or painting owes its special character to an intermingling of diverse color masses, so the Middle East can be conceived as a unity based on a number of distinctive yet related ways of life. (*Ibid.*, p. 420.)

A recent paper by Patai (1952) deals with important aspects of this same topic.

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Coon brings a functional approach to bear on the situation, to which he gives a name, the "mosaic system." His specific view is that the mosaic system is based on an ethnic division of labor:

> . . . the ideal was to emphasize not the uniformity of the citizens of a country as a whole but a uniformity within each special segment, and the greatest possible contrast between segments. The members of each ethnic unit feel the need to identify themselves by some configuration of symbols. If by virtue of their history they possess some racial peculiarity, this they will enhance by special haircuts and the like; in any case they will wear distinctive garments and behave in a distinctive fashion. Walking through the bazaar you have no trouble identifying everyone you meet, once you have learned the sets of symbols. These people want to be identified. If you know who they are, you will know what to expect of them and how to deal with them, and human relations will operate smoothly in a crowded space. . . . Obviously the mosaic system is best suited for a civilization in which trades require a maximum of skill, taught from father to son, and a minimum of organizational complexity. (Coon, 1951, pp. 3, 153.)

Coon's interest is primarily in how the mosaic system is made to work in face-to-face contact situations. Such situations, when they involve members of different elements in the mosaic, are generally economic, that is, trade relationships. Economic, or subsistence, needs necessarily override temporarily in any given interaction the divisive pull of intergroup hatred and suspicion. They do, that is, if they are successful and complete transactions. Since most Middle East cities owe their very existence to the fact that they are long-standing trading centers, where members of every element in the mosaic have interacted more or less peaceably, it is clear that group enmities *can* be, and have been for a long time, overridden successfully. But they have not been obliterated; indeed, they maintain their vigor. The fact of the matter seems to be that they can be "forgotten," as it were, only on an individual basis, and temporarily, in the interest of a transitory need, of which successful trade is a prominent example.

David Aberle has come near the point at issue, viewing it as the problem of the "integration of sub-systems with diverse values, within the total social system" (1950, p. 496). In this connection, he points to the coexistence of Catholics,

6 21
186 friends. . . . We were made to pay seven gold pounds and a half for the ticket, while they paid five or six each. Never mind! Providence will reward them with what they deserve. . . . Please let us know about the health of your children and their mother, and about our son Deeb and his mother. Also, let us know how was the olive crop and how was the
• [578] wall case settled. . . ." (Stone walls are used as fences between pieces of land property, and have often been the cause of minor disputes in the village).

2. Same as above; dated March 14th, 1899.

" . . . As regards L. Milky, he has sent me two letters so far, asking for the amount I owe him. I wonder what has happened to the man! Is he in such a great need, or is he afraid that I shall not pay him back the amount? Please do your best to settle the affair, and I shall send you the money soon. . . . Business is bad in this country at present, and I have opened a new store which needs all of my cash money. . . . Dear brother, please tell me about the house and our land property, also let me know what happened to the fig tree which I planted near the fence wall. . . ."

3. From M. Sarkis to his mother; Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 29th, 1900.

" . . . Tell me how much it has cost you to plant the new orchard, and I shall send you the amount. . . . Is it true that my brother wants to sell his share of the land? If so, let me know how much is the amount, and I shall send it to you; then you will

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621 184 593

ends. May God never bless such a sister. . . ."

9. From H. to his relative, I. T. Elias; Penna., August 6th, 1914.

621 186 578

". . . I have sent you a telegram to foreclose the land property of N. (a fellow emigrant). He has refused to pay me what he owes me or to give me a mortgage on his land in the village. Then he resorted to a mean and immoral trick. He instigated his wife to bring a case against me in the courts, accusing me of assulting her. He did that with the hope of getting much money out of me. . . . Don't pay much attention to the newspapers cuttings (referring to the case) that I understand some of our jealous and mean people here have sent to the village. In this country, all things, little and big, are written up in papers, and nobody pays much attention to them. . . . Later, N. discontinued the prosecution of the case and came over with some of my friends and begged my pardon. . . ."

621 184 593 423

10. From S. M. Huleihel (middle aged woman) to her relative, I. T. Elias, U. S. A., April 3rd, 1919.

". . . The news of my son's death has broken my heart and my life. I don't know what to think or say. He was my only child. I brought him up until he was married, and then prevented him from sailing to America, as I did not want to expose him to any danger. I sailed away in his place, and have been laboring for years to gather some money, on which his children could grow up comfortably. . . . He is gone now, and his child is

p64 (B)

621 it the beginning of a movement that may be
794 termed "progressive." On the other hand, one can see the dangers it implied for village solidarity.

621 A third significant point to observe is that a new
578 type of conflict arose in the village, as a result of the school incident. It was conflict between two new groups—those who wanted to have a Protestant school in the village and those who opposed the idea. It was a division that cut across the family and church groups. It was also conflict between a traditional value and a new one—between the need for the preservation of church integrity and the need for education. All of this tended to shake the village organization; all of it demanded new adjustments on the part of the people.

III

871 After the first Mission teacher left the village,
179 his students, and the village people in general, were
191 set afire by the desire for further education
621 Other mission teachers came to the village and gave additional impetus to that desire. At the same time the first emigrants began to return to the village and tell the people about the wonders of education in that "marvellous country of America." English was the language through which they could attain some status with the American people and reap some of the gold in that country. They wanted their children to learn English and get an American type of education. The Syrian Protestant College at Beirut was beginning to flourish, and the road was now open for a village boy to become a doctor or a college teacher. All of this meant more cash income, and cash was becoming more and more the significant symbol of comfort and new forms of prestige. Village boys and girls began to come back from Tripoli with American high school certificates in their hands. They were "fully" educated and they could share in the establishment and running of an independent village school.

871 All of these factors combined to bring about the
621 fruition of the village school idea. In 1904, under
575 the leadership of the Mission's early students and some influential emigrants who had returned to the village, a fully representative society, the first in the history of the village, was formed and given the name of "Raja-el-Watan"—the hope of the country—the country here meaning nothing more than the village. The sole aim of the society was to establish and run a school for the whole village community.

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536 517 erected, play acting materialized. At first only young men acted. A year or two later, girls began to act, too. The village could not go beyond that and allow boys and girls to act together. That involved kissing and embracing between boys and girls on the stage, and the village held to the idea that such a kiss or an intimate embrace must be reserved to married couples!

834 562 536 578 It is essential that we should dwell briefly on the attitude of the village people towards acting by girls. The villagers had a strong taboo against acting by girls. Acting involved the parading of the girl on the stage in front of the crowd including young men and strangers. Remarks might be made about the girl, causing trouble between her family and those who made the remarks. Such parading had the further implication that the parents were eager to present their girl for marriage. That went against the custom which demanded that the girl should wait at home until her suitor came for her. The strongest objection was due to the fact that the people had always associated regular actresses with "bad morals." Gradually, due to the influence of leading families who were willing to begin with their girls, all of the above objections were broken down, until acting by the girls became a matter of course.

536 621 Within a few years acting became one more established village festival, involving the whole community. They had been accustomed to religious village festivals, and it was natural to fit the play in with the previous pattern and make of it one more such festival. Without any exception, everybody—actors, workers, church authorities and leaders—offered his or her services free, for the community welfare. Over a period of two months, preparation for the play would engage the attention of the village with everybody waiting for the occasion with thrilled anticipation. The preparation involved the various activities of casting, renting the equipment from Tripoli, constructing the stage, evening rehearsals, energetic arguments to persuade a certain girl to accept a certain role and her parents to permit her to act, and the distribution of invitations to the neighboring villages. Two or three days before the play, the village children would enlist as volunteers who would go from house to house in the village and gather all available chairs to seat the guests. The children's reward was the enjoyment of the activity itself and free admission during one evening. The play would be presented for three or four nights.

20: Hourani S-S (1945) 1947 M1 Middle East M1
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made a determined effort to modernize and strengthen their Empire. Two aspects of this effort are of interest here:

(i) The attempt of Abdul-Hamid II to create a new basis of loyalty to the Imam by reviving the Ottoman claim to the Caliphate. Largely this was undertaken as propaganda for external use, to frighten Europe with the threat of a union of Islamic nations under a single head. Partly also, however, it was an attempt to create for the dynasty a place in the hearts of its subjects, in an age in which the dynastic principle was growing weaker. But it was only its orthodox Moslem subjects who could share in this new loyalty; in an Empire based upon Pan-Islamism and the Caliphate there would be no place for Christians, Jews or even heterodox Moslems who rejected the doctrine of the Caliphate.

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(ii) The Sultans tried to 'conquer their Empire': to turn it from a group of loosely connected local, racial and religious units into a military and highly centralized state. The means to this end were various: the abolition of feudalism, the creation of an elaborate bureaucracy and provincial administration, the improvement of communications. Among the tasks which were undertaken, an attempt was made to break down the immemorial local autonomies. The feudal and tribal system of the Kurds was gradually broken down from the early decades of the century onwards. On several occasions Kurdish revolts in defence of their autonomy had to be crushed; the last important uprising was that of Badr Khan Bey in the eighteen-forties. The Turcoman and Alawi principalities were subdued in the same way in the middle of the century. Towards the century's close, several attempts were made to establish the Imperial authority over Jebel Druze, but with little effective success in spite of the formal submission of the Druzes.

Lebanese Autonomy

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In one instance, however, the new policy of destroying the autonomies was a complete failure. In the nineteenth century the autonomy of Lebanon, far from being destroyed, was strengthened and formalized.

The sectarian character of Lebanon, its desire for autonomy, and its organization under feudal lords and spiritual hierarchies were already well established when the Ottoman Sultans conquered Syria. Although the Mountain recognized the suzerainty

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of the Sultan, it preserved its autonomy under hereditary Amirs who paid tribute to the Porte. And although it was frequently afflicted with civil wars, local tyrants and anarchy, it was rarely if ever torn by sectarian strife, until the period of the Shihab Amirs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was then that the rivalry appeared between Maronites and Druzes, which grew throughout the reign of the great Amir Bashir (1788–1841), and culminated in the disturbances of 1845 and 1860.

This rivalry was no doubt fed and embittered by religious differences, but its causes were mainly political and social. In part they were external to the life of the Mountain: the general unrest caused by Ibrahim Pasha's invasion of Syria; the international rivalry between France, which supported the Maronites, and Great Britain, which supported the Druzes; and the desire of the Ottoman authorities to weaken the autonomy of the Mountain by destroying the tradition of religious tolerance on which it rested. But there were also causes in the Mountain itself. There was growing unrest among the Maronite peasants against their feudal landlords, both Maronite and Druze; this showed itself in North Lebanon in the agrarian revolution of 1857 and the establishment of a short-lived agrarian republic. More important still, there was a gradual shift in the balance of the population: the Maronites were spreading southwards into regions which had formerly been chiefly Druze; the Druzes were emigrating to the Hauran, and those who were left feared for their predominance.

In 1860, as the climax of a long period of unrest and growing hatred, the Druzes of the Mountain and the Moslems of Damascus killed some thousands of the local Christians. The Powers intervened, and the result of their intervention was the formalization of Lebanese autonomy in the Statute of 1861. This Statute (which was amended and definitively promulgated in 1864) made Lebanon into a self-governing Sanjaq, the territory of which included the Mountain but excluded the larger coastal towns. It was ruled by a Christian governor, appointed by the Sublime Porte and assisted by an administrative council representative of the sects. The Sanjaq had its own fiscal system, its own judiciary and its own gendarmerie. The Ottoman authorities had practically no control over its administration.

The system established in 1861 remained in force with no essential change until the outbreak of the Great War, when the

Turks abolished the self-government of the Sanjaq and subjected it to a regime of repression and starvation. But during the half-century of autonomy, Lebanon enjoyed freedom from civil strife and from Turkish oppression.

The Egyptian Government

In Egypt the line of political development was different. Under Muhammad Ali and his successors the country became even more free of control from Stamboul than it had been before. Their rule was comparatively favourable for the minorities. There was a gradual shift from the concept of theocracy to that of a nationalism which could include Copts as well as Moslems: and the Copts continued, as before, to hold many positions in the Government. The rulers welcomed foreigners who wished to live and work in the country; Armenians, Syrians and others found an official career open to their talents, and vast opportunities in the commercial and financial life of the country. The dynasty was receptive to Western culture, and under its aegis a veneer of Western ideas and refinement spread over the upper classes at least, but the enlightenment was much less profound than it seemed, and beneath the surface Islamic feeling and hatred of the Christian West continued to be strong.

When the British occupied Egypt, they carried further certain tendencies begun by the dynasty of Muhammad Ali. They ensured greater freedom of religious thought and expression, greater equality before the law (although still far from complete equality). They opened the country still wider to foreigners, and they made full use of Eastern Christians as government officials: for example Syrian Christians in both the Egyptian and Sudanese Governments, and a small but important group of Armenians, of whom the most famous was Nubar Pasha. But contrary to what might have been expected, they neither attempted to use the Copts as instruments of government nor gave them in any way a privileged position. Individual Copts co-operated with the British, like Butrus Pasha Ghali, but in general there were fewer Coptic officials under the British than there had been in previous periods.

The Rise of Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire

In the second half of the nineteenth century there appeared a new factor, destined to have great effects, for better or for worse,

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LEBANON

Still another important distinction is that between the 7/4 Beirut of Lebanon and the districts which were added to it by the French to make the Lebanese Republic, and which had formerly been part of the vilayets of Beirut and Damascus. The inhabitants of the former are mainly Maronites, Druzes and Greek Catholics; the latter include Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics in all parts, Armenians in Beirut, Sunnis in the coastal towns, Shi'is in the south and the Biqa'. The former have a tradition—a political tradition of autonomy, a social tradition of feudalism, a tradition of religious tolerance—which binds them together and which was sufficiently strong to make the autonomous Sanjaq function successfully; the latter, however, are not part of the Lebanese tradition and do not possess any common tradition of their own. In addition, at least one of the communities, the Sunnis, and important elements in most of the others, never wanted to be incorporated in Greater Lebanon. The tension between those communities which are part of the real Lebanon and those which are not still continues.

French Policy

A State so deeply divided both in structure and in ideas as the Lebanese Republic and without any unifying national spirit could not continue to exist, at least in its present form, unless there were some external power controlling it closely and interfering continually in its affairs. Until 1943, this external control was provided by the Mandatory Power. Her policy was directed towards making Lebanon a bulwark of French influence. This aim had led to the creation of an independent Lebanon and the extension of its frontiers. It also inspired the attempts to maintain a Christian majority in spite of the extension of the frontiers and the more rapid increase of the Moslem population: this was one of the reasons for the settlement of the Armenian refugees around Beirut. Every attempt was made to attach the Christians more closely to France: by the rapid and systematic spread of French culture, by favouring the Christians in political and administrative matters and by playing upon their fears of Moslem persecution. An analogous appeal was made to the heterodox Moslems, although to a less extent; and even with the Sunnis an attempt was made to Gallicise them by means of education.

Among the Christians preference was given to the Uniates and more particularly to the Maronites, who regarded themselves and were generally regarded as the dominant element in the life of the

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than a few months, a year or a few years, before emigrating again. Their business ties and the new ways of living they had adopted forced them to emigrate again. They began to realize that they had become partly strangers to their original culture.

The great majority of the emigrants, 373, never came back. These may be divided roughly into two classes—those who failed to come back because of their financial failure abroad, and those who emigrated fairly recently after the community ties began to break down. The latter did not feel especially attracted toward the village.

[581] Of those who came back to visit, a great many of them did so with a view to getting married to village girls, before settling permanently abroad.

5. *The village woman attains economic independence:* Cases 10 and 12 of the above quoted letter extracts are clear illustrations of the new tendency. Among the 193 women, who have emigrated, about one-half took that step independently. Some of them were single, some were widows and some left their husbands and children at home. Prior to emigration, village culture assigned to woman a status subordinate to that of man. It seems that farm economy demanded that type of subordination. Emigration by women severely tested that established pattern of behavior. Through emigration, the village woman was suddenly thrown on her own resources. She moved from a status of subordination to one of dominance. She became the economic

census is late males only. For comparative purposes, all we have is Tsounis's statement that in Bekerzeiin, a mainly Greek Orthodox village near Tripoli, women of two generations ago had an average of five children apiece, whereas the women of a Lebanese emigrant community in the southern part of the United States have an average of 3.6 apiece. The members of this community came from Bekerzeiin, Mejdel, and Ghazzeer (Tsounis, 1959a, p. 240).

HEALTH

With a few exceptions, the villagers gave the impression of being in excellent health and there was clear evidence that modern medical practices and practitioners were utilized if necessary as a matter of course. Two villagers had been physicians themselves, a matter of some pride. One is now dead, and the other is retired from practice because of advanced age.

There is certainly no evidence of physical or mental defects which can clearly be ascribed to inbreeding. Actually, in view of recent studies, we should not expect to find any. It has been suggested, for example, that the genetic composition of a population in which second-cousin marriage is the regular practice is altered comparatively little even after as many as fifteen generations (Khalifeh & Griffith, 1970, p. 464). Mejdel has been a predominantly endogamous population for thirteen generations at most, and if present conditions are any indication of those of the past, the marriage of parents, or closer, cousins is relatively infrequent.

The boarding school, as well as the day-school, students include both boys and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The chief criterion is that none is a manual laborer, and they were obviously all considered to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practicing physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

Protestant preacher	1	Seamstress	3
Detective	1	Waiter	3
Fireman	1	Skilled attendant	4
Soldier (sergeant)	1	Janitor	2
Tailor	2	Barber	1

The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus three village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in Ituli. Parents and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of the girl to a doctor, a very prestigeful status.

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15-45

Age	Men		Women		Age	Men		Women	
	Single	Married	Single	Married		Single	Married	Single	Married
15-19	39	0	27	0	30-34	4	7	4	7
20-24	30	1	17	7	35-39	1	4	3	11
25-29	13	0	16	10	40-44	2	14	0	12

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forty-five or over is or has been married, except five men and six women. No one married, at least in the present generation, below the age of twenty. From fifteen to forty-five each sex shows, as might be expected, a shift from one hundred per cent single status to nearly a hundred per cent married status. However, the table shows that more women than men are married in the various age-groups concerned; this situation only ceases to be apparent in the ages forty to forty-four. Marriages for both sexes, but especially the men, tend to be rather late, and the reason can be inferred from several statements made by informants to the effect that a man should not marry until he is secure enough in his occupation to be reasonably certain of being able to support a family. A young man who wishes to be married cannot rely on being temporarily absorbed into and supported by an extended family headed by his father or an elder brother. This sometimes happens, but ordinarily the father or brother of such a young married man is in no position to give such assistance, whether or not he would like to be able to. Most men have already been supporting themselves for a number of years before they get married.

A bit of local folklore, evidently traditional, has it that a man should be seven years older than his wife. Calculations made on a sample of fifty-six marriages revealed that the average difference in age between spouses is four years. The mode is between five and six years. The following tabulation indicates the range:

Difference in Age in Years	No. of Marriages	Difference in Age in Years	No. of Marriages
0– 1	6	7– 8	4
1– 2	3	8– 9	3
2– 3	3	9–10	3
3– 4	3	10–11	5
4– 5	7	11–12	4
5– 6	9	12–13	2
6– 7	3	13–14	1

In only two cases included above are the wives older than their husbands, by one and two years. There are six additional cases in which the husbands can be said to be excessively older than their wives—two cases of a 15-year difference, and one each with 17-, 19-, 20-, and 22-year differences. Nearly all the men in these cases had been emigrants who did not marry until they returned to the village in early middle age.

THE MISTRESS OF THE HOUSE

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One of the most widely held notions about the Middle East is that the average Arab woman is a "classic" example of a woman's being a mere chattel in a male-dominated household and society. Certainly Arab culture is strongly patrilineal, and "on the books" women's status in it may appear to be rather subordinate. The present writer is of the opinion, however, that the restrictions of *legal* status (which

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

562 462 riage. The most popular occupation, nursing, is, it will be remembered, preferred because *it* is "safe," among other reasons.

Perhaps it can be said, as Fei concluded from a somewhat analogous situation in China (1939, p. 234), that women have more social individualism than they used to have, but to argue that the status of women has or has not been "improved" would, in the present writer's opinion, be tilting at windmills. Ambiguity of one's status and role in life can be harder to bear than, for example, the lack of the legal right to vote.

EMIGRANTS AND EMIGRATION

167 It is said that there are now as many Lebanese, or persons of Lebanese ancestry, living outside Lebanon as there are inside it (about 1,300,000). However this may be, there are certainly a great many, and the majority are in the United States.

Himadeh (1936, p. 13) points out that emigration from Lebanon started with the Phoenicians, the first Lebanese of whom anything is known, then as now experts in commercial enterprises. Lowdermilk (1944, p. 416) suggests that the primary impetus to the Phoenicians' emigration was the same as that to the twentieth century movement: overpopulation—ninety-three persons per square kilometer in recent times (Himadeh, 1936, p. 14).

It is estimated that between 1860 and 1900, 120,000 persons left Syria and Lebanon. The climax period was between 1900 and 1914 when an estimated 15,000 per year emigrated (Himadeh, 1936, p. 16). There was virtually none during the war when the country was blockaded. The process was resumed after the war, but with less intensity than before. Mass emigration to the United States was effectively halted by the Immigration Act of 1924. Since then, the Lebanese have gone to Central and South America, West Africa, and Australia.

The original purpose of all the emigrants was to make a good amount of money and then return to the old country. A great many did just this, and in Munsif some cases were reported of men who came and went several times. The majority, however, remained for good in the new country, most never returning, although quite a few came back temporarily to the old village for brides—telling evidence of the force of the principle of local endogamy. A few such cases occurred in Munsif but none since the 1920's.

[177] It is the writer's private opinion that the emigrants themselves have not contributed a great deal to the process of acculturation in Lebanon, apart from drawing the interest of the stay-at-homes beyond their immediate locality. However, the emigrants have contributed substantially to the welfare of the old country which, in 1938 for example, had an adverse foreign trade balance of 4,000,000 pounds sterling (Hourani, 1946, p. 90). This was off-set by money from tourists, foreign investments, and remittances from emigrants. The last amounted to $19,000,000 in 1924 (Himadeh, 1936, p. 18).

The people of Munsif have done their share in the process of emigration.

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SOCIO-RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOR

RITES OF PASSAGE

BIRTHDAYS AND BAPTISM

IN the traditional culture of the Middle East (urban, village, or nomad), the status of midwife is a very important one. Midwives are invariably local women past menopause, and men are rigidly excluded from the house while the birth is taking place (cf. Granqvist, 1947, pp. 56–60).

Only one villager was born during the period of study, and the event took place in Beirut (the family is in the Summer Resident category) some time before the writer learned of it. The majority of Munqif's housewives of childbearing age live in the city most of the year, and for the most part they clearly prefer the services of physicians and hospitals in important medical matters.

Once born, the modern village infant, judging from the very few cases observed, spends his time in a crib and is not swaddled restrictively. After the first few weeks, he may be fed from a modern nursing bottle. Factory-made toys are not very common in Lebanon, but small cars and trucks and at least one tricycle were observed in the village.

Birthday anniversaries are celebrated in a few families. There is a cake with candles, and the whole affair is new, probably inspired by experiences in American boarding schools.

Baptism is performed anywhere from forty days to about two years after the birth of the child. It appeared that the mode tended toward the latter age. The ritual is accompanied by at least a family party, but in some cases, according to one informant, the baptismal party may approach a wedding party in size.

ENGAGEMENT AND MARRIAGE

Engagement. Engagement (*khaṭbi*) is a more or less formal status. Quite often the couple simply declare themselves engaged, with the tacit approval of the priest. If both parties are members of the village, the priest's only official concern is that they are more distantly related than first cousin. If they are first cousins, it is his duty to inform them that he will be unable to marry them. In any case, the couple may or may not come to the priest for his blessing. Wedding rings (plain gold bands) are worn by both parties on the right hand to signify engagement. At the marriage ceremony, they are transferred to the left. Engaged couples may see each other alone at any time, and no questions are asked. Young

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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[R31] men and women who are not engaged are supposed to be, in one way or other, chaperoned, either by elders or by the presence of people their own age. Similar attitudes and behavior have been reported from the Jordanian town of Ramallah which is comparable to Munṣif in a number of important respects, although it is far larger (Zarour, 1953, p. 437).

It was quite clear that there is no formal mechanism for parental arrangement of marriage. One older person said, "It only matters that they love each other." Parents obviously are not disinterested in the matter, however, and their violent disapproval would certainly provoke a family crisis, but it is doubtful that it could prevent the couple from being married if they really were determined. Nevertheless, it is expected that the man will formally request the girl's father's
583 approval before the matter proceeds. The traditional culture provides an escape for couples who face severe family disapproval. This is equivalent to elopement, and it occurs periodically at the present time. Generally, the prospective groom, with the help of friends, secretly removes the girl from the village. He then returns to the village to attempt negotiations, through an intermediary, with her father. All attempts are made to gain his approval, but if they fail, the wedding is likely to go ahead anyway. The ceremony cannot be performed in the church, or, of course, in the bride's house, but it may take place at the groom's house, and this is entirely at variance with the ordinary practice which is underlain by the notion: "The woman may not come into the man's house until after they are married." The full wedding ceremony symbolizes this concept quite neatly. Marriages by elopement are nothing new, and they are perfectly legal, but doubtless they involve disadvantages: the strain of bad feelings in the family, absence of the fun of the full ceremony, and, probably, fewer presents.

The bride price (*mahr* or *naqd*) is still negotiated for among Muslims. It was asked about by name in Munṣif, and the informants, who knew what it was, said that they did not have it now and thought that they had never had it in the village. Chémali (1915–16, p. 917) and Safi (1917–18, p. 135) report the bride price among Maronite mountaineers, but this does not necessarily weaken the possibility of the validity of the historical contention of the Munṣifiin. On the other hand, Miss Zarour (1953, p. 436) says that the bride price was given up only recently in predominantly Greek Orthodox Ramallah. As far as could be ascer-
[585] tained, the couple receives presents—emphasizing household equipment—in equal measure from both families and from friends.

512 So far, it would appear that matches are made by the virtual free choice of
584 the parties concerned, and that this is not a new practice. We would be in serious error, however, if we confirmed such an impression without qualification. Choice is free, but within the restricted compass of village membership. Exogamous marriages do occur, but they involve doubts, difficulties, and lasting consequences which cannot be taken lightly. (This will be discussed further in the chapter, "Kinship Structure and Marriage Patterns.")

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On the average, the marrying couple of the present day are both members of the village, the man is several years older than the girl, and has been supporting himself for some time. They are married in the church and then proceed to the groom's house for a long and riotous party, if they conform to traditional practices. Lately, however, the party immediately after the ceremony has in many cases given way to the couple's departure on a honeymoon, though a party may be held after they return. If the marriage involves a girl from one of the other villages in al-Qurnī, the ceremony is performed in her parents' house, and the party, if any, is held at the groom's house. Among other things, this symbolizes the adoption of the girl into her husband's village and family.

A Wedding. The following account of a wedding and the party following it is a description of the one wedding and wedding party which took place while the writer was present in the village. This wedding was different from most because the bride (*al-'aruus*) was from one of the other villages in al-Qurnī. The ceremony, therefore, took place in her father's house to which the party of the groom (*al-'ariis*) traveled in a short procession of automobiles. Many acts in the series of events were later checked for their generality of practice, and the description omits various items of behavior which appeared clearly to be of a purely individual nature. There was also a peculiar mixture of old and new—an old ceremony and old customs, yet the automobiles and the clothes were all evidence of the cultural change that had occurred.

As the Munṣif party got out of their cars and gathered themselves together, members of the bride's party, who had been on the terrace of her house, moved down and stopped at a point on the narrow path halfway between the house and the road. The *darbakky* (drum) was being beaten inside the house, and there were many high-pitched cries and shouts.

The visitors moved down to the bridal group and stopped. Owing to the narrowness of the path, neither group was in a cluster. An older man in *shirwal* and *ṭarbuush* seemed to be barring the way with a long stick. One younger man was firing blanks from a pistol. Young men on both sides sent up the cry, heard constantly from then on: *Ii-yay, al-'ariis azzan* ("Cheers for the excellent groom")! —and the same for the bride. There were many informal shouts and calls between various persons—evidently all welcoming phrases.

The groom's party stood still for perhaps five minutes, and then moved ahead between members of the bride's party who shook hands with everyone—*ahlan wa sahlan; mbarak; nshallah titbunnaa.* All the members of the greeting party were men except for a couple of old women. All the younger women remained in the house. "The groom's group may not enter the house until it has been bid welcome," someone said afterwards.

There was a huge throng milling around inside. The bride, not yet in wedding dress, was standing in the center of the *maq'ad* surrounded by girls her own age—sisters, cousins, and friends. Her head was bowed and she was crying. Some

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

syncratic, and are usually due to some such fact as the death of the father in his son's infancy. After she is married, a woman continues to be known by her own and her father's names, but if she is asked to give a family name, she will give her husband's rather than her father's, family name (cf. Granqvist, 1950, p. 39).

The minimal lineages, then, are name groups. Each lineage name identifies its various bearers as members of a common descent group who are, *ipso facto*, relatives. When pressed, everyone who was asked admitted that he was also related to all the members of his maximal lineage, "and of course *all* of us in Munṣif return (*nirjiʿ*) to Manṣur Jurjis al-Khuri." Of these two wider connections, the latter, wider one seemed to be the stronger. In fact, many young adults were quite vague as to the maximal lineage affiliation of many of the minimal lineages. To put the matter in another way, it appears that in many cases a stronger identification is felt with the village as a kin group than with the maximal lineages. Even here, the writer would suggest that the sense of village identification is based possibly more on the interests of common residence than on the kinship bond of common descent from a very remote ancestor. At this point, the possibility must be raised that common descent from Manṣur Jurjis al-Khuri and the various descent patterns indicated in Table 8 and Figure 5 are partially or wholly fictional. As it is, it can be seen that the ultimate descent of Minimal Lineages XX and XXI are unknown or in dispute. But if it is fiction, it is nonetheless a significant symbol of the conceptual unity of the village, a conception which is put in terms of kinship. A basically similar concept is held by the people of Ramallah in regard to their genealogical origins (Zarour, 1953, p. 432).

Returning to the minimal lineages, we have seen that they identify by name people who are considered to be relatives. Several people said that the only relatives "who count" are the members of one's minimal lineage. In addition to this, however, matrilateral first cousins appear to count about equally as relatives. Discussion of this exception to patrilineal emphasis must be postponed till later in this chapter.

If, for our immediate purposes, lineage-mates are the only relatives who count, what do they count for? In a negative function, lineage-mates are people who should not marry each other. There is no strict rule about this, and marriages within minimal lineages do occur. They are, in fact, significantly numerous in lineage VIII, which is by far the largest lineage in the village (see Table 10). Having said this much, it must nevertheless be emphasized that marriages within a minimal lineage appear to be avoided in general. They could be much more frequent than they are without violation of the definite rule against the marriage of first cousins. In a positive function, lineage-mates may inherit from each other, whereas matrilateral relatives, no matter how close they may be, can never do so.

It cannot be said definitely that the minimal lineages have any more functions than those which have just been outlined. There are, apparently, no lineage heads, and if lineages ever act as units on any issue, no such behavior was observed or re-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

601 to be very much of a relative. This is, of course, a classificatory device employed largely for the sake of convenience. It is possible to designate exactly a patrilateral second cousin, for example, in English by something like "my father's father's brother's son's son." In Arabic it is exactly the same, in reversed order: *ibn ibn khayy abu bayyi*. Obviously such awkward designations are to be avoided if possible, and usually they are unnecessary. If pressed in such a case as the example given above, a Munṣifi would say, "Yes, he is my *ibn 'amm*, but of course everyone knows he is not my father's brother's son (*ibn khayy bayyi*). He is my *ibn 'amm*, but there are six faces (*sitti wujuuh*) between us."

"Face"-counting is a short-hand device for reckoning the degree of relationship between two people. Between first cousins, for example, there are four faces, ego (1), ego's father (2), ego's father's brother (3), and ego's father's brother's son (4). The principle of the thing is to count up and down two lines of direct descent, crossing from one to the other at the point of closest connection between them. This is a sibling relationship, rather than a common ancestor.

In any case, we now see that *ibn 'amm* can be an ambiguous term. It happens, however, that there is a method for insuring that when one says *ibn 'amm*, one means first cousin only, and this is by aiding the word *laazim* to the base term. Hilma Granqvist (1931, p. 80) encountered exactly the same usage among Palestinian Muslim villagers. The word itself is derived from the root LZM which denotes compulsion, and Granqvist says that its use in this context is a reference to the preferential parallel cousin marriage of the Muslims.

This brings us to other suggestions of this marriage pattern in the kinship terminology used in Munṣif. It is possible that the single pair of terms for both sets of grandparents is a reflection of it. Patrilateral parallel cousins, of course, have one set of grandparents, their fathers' parents, in common. In a strongly patrilineal organization, these statuses are far more important than mother's parents, and it may be that one set of grandparent terms is sufficient simply because reference to and interaction with grandparents is almost always with fathers' parents only. This, however, is speculative, and the argument is admittedly tenuous.

582 601 Much more striking is the use of *'amm* in address to the father-in-law. Davies (1949, pp. 249–50) seems to accept this without question as an indication of patrilateral parallel cousin marriage. For the Muslims, among whom this type of marriage is still preferred and very often practiced, this interpretation seems clearly to be correct, for in such a case, the father-in-law of one spouse is necessarily also his or her father's brother. Now, however, consider the Munṣifi who says *'amm* to his father-in-law, yet whose Church forbids, ordinarily, the marriage of *all* first cousins, and whose forebears have been speaking Arabic for at least a thousand years. Davies reports his Palestinian Christian informant as saying that Palestinian Christians tend to regard their parallel cousins as potential spouses, at least. The present writer finds it difficult to believe that this is true, as a general rule in any case. Certainly there were no indications of it in Munṣif.

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601 used purposely here, for the reciprocal use of avuncular, parental, and grandparental terms by their respective referents is not meant literally by them nor is it to be taken literally in interpretation. These reciprocal usages are, it would seem, clear evidence of the semantic logic aspect of kinship terminology. In this case, the situation which is handled by the logic is the intense unity which is felt to bind close blood relatives together. And so, the argument with which this discussion began has come full circle. We can easily perceive that the reciprocal use of close familial terms is, from the functional point of view alone, "inconsistent," "dysfunctional," "non-functional," and so on. Viewed in terms of a semantic system, however, the usage turns out to be the source of significant insights one of which is that the usage serves a consistent function. Where, then, is the controversy? The answer should be that there really is none, that both the functional and the linguistic points of view are valid and necessary in the interpretation of kinship systems.

[576] One final point should be made. In actual practice, in Munşif, the use of personal names by elders addressing juniors and by contemporaries addressing each other is more frequent than the use of vocative kinship terms.

MARRIAGE

MARRIAGE PATTERNS

582 The Orthodox Church explicitly forbids the marriage of all types of first cousin. In Munşif this means that if two first cousins wish to be married, they cannot be married by the village priest. They may, however, appeal to the bishop of the district, and he is empowered to grant a dispensation. If he does, he performs the ceremony himself.

There is no formal rule for or against the marriage of a person to a member of his own minimal lineage. In Munşif, however, it is considered a better idea to marry outside the minimal lineage. The reason for this, according to one informant, is that all members of the minimal lineage are close relatives, and it is a poor idea for close relatives to marry because the children might be defective. The investigator volunteered the idea that, for example, a second cousin related to one through one's mother (wholly acceptable as a spouse) is more closely related as far as "blood" goes, after all, than a lineage-mate who is a fourth cousin. The informant did not deny the truth of this, but its significance *was* denied. Lineage-mates are all close relatives; matrilateral kin, except first cousins and their parents, are not. This is the villagers' definition of the situation.

582 613 At the present time, one's particular maximal lineage affiliation appears to have no bearing whatever on the choice of spouse. It is insignificant whether one marries inside or outside one's maximal lineage.

At this point, let us consider briefly Table 9 which indicates the closest degree of relationship, reckoned bilaterally, between the members of eighty-four married couples in Munşif. *Closest* degree of relationship is specified because many of

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the couples are related to each other in several ways. These data were obtained by asking the informant to state the number of faces between the husband-wife pairs on the census sheets. His immediate reaction was to count the faces patrilineally

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TABLE 9. CLOSEST DEGREE OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPOUSES

DEGREE	NUMBER	FAMILY OF HUSBAND	TYPE OF MARRIAGE
First cousin	2	B.XII. 45	Out. Max. Lin.
		A.XI. 43	In Max. Lin.
First cousin, once removed	5	B.XII. 44	Out. Max. Lin.
		A.VIII. 20	In Max. Lin.
		C.XVI. 56	In Min. Lin
		C.XXI. 76	Out. Max. Lin.
		C.XX. 67	Out. Max. Lin.
Second cousin	5	A.I. 1	In Max. Lin.
		A.III. 4	In Max. Lin.
		B.XII. 46	Out. Max. Lin.
		A.VII. 19	In Min. Lin.
		C.XIV. —	In Min. Lin.
Second cousin, once removed	6	A.X. 38	Out. Max. Lin.
		A.VIII. 26	In Min. Lin.
		A.VI. 16	In Max. Lin.
		A.III. 3	In Max. Lin.
		A.X. 42	In Min. Lin.
		C.XVI. 59	Out. Max. Lin.
Third cousin	11	A.VIII. 21	In Min. Lin.
		A.VI. 15	Out. Max. Lin.
		A.VIII. 22	In Min. Lin.
		A.VIII. 25	In Max. Lin.
		A.IX. 34	In Min. Lin.
		A.VIII. 29	In Min. Lin.
		A.VIII. 30	In Min. Lin.
		C.XXI. 77	Out. Max. Lin.
		C.XV. 53	Out. Max. Lin.
		A.V. 12	Out. Max. Lin.
		A.IV. 9	In Max. Lin.
Third cousin, once removed	1	A.VIII. 27	In Max. Lin.
Fourth cousin, or more distant	54	— —	—

with the husband as the primary reference. When it was explained to him that the *closest* relationship patrilineally *or* matrilaterally was desired, he did so, though it was clear that he thought it was unnecessary. He also admitted that he wasn't certain of all the relationships "through women." Between many of the spouses he said simply that the relationship was "far" or that there were "many" faces. These

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582 cases have arbitrarily been put into the "fourth cousin or more distant" category, 613 which may well be inaccurate. Table 9 indicates the fact that a sample of close biological relatives (i.e. third cousins and closer) includes pairs of people who are not only members of different minimal lineages, but of different maximal lineages as well; and this suggests sufficiently well the intricate web of kinship and marriage ties which connects different families and lineages.

621 Marriage within the village, that is, local endogamy, is very definitely pre- 582 ferred. Although exogamous marriages are now fairly numerous, this is a recent development which will be discussed later. For the purposes of this study, marriage with members of other villages in the Qurni, which have always occurred but relatively infrequently, are considered locally endogamous. (Defense of this definition will be presented in Part Two.)

Now let us turn to Table 10, which gives statistics on the present marriage patterns of the villagers, and consider, first, the intra-village marriages. The table does not illustrate the marriage patterns between lineages at the minimal lineage level. This is because no such patterns could be discovered in analyzing the census data.

Considering the column which represents the types of intra-village marriage which have been contracted, from the primary reference of men, we observe that:

1. "A" men take "A" women 2 to 1 as against "B" and "C" women.
2. "B" men take "A" or "C" women 8 to 1, as against "B" women.
3. "C" men take "A" or "B" women 3 to 2, as against "C" women.

Looking at these same marriages from the point of view of the women concerned, it is seen that:

1. A large proportion (44 per cent) of "A" women have been taken by "B" and "C" men.
2. Of "B" women seventy-five per cent have been taken by "A" and "C" men.
3. Of "C" women forty-six per cent have been taken by "A" and "B" men.

To put the matter in another way:

1. There are 43 women who have been taken *from* their own maximal lineage.
2. There are 45 women who have been taken *by* their own maximal lineage.
3. There are 40 men who have taken wives from their own maximal lineage.
4. There are 40 men who have taken wives from other maximal lineages than their own.

(The discrepancy in the total number of men and women is due to the occurrence of second marriages. Extra-village marriages do not seriously affect the roughly 51–49 ratio of women to men in the total population because they involve an approximately equal number of men and women. In other words there is an approximately equal number of men and women available for intra-village marriage.)

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TABLE 10. CORE GROUP: MARRIAGE PATTERNS BY LINEAGE

LINEAGE	MARRIED MALES			MARRIED FEMALES			TO AF	TO QURNI (MOSTLY MALES)	TO OUTSIDERS (MOSTLY FEMALES)	TOTAL NO. HOUSEHOLDS	TOTAL POPULATION
	In Min. Lin.	In Max. Lin.	Out. Max. Lin.	In Min. Lin.	In Max. Lin.	Out. Max. Lin.					
A.....	8	19	14	8	20	22	2	15	19	44	252
I.....	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	10
II.....	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	6
III....	—	4	1	—	3	2	—	—	1	4	31
IV.....	—	1	3	—	2	1	—	—	3	3	20
V.....	—	—	3	—	5	3	—	3	4	5	31
VI.....	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	1	3	22
VII...	1	—	1	1	3	1	—	—	1	3	10
VIII..	5	7	1	5	3	9	—	4	3	14	81
IX.....	1	2	1	1	2	2	—	2	1	3	12
X.....	1	1	2	1	—	3	2	3	1	6	25
XI.....	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	4
B.....	0	1	8	0	3	9	0	2	3	6	42
XII...	—	1	6	—	2	7	—	1	2	4	30
XIII..	—	—	2	—	1	2	—	1	1	2	12
C.....	2	10	18	2	12	12	0	2	8	31	184
XIV..	1	—	3	1	1	1	—	1	1	3	20
XV....	—	1	3	—	1	1	—	—	—	3	11
XVI..	1	—	3	1	4	2	—	1	2	5	25
XVII..	—	3	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	2	14
XVIII	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	2	10
XIX..	—	1	2	—	—	1	—	—	1	3	13
XX....	—	3	3	—	2	3	—	—	2	8	58
XXI..	—	2	3	—	2	4	—	—	1	3	31
Deceased.....								—	1		
AF 3-7.....								—	3		
AF 1-4.....								—	1		
AF 1-2.....								1	—		

To put the matter in another way, for the village as a whole, marriages outside maximal lineages and inside them are almost exactly evenly divided. This is

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582 what would be expected on the basis of chance alone in view of the following
613 facts: (1) Individuals who choose spouses from inside the village, have a fifty-fifty
621 choice, either to marry inside their maximal lineage or outside it. (2) By village marriage rules, this choice is entirely free.

The deviations from this overall pattern in the figures for the marriage patterns of the individual maximal lineages are, in all probability, due to the differences in gross size of the maximal lineages. "A" includes forty-eight per cent of the total population of the village. For "A" men, therefore, about half of the available women are also from "A" in the first place, in addition to the fact that there is a fifty-fifty chance of their choosing from "A." "B" is overwhelmingly exogamous, both in regard to its men and its women. "B" has only six per cent of
[588] the total population of the village, divided among six households. Marriage within any one household would be virtually impossible because of incest regulations, and although it happens that members of any one of the households *could*, theoretically, marry into any of the others, there is no instance of it. (The one case of an intra-"B" marriage was between a man of XII and a "deceased" lineage.) Like "A" and "C," "B" people have a theoretical fifty-fifty choice between "B" and "non-B," but because of the small size of "B" its men and women are really forced to take from and marry into the other two maximal lineages. "C" has thirty-five per cent of the total population, and, as might be expected, its marriage patterns reflect its middle position. In contradistinction to "A," "C" men show a moderately strong tendency to take their wives from the other two maximal lineages, but this tendency is not nearly so strong as it is in "B." In regard to its women, however, about the same situation obtains in "C" as in "A," that is, slightly under half of the women are taken by men from other lineages.

To summarize: "A" men tend to take wives from "A" because "A" is so large. "B" and "C" men tend to take their wives from "A" for the same reason. An actual count confirms this generalization. "B" men have taken eight from "A" and one from "C." "C" men have taken fourteen from "A" and three from "B."

One informant was conscious of these tendencies and was of the opinion that
[554] in the past, more than fifty years ago at least, they were more pronounced than they are now. This was explained by saying, in effect that "B" and "C" wanted to marry "A" because "A" was more distinguished. "And how did 'A' feel about it?" "Oh, some did not care, but some others minded a great deal." And a story was related of a person in the past with whom the family refused to have anything more to do after the person's marriage to a member of another maximal lineage than "A." No further examples could, however, be adduced. The informant also remarked emphatically that the conduct of the family had been shameful, and that it would never happen in the present day.

621 For some time, the writer seriously considered the hypothesis that until re-
613 cently "A" was specifically endogamous, and that "B" and "C" were mutually
582 exogamous, but necessarily endogamous with regard to "A." The probability of

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the truth of this notion of a dichotomous social organization was seen in several factors, viz: (1) The even split in population between "A" on one hand and "B" and "C" on the other. (2) The indisputable fact that there is a conceptual division of the village into an upper half (dominated by "A") and a lower half (dominated by "C"). (3) The reports of all authorities that Arab kin groups tend to be endogamous and that Arab villages tend to be split into two factions (cf. Zarour, 1953, p. 432). (4) The apparent tendency for the present clique groups to fall into the lines laid by the supposed dichotomies. (So many exceptions to this were discovered, that this factor was discarded before the main theory was.)

On this theory, the present patterns of intra-village marriage were interpreted as a recent "breakdown" caused indirectly by acculturation. It was guessed that if the villagers felt that the integrity of the village as a unit was being seriously threatened by foreign influences, especially the lure of the city, there would be a tendency for the village as a unit to assume an even more important position *as such* in the villagers' eyes, so much so that maximal lineage lines would be greatly weakened. The relaxing of maximal lineage, hence of moiety, endogamy rules would be consistent with this tendency toward retrenchment.

This was a tempting and plausible theory. As time went on, however, it remained impossible to support its line of reasoning with behavioral evidence. Moreover, the theory was found to run afoul of two sets of objective evidence as follows:

1. During the period in which the postulated "breakdown" of lineage marriage barriers and concomitant solidification of village unity would have occurred (c. 1900 to the present), marriages to outsiders became a definite element in village life. (Previously they had been sporadic and had consisted entirely of village men marrying Orthodox women whom they had met in other districts while doing wage-labor there. These women were eventually brought into the village and entirely assimilated.) These marriages to outsiders are, at present, well distributed among the lineages, and with only a very few exceptions those who have contracted them have been persons of solid repute and status in the village. Marriage to an outsider is not, therefore, by and large, the behavior of persons whose social status is marginal, nor does it lower the status of such individuals. Attitudes toward it range from indifference ("I'll marry whomsoever I fall in love with. If she is not from the village, it does not matter."), to mild disapproval couched in practical terms ("It is unwise, it is taking a big chance."), to moderately strong disapproval ("The children of the girls who do it will be lost to the village and we will not be able to see them often."). As far as could be observed, however, there is no violent objection to it, and at most, only token social pressures are brought against it. It is not a social offense. Consequently, it is difficult to rationalize away the conflict between preferred village endogamy and marriage to outsiders by suggesting that the hypothecated retrenchment in village unity (represented by the development of free marriage choice within the village as a whole in place of divisive moiety endogamy) was a violent reaction to the behavior of social mavericks.

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621 613 582 2. Data on marriages contracted between 1860 and 1900 indicate that the present patterns in intra-village marriage were in operation in full force from the beginning of that period, and presumably before it. In this period, according to the fragmentary figures at hand, "A" contracted thirty-one marriages. Thirteen of these were within "A" itself. Of the remaining eighteen, there were ten men who took two wives from "B" and eight from "C"; and there were eight women, two of whom were taken by "B," six by "C." "B" contracted eleven marriages. Two of these were within "B"; three men took from outside, two from "A," one from "C." Eight "B" women were taken by "A" and "C." "C" contracted twenty-four marriages, nine within itself, fifteen outside. Six men took from "A," one from "B," and eight women were taken by "A." This is virtually the same pattern as that illustrated by the figures for present marriages.

It should be added that even if all the evidence fitted together properly, it would be difficult to conceive of so radical a change as a change in marriage patterns taking place in so short a time on so large a scale—unless there had already been so large a number of exceptions to the rule that its reality would be open to serious question anyway.

It is held, then, that the present patterns of intra-village marriage are not a product of recent acculturation; that they are, in fact, of long standing. Presumably they have been in effect ever since the very early days when the village had grown to be more than a single family group. Except for the very limited range of absolutely prohibited relatives, the marriage system in Munṣif is one of free choice within the village. The apparently different patterns among the maximal lineages revealed in the figures are, in reality, functions of mathematical chance and therefore are not social or cultural patterns at all.

582 In Munṣif, specific marriage prohibitions apply within any group of relatives which consists of a married pair, their children, the original pair's siblings and *their* children. In other words, they apply to all first cousins, to aunts and nephews, uncles and nieces (very often of the same age in Munṣif), and, of course, to parents and children. Marriage is also forbidden between any person and his godparent's children, between whom a conventionalized siblingship is recognized.

The restriction on marriage between any kind of first cousin has been alluded to before. Inasmuch as it is an important aspect of the bilateral emphasis in the social organization, it requires considerable comment.

The extension of marriage prohibition to all first cousins is a Church rule. Presumably, it is of as long standing among the Orthodox Arabs as their Christianity is. Originally, however, it was imposed upon the pagan Arabs approximately at the same time as their conversion, and it apparently displaced the system current at the time, which Muḥammad formalized and incorporated into Islam. The key to this latter system is the preferential marriage of patrilateral parallel first cousins which is necessarily lineage endogamy.

In a strongly patrilineal system, patrilateral parallel cousins are the closest

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possible relatives, except siblings, who can ordinarily be expected to be of similar age (see Barth, 1954, p. 167). The prohibition on the marriage of siblings is one of the few unequivocally universal traits in the behavior of human beings which have so far been identified, and the Arabs are no exception.

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This marriage system is a reflection of one of the most fundamental concepts in Arab culture. If the Arab-in-the-street could fully verbalize this concept, he would say something like this: "The strongest tie which binds one person to another is the *tie* of blood, reckoned in the male line. The only people in this hard world in whom I can put *my* full trust are my relatives. Therefore, the best people in the world are my relatives—*my* brother, *my* father, my father's brothers and their sons, and beyond them, everyone in my father's lineage. When one marries, one chooses the best person one can find, and the best person is to be found among one's kinsmen—the closer the better."

A rigid functionalist might well reject this formulation, dismissing it as unverified sentimentality. He would say that lineage, and better still, extended family, endogamy exists because (a) it is a means of keeping property within the family (cf. Latron, 1936, p. 132), and (b) because it means that the bride price is materially reduced (cf. Daghestani, 1932, p. 22 and Barth, 1954, p. 168). These elements *are* associated with the system of marriage of close relatives, and they undoubtedly serve to reinforce the desirability of the system in the peoples' minds. But primary dependence upon hypothecated *causal* relationships of this sort can be a most misleading procedure. The fact is that the Arabs *are* sentimental, in both the literal and the common meanings of the word, about their kinsmen (cf. Tannous, 1942b, *in toto*). All the attitudes and emotions involved in this stem from the key conception of human relationships which has been noted above. This conception for the majority of Arabs probably exists largely at the implicit level, at least in its fully developed form.

Its power is no less among Christian Arabs than it is among Muslim Arabs. But the Christian Arabs have a special problem, a conflict between, on the one hand, their conception of the kinsmen and his role in marriage and, on the other hand, the dictates of their religion. For strong sectarian sentiments, solidified here as everywhere else by meticulous adherence to clearly specified rules, are another behavioral cornerstone of Arab culture, equally important as kinship. In fact, so strong are both that one cannot be sacrificed for the other, even temporarily, without great discomfort, and certainly not in a continuous system like the marriage patterns of a community.

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Obviously the conflict comes to a head in Mazgif in the matter of the prohibition of marriage of all first cousins. The resolution of the conflict appears to be a sort of compromise which is revealed in the rather ambiguous general status of all first cousins as a group. In some respects they appear to be undifferentiated, which is a violation of strict patriliny. In other instances, patrilateral parallel cousins alone have special status.

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582 588 The term "incest" is most meaningful when it is restricted to the denotation of the mating and/or marriage of relatives so close that knowledge of the act excites horror and revulsion among the other members of the community to such a degree that the guilty pair may be disgraced, ostracized or even killed. On this definition, the marriage of first cousins in Mutnjif *is not* incest. This is indicated by the status of the two pairs of first cousin spouses now living in the village. As far as could be observed, they suffer in no way because of their special relationship, not even from mild ridicule. The fact *was* singled out for remark as being unusual, against the formal rules, and therefore requiring an episcopal dispensation, but this was all.

582 606 Nevertheless, the marriage of first cousins is restricted, and though not absolutely impossible, difficulties are put in the way of its achievement, and it is rare. In terms of this restriction all first cousins are of equal and undifferentiated status. It is the guess of this writer that (1) the concept of all first cousins being equally close relatives in terms of affective relationships, and (2) the extension of the kinship term *jaleb* to the male spouses of all first cousins are developments from the pseudo-sibling status of all first cousins which the Church marriage rules established. These three elements of behavior are not in accord with what we would expect to find in a strictly patrilineal system. However, in regard to inheritance and other rights and privileges associated with lineage membership, patrilateral parallel cousins alone have special status, and none of the other types of first cousin count at all. It is important to note that the importance of matrilateral kin is limited to first cousins and their parents, especially the mother's brothers.

Such is the "compromise" between Church regulations and kinship rules as reflected in the various types of behavior associated with first cousins. The theory is admittedly speculative, but in the absence of a better alternative, it is the only interpretation which this writer can give the variously inconsistent phenomena which have been discussed.

RULES OF INHERITANCE

428 The rules of inheritance are relevant to the subject of kinship and marriage. Preferably, inheritance among the Arabs goes from father to children. According to Koranic and Ottoman law, all sons receive equal shares, and all daughters receive equal shares, but a daughter's share is equal to half a son's. As the villagers say: "One son is worth two daughters."

In Mutnjif, however, daughters customarily do not take their shares, but, instead, make them over to their brothers. Zeevee (1955, p. 437) reports exactly the same practice in contemporary Ramallah. Several informants of both sexes said that this was not an unfair arrangement because most brothers give their sisters substantial presents when they are married. Since daughters do not, in actual practice, ordinarily inherit property, their marriage to members of other kin groups does not contribute to any dispersal of family property.

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Women in general, however, can and do inherit property in their own right. For example, a widow, even if she has children, gets one-eighth of her husband's property, and if there are no children at all, she gets one-fourth. If there are daughters but no sons, the daughters inherit, in equal shares, a total of fourteen twenty-fourths of their father's property, while seven twenty-fourths go to his brother or brothers. There appears, nevertheless, to be a tendency for such heiresses to make over their inheritance to sons of one status or another, or at least to relinquish all responsibility for it. For example, one house in the village was reported to be owned jointly by two men who were not close relatives at all. By marriage, however, they were 'ahlil, married to sisters, and these women, who had no brothers, had inherited the house from their father.

For purposes of inheritance, a man's property is theoretically divided into twenty-four equal parts, on which basis the shares of various heirs can automatically be computed. One can imagine, however, the difficulties and disagreements which arise in trying to divide what is mostly real property, rather than money, into twenty-four equal parts. These difficulties are one reason for the frequent postponement of the actual division of inheritance among brothers.

GODPARENTS

It has been mentioned that godparenthood establishes a ritual sibling tie in the second generation. Ordinarily the *zikkin* at the wedding becomes the godfather (*'arrab*) of the children, while the *zikkina* becomes their godmother (*'arraba*). Between the godchildren (masc., *fal'awa*; fem., *fal'awa*) and the children of their godparents marriage is forbidden, as between siblings, and sometimes they use sibling terms. However, in actual practice, this prohibition does not greatly widen the range of persons with whom marriage is forbidden because many of the brides and grooms select their own brothers or sisters to be *zikkin* and *zikkina*. Consequently, in these cases the children are first cousins. In this culture, the godparent complex is largely a means of reinforcing the solidarity of an already solid group of kinsmen. Most informants did not seem to take these ritual statuses, as such, very seriously.

VILLAGE ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

We now turn to the important topic of village endogamy and exogamy. No one is remembered to have married outside the village or the Qurai (marriages within the Qurai are to be considered as locally endogamous) before about one hundred years ago. It has been mentioned before that most of the early cases were men who took wives from villages in which they were doing wage labor. These cases were apparently sporadic and had little or no effect on the social structure of the village since the wives were absorbed into it.

Table 11 indicates that village exogamy did not become a real trend until

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after World War I. It will be remembered that it has only been during this period that efficient long-distance communications and residence away from the village on a large scale (giving opportunity to meet outsiders) have developed. The table also shows how the tendency is steadily increasing, though of course the percentage for 1950–52 is not comparable to those for entire decades.

About half of these now married to outsiders are women, and in only a few cases have the husbands of such women settled in Munqif (thereby establishing affiliate families). In other words, the present trend to exogamy is removing a large number of women from the village, and the children of these women belong to their fathers' families and villages, not to Munqif. The marriage of women to out-

TABLE 11. MARRIAGES OF ALL TYPES, CONTRACTED 1860–1952

	Endogamous		Exogamous					
Date	Village	Quru	Greek Orthodox	Other Christian	Muslim	Total Endog.	Total Exog.	% Exog.
1860–1869 *	3	—	—	—	—	3	—	0.0
1870–1879 *	7	3	—	—	—	10	—	0.0
1880–1889 *	17	4	—	—	—	21	—	0.0
1890–1899	21	3	1	—	—	24	1	4.0
1900–1909	9	4	1	—	—	13	1	7.0
1910–1919	7	0	—	1	—	7	1	12.5
1920–1929	23	6	2	1	—	29	3	9.0
1930–1939	22	3	8	4	—	25	12	33.0
1940–1949	14	3	3	5	3	17	11	39.0
1950–1952	1	1	—	3	—	2	5	71.0
Total	124	27	15	16	3	151	34	18.4

* Figures for these decades are fragmentary.

siders means a real loss to the village. One might, therefore, expect the villagers to prevent it. There is evidence that the phenomenon is regretted and some of the expressed opinions about it have already been noted. However, most of the husbands in these cases appear to be young men of reasonably good prospects who are working in the city, not in their natal villages. The parents of the girls seem to recognize that the chances are good that their daughters will be as well cared for by the outsiders as they would be by local husbands. Besides, if it came to an economic show-down, the parents in most cases would be unable to deliver any ultimatum to their self-supporting daughters. The whole trend is quite clearly correlated with the current acculturative process, wherein the city with its material conveniences has a particular appeal to the young housewife. And a girl's marriage to an outsider *living in the city* is quite a different matter from her moving to his village where she would remain a social outsider for some years.

There is a definite difference between marrying an Orthodox outsider and an outsider of different religion. The saying in *Al-mar'a bilad* applies, "The woman follows her husband." This means that in the case of mixed-religion marriages, the children will be raised in the religion of the father, a custom which is a major deterrent to such marriages. Such cases in Munşif constitute a minority of the outsider-marriages. They are all very recent. The first (which for a long time was the only one) occurred about 1914 when one of the village girls married a Moslem wage-laborer who was living in the village. He settled permanently, and one of the third class affiliate families was thus established. In general, the reaction to the marriage of village girls to men of other religious control somewhat and has passively resigned.

However, on one point in relation to mixed marriages village opinion is very strong. If a village man wished to marry a girl of another religion (necessarily also of another village), it is assumed that the children would take the religion of the father. Suppose, however, that the girl's parents refused to agree to this? In such a case, village opinion is that the man should give up any idea of the marriage. If, however, he insisted on acquiescing to the girl's parents' demand, he would be strongly condemned and very likely ostracized, at least for a time. Such an action would be a violation of religious and community mores as well as of those relating to the proper relationship between man and wife. And it is certainly true that if a number of men should adopt this practice, the religious structure of the village would be seriously undermined.

CLIQUES

The existence of cliques in Munşif has been mentioned before, but it has also been mentioned that data on them is wholly inadequate. This much can be said. There are two clear-cut groups of close and constant companions, and during the course of the study, various members of each group made unflattering remarks about members of the other. It is possible that the whole village is split into factions with the two groups as nuclei, but only some inconclusive suggestions of this were encountered. Others who have had experience with Middle East villages generally agree that this type of faction-split is frequently encountered. (cf. Gibb & Bowen, 1950, p. 268). It is important to note that the members of each of the two groups do not belong to any one minimal lineage or maximal lineage.

SOCIAL CLASS

In Munşif there is not now, and apparently never has been, a particular family which owns a large proportion of the village, on whose land other villagers work as tenants. In some parts of the Middle East, this type of organization results in a rather clear two-class system.

In Munşif, as in many other Lebanese villages, the social structure is equali-

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THE PATTERNS OF CULTURE CHANGE*

THE PAST

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LEBANESE VILLAGE

[illegible] has described the social life of the traditional Middle East (including Lebanese) village as revolving around four major themes each ... which organizes action and functions emotions and values. These themes are the land (Tannous, 1945, p. 334 ff.), kinship (ibid., p. 337 ff.), and religion (ibid., p. 339 ff.).

Under "land" Tannous subsumes subsistence techniques, which are mainly agricultural techniques, and in general the actions, attitudes, and values of rural economic life. The major point is that the traditional peasant, who draws his entire subsistence from the land, feels toward it a rather intense personal devotion and sense of identification. In Lebanon, where individual private ownership is common, and based in large degree on inheritance from ancestors, these feelings are particularly intense.

In regard to kinship (we have previously discussed its importance as an organizing mechanism), the following quotation from Tannous, describing the social unit called extended lineage in the present study, is a good summary:

> A member of all those who claim descent from the same paternal ancestor. The number of joint families that make up a kinship group varies from village to village according to the age of the community and the prominence of dominant families. Its influence is felt by the individual in a variety of situations. From the start, the child learns that he should address every member of the unit as "uncle," or "uncle," or "aunt," or "grandfather," or "grandmother." As mentioned above, it is expected of a young man to marry within rather than outside the kinship group. [Tannous is generalizing on all Middle East villages, and most of them, of course, unlike Muscat, are Muslim.] In times of serious conflict or feuds within the village, kinship loyalty asserts itself and is binding upon every member. (Tannous, 1945, p. 338.)

Of religion, Tannous says that it is a way of life in the traditional village, that it permeates life completely. In this connection, he writes about the present and his religion: "He may not know much about its dogmas or subscribe to their

* The main points which are treated in this chapter have been published elsewhere (Gulick, 1954), in somewhat different form.

is also a discrete example of Sphere 3 (Sect Group)—it is a Greek Orthodox enclave in a Moslem area.

Consequently, for the purposes of this study, in the light of Lévi-Strauss's definition of "true endogamy," and in view of the special nature of al-Qusair, the marriages of Mustafas to members of other Qusair villages are considered to be locally endogamous. Let it be remembered, also, that such marriages, though traditional, have always been in the minority, for most Mustafas have always married each other.

The culture of Mustafa functions conformably to the sphere scheme in these two respects: (1) It is an endogamous local group (Sphere 3), within a, shall we say, secondary endogamous local group, al-Qusair, which surrounds it and of which it is the cultural center. (2) Al-Qusair, a district of very restricted size, is a distinct sect group (Sphere 3).

When we turn to the internal segmentation of Mustafa, we find that it is, according to the expectation of the theory, subdivided into lineages (in two orders of magnitude of which only one—the minimal lineage—retains functional significance at the present time), and that the lineages are subdivided into families (whether primarily nuclear or extended cannot definitely be decided from the data at hand). However, we find that lineage exogamy, rather than endogamy, is preferred, and that marriage within the degree of relatives who ordinarily constitute extended families is explicitly against the Church rules of marriage. In other words, Spheres 1 and 2 are present, but they do not conform to expectation in that they are not closely endogamous.

The extended family exogamy rule in Mustafa has already been discussed in such detail that further lengthy discussion at this point is not necessary. Suffice it [illegible] between pagan Arabic and Christianity, during which process the pagan Arab ideal of marriage to the closest possible relative (cf. Spencer, 1933, p. 487) gave way to the Christian rule against it. We can now, however, look upon this matter in another way. We can say that a certain value (endogamous marriage) ordinarily associated with Sphere 1 has been sacrificed in the interests of an opposite value which is associated with Sphere 3 (Sect); and Mustafa's Sphere 3 status is particularly keenly felt because an opposing sect powers so closely around it.

The preference for minimal lineage exogamy, for which there is actually no specific rule, does not appear really to be a violation of the lineage endogamy principle, when it is considered in full context. In this, the following factors must be considered:

1. Most of the lineages are very small, and this greatly reduces the chances that an individual will or can select a lineage-mate as a spouse. Lineage endogamy does occur, though in small numbers. Such marriages are fairly evenly distributed among the lineages as a whole with the exception of a heavy concentration of them in the lineage which is by far the largest in the village.

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2. Probably more significant, however, is the fact that the lack of preference for lineage endogamy is but one point of evidence for the general tendency in the village toward de-emphasis of the individual minimal lineages as formal institutions. The other points of evidence on this matter are: (a) a minimum of lineage exclusive (communal) landholdings; (b) clique-groups cross-cutting lineage lines; (c) rarity, and perhaps absence, of lineage feuds; (d) lack of apparent interest in lineage names; (e) marriage prohibition crosscuts lineage lines in Sphere 1; (f) emphasis on bilateral connections in Sphere 1.

This de-emphasis of individual minimal lineages does not indicate that there is a weakening in the adherence of the Mountfalcon to lineage (Sphere 2) values. Rather, it is a consequence of the fact that these values have been applied to the Core Group (i.e. the village) as a whole, and that this unit is, for the most part, a relatively stronger focus of identification than individual lineages are.

We have seen that structurally (whether by reason of actual development or of formalized conceptualization) the village is a single super-lineage, and that behavior in regard to it conforms to this structural status, even in small details. (1) It is ideally, and still, for the most part, actually, endogamous. (2) When exogamous marriages do occur, outsider husbands are referred to by the term commonly reserved for a man who takes a wife from one's lineage. (3) Individuals who are uncertain of all the maximal and minimal lineage affiliations are very certain of the over-all common descent. (4) Feuds are not only rare (as they must be within a lineage), but the villagers are proud of the fact. In terms of the concept of spheres, Mountfalcon as a whole can be looked upon as an expanded segment of Sphere 2 (Lineage).

STABILITY AND CHANGE: CONCLUSION

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During the course of this work, we have seen that acculturation has wrought severely disruptive changes in the village economy and significant changes in "material culture." In addition, it has created disconcerting conflicts in certain values, conflicts which remain unresolved. Yet it has had very little effect on the values and behavior associated with the community itself as an institution and as an in-group.

In seeking an explanation of this phenomenon of cultural persistence we have not chosen simply to dismiss it as an example of the "negative response" (Hallowell, 1945, p. 180) which is frequently encountered in culture contact situations. Rather, starting with the assumption that no particular cultural trait as such necessarily shows a peculiar resistance to change (Ogburn, 1950, p. 156), we have proceeded to the assumption that *pre-existing configurations* of traits may indeed prove to be factors in change (Herskovits, 1945, p. 154).

We have presented a conceptual scheme of the basic social structure of the Middle East, an elaborate structure of in-groups within in-groups. This is a con-

Santiago, Argentina; dated Oct. 22nd, 1904. 631/196

" . . . I have previously written you that my aunt wants me to marry her daughter, Miriana. I see that this is a good match. She is nice and well educated, and I don't believe there is any better girl back in our village. But your consent is my primary concern, and I beg of you not to deny me this request, for Miriana is a gem . . ." [532]

7. From three sons to their father, N. B. Nejjar, back home; Burraga, Australia, dated Dec. 22rd, 1905. 632/196 573

" . . . Two weeks ago, we sent you a check for 50 pounds. . . . Our dear father, we have to remark about the way you write to us, and that it should not be so. Your letters contain many statements in which you address us and praise us in such a way, as if we were the masters and you the followers. There is no need for this at all, and our financial success should not change the relationship between us. We are your sons and shall always be obedient to you and do all we can to serve you. . . . Write us as father and master, who orders his servants to do their duty towards him. . . ."

8. From M. Sarkis to his relative I. T. Elias; Cleveland, Ohio; dated March 20th, 1913.

" . . . Please forgive the manner in which I wrote you last, doubting your honesty in handling money I sent you for my mother and the family. It was all the fault of my sister who sent me false news and made me write to you as I did. I know now that she was after her selfish

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THE MODAL INTERVAL FOR AGE AT LAST

532 marriage is between twenty-six and thirty. Over half of the sample married between twenty-one and thirty. The incidence of child marriage is quite low (.3%) while only one-tenth delayed marriage until thirty-six or later.

3.32 Female head of household and wife of household head. Table 12

When it comes to age at marriage, we find a considerable difference for women as compared to men. Only one percent are unmarried compared to eight percent of the men. Marriage occured earlier, with eighteen percent married at the age of fifteen or younger compared to the men's three-tenths of one percent. The modal age of marriage is in the interval sixteen to twenty (45%) and the second highest frequency is twenty-one to twenty-five (22%). By the age of twenty-five, then, eighty-five percent of the female household heads and wives of heads were married.

[592]

Far fewer than among the men marry at thirty-six or over (.8%).

3.33 Children of head of household. Table 13.

592 Surprisingly, over ninety-seven percent of the children residing in the sample households are unmarried. This figure probably reflects the influence of urbanization. In addition, it is a symptom of a tendency to set up individual households when married. Of those who are married, the modal age is between twenty-one and twenty-five.

532

The detailed breakdown of age at marriage for the first seven children and for the eighth through twelfth child, grouped, are shown in the table.

3.34 Father of head of household. Table 14

592 There were just twenty-five fathers of heads of household in the sample, while there
532 were two hundred and thirty-one mothers. This discrepancy is accounted for by the presumed greater incidence of widows, based on our knowledge of the age difference between men and women at marriage, and also by the gre-

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ter life span of females. About thirty-two percent married at the age of twenty or under.

3.35 Mother of head of household, Table 15

The same sex differrance as with the head of the household and his spouse in age at marriage occurs. Over seventy-two percent of the mothers of heads of households were married by the age of twenty.

3.36 Father-in-law and mother-in-law of head of household, Tables 16, 17

There were many less fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law of heads of household in residence than of fathers and mothers. The presumption is that parents go with their male children, if possible. Other values are not significant, but are shown for completeness.

3.37 Grandchildren of head of household, Table 18

A total of two hundred and twelve grandchildren were tabulated in the sample in ninety-one families; or roughly one in twenty households had grandchildren living with them. Ninety-one families had at least one child living with them, while two families had as many as eight. Of these, fifty-one is married.

3.38 Siblings of head of household, Table 19

A tendency towards extended family living is seen in the incidence of siblings living with the head of the household. There were three hundred and fifty-eight siblings living with one hundred and ninety-four families in ten percent of the sample. Over eighty-six percent were unmarried.

3.39 Other family members in household, Table 20

There were two hundred and eighty-eight miscellaneous family members living in the sample households, or in about fifteen percent. The most significant figure, again, is that fifty-five percent are unmarried.

3.39.1 Servants of household, Table 21

The great majority of servants are un-

Table 11

Age at Marriage of Male Head of Household

Age	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1665	100	
15 and under	5	0.30	
16 - 20	187	11.23	.008
21 - 25	635	37.33	.010
26 - 30	473	28.41	.011
31 - 35	230	13.81	.008
36 and over	182	10.93	.007
Unmarried	135	7.37	.006
No Answer	7	0.42	

Table 12

Age at Marriage of Female Head of Household and Wife of Household Head

Age	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1665	100	
15 and under	307	18.22	.010
16 - 20	755	44.81	.012
21 - 25	366	21.72	.010
26 - 30	176	10.45	.007
31 - 35	44	2.61	.004
36 and over	14	0.83	
Unmarried	17	1.00	
No Answer	6	0.36	

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Table 13

Age at Marriage of Children of Head of Household

Age	Total	Percent	sp.	1st Child	Percent	2nd Child	Percent	3rd Child	Percent
Total	5071	100.00		1467	100.00	1283	100.00	961	100.00
15 and under	13	0.26		9	0.61	2	0.16	1	0.10
16 - 20	31	0.61		20	1.36	10	0.08	–	–
21 - 25	80	1.58	.001	40	2.73	14	1.13	3	0.32
26 - 30	35	0.54		22	1.50	3	0.24	1	0.10
31 - 35	8	0.16		1	0.07	3	0.24	1	0.10
36 and over	1	0.00		1	0.07	–	–	–	–
Unmarried	4929	97.14	.002	1368	98.35	1250	97.34	955	98.38
No Answer	3	0.06		–	–	1	0.00	–	–

4th Ch/64	Percent	5th Ch/64	Percent	6th Ch/64	Percent	7th Ch/64	Percent	8-12th Ch/64	Percent
621	100.00	280	100.00	234	100.00	107	100.00	78	100.00
1	0.16	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1	0.16	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3	0.48	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
616	98.20	280	100.00	234	100.00	107	100.00	78	97.44
–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2.56

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Table 14

Age at Marriage
of Father of Head of Household

Age	Number	Percent
Total	25	100
15 and under	2	8.00
16 - 20	6	24.00
21 - 25	5	20.00
26 - 30	5	20.00
31 - 35	2	8.00
36 and over	4	16.00
No Answer	1	4.00

Table 15

Age at Marriage
of Mother of Head of Household

Age	Number	Percent	cp.
Total	232	100	
15 and under	67	28.88	.650
16 - 20	102	43.97	.652
21 - 25	32	13.79	
26 - 30	11	4.74	
31 - 35	1	0.43	
36 and over	–	–	
No Answer	19	8.19	

19 Churchill S-6 (1958) 1954 NEI Lebanon 193

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Table 16

ge at Marriage
of Father-i-law of Head of Household

Age	Number	Percent
Total	4	100
15 and under	–	–
16 - 20	1	25.00
21 - 25	1	25.00
26 - 30	–	–
31 - 35	2	50.00
36 and over	–	–
No Answer	–	–

Table 17

Age at Marriage
of Mother-in-law of Head of Household

Age	Number	Percent
Total	51	100
15 and under	11	21.57
16 - 20	23	45.10
21 - 25	9	17.65
26 - 30	1	1.96
31 - 35	–	–
36 and over	–	–
No Answer	7	13.72

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15; Churchill v. [illegible] (1888) 1951 MEI Lawsuit MEI

Table 18

Age at Marriage of Grandchildren of Head of Household

Age	Number	Percent
Total	212	100
15 and under	–	–
16 - 20	1	.47
21 - 25	–	–
26 - 30	–	–
31 - 35	–	–
36 and over	–	–
Unmarried	211	99.53

Table 19

Age at Marriage of Siblings of Head of Household

Age	Number	Percent	ep
Total	339	100	
15 and under	3	.84	
16 - 20	13	3.35	
21 - 25	11	3.07	
26 - 30	9	2.51	
31 - 35	7	1.96	
36 and over	5	1.40	
Unmarried	309	86.32	.0328
No Answer	2	.56	

[illegible]

Table 20

Age at Marriage
of Other Family Members in Household

Age	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	[illegible]	100	
15 and under	8	2.78	.838
16 - 20	76	26.39	
21 - 25	21	7.29	
26 - 30	13	4.51	
31 - 35	5	1.74	
36 and over	2	0.69	
[illegible]	159	55.21	.929
No Answer	4	1.39	

Table 21

Age at Marriage
of Servants of Household

Age	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	[illegible]	100	
15 and over	3	.84	
16 - 20	11	3.05	
21 - 25	3	.30	
26 - 30	4	1.11	
31 - 35	4	.47	
36 and over	—	—	
[illegible]	337	93.37	.933
No Answer	39	0.36	

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Table 22

Distribution of Male Head of Household
by Year Married,
Showing or Presumptive Years

Year	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	[illegible]	100	
1940 - Present	—	—	
1930 - 1940	251	15.08	.908
Before 1930	1413	84.90	.908
No Answer	1	0.06	

p. 84(A)

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 M.[illegible] Lebanon MEI
by Asst Millward MD C

TABLE 9

Results of observations for taste reaction to phenyl-thio-carbamide, mid-digital hair, eye color, hair color, and skin color on four tribes of Syrian Bedouin. In per cents.

Tribe	Number	Taste reaction +	Taste reaction —	Tribe	Number	Mid-digital hair +	Mid-digital hair —
Rwala	178	58.9	40.1	Rwala	126	44.8	55.4
Aqaïdat	53	69.8	30.7	Aqaïdat	70	41.4	58.6

Tribe	Number	Eye pigmentation 1	2	3	4	Number	Hair pigmentation 1	2	3	4
Rwala	301	0	1.3	96.1	38.6	170	0	1.1	49.8	53.7
Aqaïdat	73	0	11.1	78.9	8.7	61	0	1.8	36.1	61.9

Tribe	Number	Skin pigmentation 1	2	3	4
Rwala	166	7.1	47.5	45.0	0.4
Aqaïdat	73	8.8	47.9	39.7	4.1

The Bedouin taste results are not notably different from those of the city dwellers; there seems to be a somewhat lower incidence of mid-digital hair, the eye and skin pigmentation is definitely darker, the hair is perhaps somewhat darker. Allowing for the great differences in nomenclature, this difference seems to agree fairly well with that found by Shanklin ('35).

Perhaps our data, in spite of their crudeness, and the small numbers of subjects represented, will contribute to some small degree to a filling out of our knowledge of the distribution of pigmentation in this part of the world. The importance of systematic surveys of the frequency of individual genes, such as the "tasting" gene, is beginning to be appreciated (Boyd, '40).

Effect of inbreeding. It is not uncommon in anthropological papers to see differences between various local populations ascribed to inbreeding. It has even been suggested that "races" may be created by a process depending partly on inbreeding. It is likely that the word inbreeding, as used by some authors, has been corrupted from its correct genetical significance, and perhaps is really meant to be synonomous with endogamy, or something of the sort. As the geneticist uses the word, it means mating among close relatives. Others

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 M[illegible]

have remarked that actually the effect of inbreeding is transitory, in the sense that one generation of random mating would restore the population to the condition in which it started, so that the process can hardly have the importance apparently sometimes attributed to it (compare Boyd, '40). There has probably been a good deal of inbreeding in all of the villages studied by us. In the cases of Bourij, we are fortunate in having a sample of a population known to be relatively highly inbred. From a study carried out there by Miss Anne Fuller, we know that marriages between cousins are very common, as are consanguineous marriages where the relationship is less close. Almost the entire population of the village can be traced back to three or four family lines. The blood groups and the M,N types offer a means of checking the extent of the effect of inbreeding on the population.

It is known from genetics that the effect of inbreeding on a population is to increase the proportion of homozygotes and decrease the proportion of heterozygotes, and if the process is carried far enough, pure homozygote types will emerge in the same proportion (if selection or mutation play no role) as the frequencies of their genes in the original population (Robbins, '17).

With the M,N types, the heterozygote is type MN, and type M and type N are homozygous. If the inbreeding had modified these frequencies in the population of Bourij very much, we should find that type M and type N were relatively more numerous than would normally be found, so that we should have the relation:

$$\sqrt{M/100} + \sqrt{N/100} > 1$$

Actually, it may be seen from table 1 that in Bourij the heterozygote, MN, was slightly (but not significantly) in excess of the theoretical maximum of 50%, and we find

$$\sqrt{M/100} + \sqrt{N/100} - 0.002 < 1$$

Thus there is no evidence that inbreeding has increased the proportion of the homozygotes in the M,N types.

In the case of the A,B groups, the only group which is known a priori to be heterozygous is the AB group, which is

always heterozygous. If inbreeding had modified the A,B groups notably, we should expect the frequency of group AB to be less than $2pq$ (the gene frequencies p and q are calculated from the frequencies of O, A, and B only). In fact, $2pq$ does give an expected percentage of group AB of 14.4 which is greater, but not significantly greater than the value found.

Whether a person of group A or group B is heterozygous or homozygous cannot be told readily except by test of his parents or offspring, or both, and even then the test will of course often be inconclusive, since human families are so often too small to give a sample of all the types of children an individual could produce. In our tests on the families of Ifaorij, we tested six families in which one of the parents belonged to group A or group B. In four of these families, the groups of the children proved the individual in question to have been heterozygous, a result which again does not suggest that the proportion of heterozygotes in the population of Ifaorij has been notably decreased by inbreeding.

As a rule when the anthropologist has invoked the concept of inbreeding, the exact genetic mechanism by which the character in question is determined has been obscure, so no test analogous to the above could be made. We venture to suggest that if in such cases tests could be made, inbreeding would be found not to be one of the major forces in the modifications of the average local human population.[1]

[illegible]

Tables showing the results of studies of blood groups, blood types, basic reactions to phenylthiocarbamide, mid-digital hair, nail eye, hair, and skin pigmentations are presented for

[1] We are indebted to the officers of the Near Commissariat in Accounts, and to [illegible] particular to M. le Général Martin, for permission and encouragement to carry out this work; to Miss Anne Fuller, holder of the Sheppard B. Motley Fellowship of the American Association of University Women, 1937-38, for assistance and hospitality in Ifaorij; to the Trefalet family for hospitality and assistance to fieldworkers; and to Drs. Berberian and Kassatly for help with the Armenian work. Miss Doyle visited Dra and got in touch with the Druze village of Mashiya. Many others, too numerous to mention here, made our difficult task somewhat lighter. To all of these we extend our best thanks.

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621 178 were to be fundamentally resigned to it. Others make contemptuous comparisons between their forefathers, whom they picture as stalwart, hard-working peasants, and the young people of today, who, they say, have gone soft. Still others believe that if only agriculture could be revitalized in the village, so as to be reasonably profitable, many of the present city workers would gladly return. This would require bringing irrigation water into the village in long-distance conduits.

621 178 112 On the other hand, the power of the village as a focus of local, religious, and kinship identity and solidarity, and bases of psychological and social security, continues to be forceful. This is revealed among the city dwellers in their strongly felt obligations to return to the village for important ceremonies and in their tendency to cling together in their social activities while in the city, almost as if they were a colony in an alien land.

621 178 The only apparent break in the strong social structure of the village is the increasing number of marriages to outsiders. Before 1920 such marriages were rare, and the outsiders, being women, were incorporated into the village. However, between 1920 and 1954, 30 percent (31) of the 104 marriages contracted were to outsiders. Seventeen of these, as mentioned before, involved village girls. Their children are lost to the village so far as membership is concerned. Thirteen of the 31 marriages were to conformists, but 11 were reminders of other Christian sects and 3 were to Muslims. So far, however, these external marriages do not appear to have had a deleterious effect on the concept of village unity.

621 178 363 In general, group problems still appear to be conceived as family problems or village problems. And yet these people now work in and are dependent upon a larger society: the city and its institutions, and the various, and these wider social groups have their problems which affect all.

The villager who lives and works in the city, in particular, is caught in a network of conflicting forces. His personal status and his strongest sense of belonging are still rooted in the village, but because of his education — and the more education he has, the more this is likely to be true — he has become ambitious, in terms of his interests and ambitions, to participate fully in village life. As it were, while his heart is in the village, his head and his hands are in the city. Out of economic necessity, he seeks his fortune in the city. But here, current conditions often prevent his finding work which is, in his eyes, suitable for a person of his educational status. Consequently, he is likely to be unable to participate in urban or extra-village social groups to an extent which is emotionally satisfying to him. Hence there is a tendency toward generalized dissatisfaction and cynicism.

In resolving this problem, it would be unwise to think in terms of the elimination or rejection of the bonds of village and kinship groups, for these are still fundamental factors in the morale, values, and emotional satisfactions of the people. Rather, the city dwellers need to identify them-

by the people, and ordained by higher religious authorities. Through unspecified durations, members of the community read his needs. In some cases, he does not even cease to be an active farmer. A balance is established between the central religious organization of the country and the village church through respect for local autonomy.

Another pillar of life among the rural people of Lebanon is the family organization, which is characterized by three functional units or stages. The first of these is the primary biological unit, consisting of the married couple and their children. The second is a more comprehensive unit, known as the joint family, which consists of the grandparents at the head, their unmarried daughters, and the various families of their sons. At a certain point in its growth, the joint family breaks up into new units, resulting ultimately in the development of the largest family organization, the kinship group. Members of this group claim descent from the same ancestor and normally carry his name.

Evidences of the importance of the family organization are numerous and convincing. A village consists usually of a community of people held together to a large extent by blood ties, either through descent within the kinship group or through intermarriage between these units. Practically everybody is related directly or indirectly to everybody else. A strong sense of belonging and of solidarity develops as a result. Marriage, to a large extent, is a family affair, with emphasis upon the interests and welfare of the two family groups concerned. Children are usually named after ancestors or other relatives, thus emphasizing the blood tie. Land is normally held and operated jointly by various members of the unit. Loyalty to the family in times of crisis is binding; family honor and prestige must be upheld.

In their use of proverbs, expressing fundamental attitudes, the village folk frequently refer to the family relationship. "Blood can never turn into water." "A boy is two-thirds the image of his uncle." "Marry the daughter of a good family, though she be an old maid." "He who has no family lacking has no backbone." These are but a few examples. Further evidence of the identification of the individual with the family group is supplied by the manner in which people are addressed or introduced.

[illegible] all women who are not engaged are supposed to be, in one way or other, disapproved, either by elders or by the pressure of people their own age. Similar attitudes and behavior have been reported from the Jordanian town of Ramallah which is comparable to Mazgil in a number of important respects, although it is far larger (Zureik, 1955, p. 437).

It was quite clear that there is no formal mechanism for parental arrangement of marriage. One older person said, "It only matters that they love each other." Parents obviously are not determined in the matter, however, and their violent disapproval would certainly provoke a family crisis, but it is doubtful that it could prevent the couple from being married if they really were determined. Nevertheless, it is expected that the man will formally request the girl's father's approval before the matter proceeds. The traditional culture provides an escape for couples who face severe family disapproval. This is equivalent to elopement, and it occurs periodically at the present time. Generally, the prospective groom, with the help of friends, secretly removes the girl from the village. He then returns to the village to attempt negotiations, through an intermediary, with her father. All attempts are made to gain his approval, but if they fail, the wedding is likely to go ahead anyway. The ceremony cannot be performed in the church, or, of course, in the bride's house, but it may take place at the groom's house, and this is entirely in accord with the ordinary practice which is embodied in the notion: "The women may not come into the man's house until after they are married." The full wedding ceremony symbolizes this concept quite vividly. Marriages by elopement are nothing new, and they are perfectly legal, but doubtless they involve disadvantages: the strain of bad feelings in the family, absence of the fun of the full ceremony, and, probably, fewer presents.

The bride price (*mahr* or *sugra*) is still negotiated for young Muslims. It was stated above by some in Mazgil, and the informants, who knew what it was, said that they did not have it now and thought that they had never had it in the village. Chabrol (1913-16, p. 917) and Ball (1917-18, p. 137) report the bride price among Moslem newcomers, but this does not necessarily weaken the possibility of the validity of the historical connection of the Mazgilites. On the other hand, Miss Zureik (1955, p. 436) says that the bride price was given up only recently in predominantly Greek Orthodox Ramallah. As far as could be ascertained, the couple receives presents—emphasizing household equipment—in equal measure from both families and from friends.

In fact, it would appear that marriage are made by the virtual free choice of the parties concerned, and that this is not a new practice. We would be in serious error, however, if we conformed such an impression without qualification. Choice is free, but within the restricted compass of village membership. Exogamous marriages do occur, but they involve doubts, difficulties, and lasting consequences which cannot be taken lightly. (This will be discussed further in the chapter, "Kinship Structure and Marriage Patterns.")

7: Gulick E-3 (1952) 1955 MK1 Lebanon MK1

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOR

RITES OF PASSAGE

BIRTHDAYS AND BAPTISM

In the traditional culture of the Middle East (urban, village, or nomad), the status of midwife is a very important one. Midwives are invariably local women past menopause, and men are rigidly excluded from the house while the birth is taking place (cf. Granqvist, 1947, pp. 36-40).

Only one villager was born during the period of study, and the event took place in Beirut (the family is in the Sunnite Reishoni category) some time before the writer learned of it. The majority of Mtoufi's housewives of childbearing age live in the city most of the year, and for the most part they closely prefer the services of physicians and hospitals in important medical matters.

Once born, the modern village infant, judging from the very few cases observed, spends his time in a crib and is not swaddled consistently. After the first few weeks, he may be fed from a modern nursing bottle. Factory-made toys are not very common in Lebanon, but small cars and trucks and at least one tricycle were observed in the village.

Birthday anniversaries are celebrated in a few families. There is a cake with candles, and the whole affair is new, probably inspired by experiences in American boarding schools.

Baptism is performed anywhere from forty days to about two years after the birth of the child. It appeared that the mode tended toward the latter age. The ritual is accompanied by at least a family party, but in some cases, according to one informant, the baptismal party may approach a wedding party in size.

ENGAGEMENT AND MARRIAGE

Engagement. Engagement (*khutbi*) is a more or less formal status. Quite often the couple simply declare themselves engaged, with the tacit approval of the priest. If both parties are members of the village, the priest's only official concern is that they are more distantly related than first cousin. If they are from [illegible] it is his duty to inform them that he will be unable to marry them. In any case, the couple may or may not come to the priest for his blessing. Wedding rings (plain gold bands) are worn by both parties on the right hand to signify engagement. At the marriage ceremony, they are transferred to the left. Engagement rings may be worn when there is any time, and no questions are asked. Young

...ers who are not engaged are opposed to be, in one way or other, disapproved, either by elders or by the pressure of people their own age. Similar attitudes and behavior have been reported from the Jordanian town of Ramallah which is comparable to Mount in a number of important respects, although it is far larger (Zureik, 1995, p. 417).

It was quite clear that there is no formal mechanism for parental arrangement of marriage. One older person said, "It only matters that they love each other." Parents obviously are not disinterested in the matter, however, and their violent disapproval would certainly provoke a family crisis, but it is doubtful that it could prevent the couple from being married if they really were determined. Nevertheless, it is expected that the man will formally request the girl's father's approval before the matter proceeds. The traditional culture provides an escape for couples who face severe family disapproval. This is equivalent to elopement, and it occurs periodically at the present time. Generally, the prospective groom, with the help of friends, secretly removes the girl from the village. He then returns to the village to attempt negotiations, through an intermediary, with her family. All attempts are made to gain his approval, but if they fail, the wedding is likely to go ahead anyway. The ceremony cannot be performed in the church, or, of course, in the bride's house, but it may take place at the groom's house, and this is entirely at variance with the ordinary practice which is embodied in the notion: "The woman may not come into the man's house until after they are married." The full wedding ceremony symbolizes this concept quite vividly. Marriages by elopement are nothing new, and they are perfectly legal, but tradition has involved disadvantages: the strain of bad feelings in the family, absence of the fun of the full ceremony, and, probably, fewer presents.

The bride price (*mahr* or *wajh*) is still negotiated for among Muslims. It was asked about by some in Mount, and the informants, who knew what it was, said that they did not have it now and thought that they had never had it in the village. Chbeeb (1913–16, p. 317) and Sell (1917–18, p. 137) report the bride price among Moslems elsewhere, but this does not necessarily weaken the possibility of the validity of the historical connection of the Mountains. On the other hand, Miss Zureik (1979, p. 416) says that the bride price was given up only recently in predominantly Greek Orthodox Ramallah. As far as could be ascertained, the couple receive presents—emphasizing household equipment—in equal measure from both families and from friends.

So far, it would appear that matches are made by the mutual free choice of the parties concerned, and that this is not a new practice. We would be in serious error, however, if we confirmed such an impression without qualification. Choice is free, but within the restricted compass of village membership. Exogamous marriages do occur, but they involve doubts, difficulties, and lasting consequences which cannot be taken lightly. (This will be discussed further in the chapter, "Kinship Structure and Marriage Patterns.")

[illegible] still women who are not engaged are supposed to be, in one way or other, disgraced, either by elders or by the passage of people their own age. Similar attitudes and behavior have been reported from the Jordanian town of Ramallah which is comparable to Mount in a number of important respects, although it is far larger (Granqvist, 1935, p. 45f).

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So far, it would appear that matches are made by the mutual free choice of the parties concerned, and that this is not a new practice. We would be in serious error, however, if we confirmed such an impression without qualification. Choice is free, but within the restricted compass of village membership. Exogamous marriages do occur, but they involve duties, difficulties, and lasting consequences which cannot be taken lightly. (This will be discussed further in the chapter, "Courtship Practices and Marriage Patterns.")

On the average, the marrying couple of the present day are both members of the village, the man is several years older than the girl, and has been supporting himself for some time. They are married in the church and then proceed to the groom's house for a long and riotous party, if they conform to traditional practices. Lately, however, the party immediately after the ceremony has in many cases given way to the couple's departure on a honeymoon, though a party may be held after they return. If the marriage involves a girl from one of the other villages in el-Qurnā, the ceremony is performed in her parents' house, and the party, if any, is held at the groom's house. Among other things, this symbolizes the adoption of the girl into her husband's village and family.

A Wedding. The following account of a wedding and the party following it is a description of the one wedding and wedding party which took place while the writer was present in the village. This wedding was different from most because the bride (*al-'arūs*) was from one of the other villages in el-Qurnā. The ceremony, therefore, took place in her father's house to which the party of the groom (*al-'arīs*) traveled in a short procession of automobiles. Many acts in the series of events were later checked for their generality of practice, and the description omits various items of behavior which appeared clearly to be of a purely individual nature. There was also a peculiar mixture of old and new—an old ceremony and old customs, yet the automobiles and the clothes were all evidence of the cultural change that had occurred.

As the Mansūr party got out of their cars and gathered themselves together, members of the bride's party, who had been on the terrace of her house, moved down and stopped at a point on the narrow path halfway between the house and the road. The darbukkeh (drum) was being beaten inside the house, and there were many high-pitched cries and shouts.

The visitors moved down to the bridal group and stopped. Owing to the narrowness of the path, neither group was in a cluster. An older man in shroud and turban seemed to be leading the way with a long stick. One younger man was firing blanks from a pistol. Young men on both sides sent up the cry, heard constantly from then on, *Ṭ-ṭ-ṭ-ṭ al-'arīs minnā* ("Cheers for the wedding group")! —and the same for la-Ḥaddāds. There were many informal shouts and calls between various persons—evidently all welcoming phrases.

The groom's party stood still for perhaps five minutes, and then moved ahead between members of the bride's party who shook hands with everyone—elder an elder, relatedi, unrelated villagers. All the members of the greeting party were men except for a couple of old women. All the younger women remained in the house. "The groom's group may not enter the house until it has been bid welcome," explained one afterwards.

There was a large living-sitting room inside. The bride, not yet in wedding dress, was standing in the center of the *maq'ad* surrounded by girls her own age—sisters, cousins, and friends. Her head was lowered and she was crying. Some

[5.8] Members of the groom's party sat down in chairs on the right wing of the *majlis*. The rest of the *majlis* was occupied mostly by women and children from the bride's village. The bride was soon hustled off behind the cabinets, and she did not reappear for about half an hour, at which time the ceremony began.

[5.9] While some shifting occurred, the central section of the *majlis* was occupied by, among others, the best man (*shāhid*), the groom, the *Mudīr* priest, and the elderly priest of the other village, who is now largely inactive except for special occasions.

The waiting people seemed to divide themselves into three groups. One was gathered around the bride, the second at the *majlis*, the third (other females) moved in and out from the porch and stood around talking in the part of the house near the entrance. Occasional shots and fire-crackers were heard from outside.

[5.10] The *dabdaba* was passed around from hand to hand several times, and perhaps the women did solo dances in the center of the *majlis*. A handkerchief in each hand, the women either held them aloft, twirling them, or waved them together as the dances. In most cases, there was little body motion, and the step simply carried the women around in slow circles, but in one case—a woman who had to be persuaded to dance—some movement of the pelvis was apparent. Usually, the faces of the performers were rather expressionless, and the women, mostly young, but one or two middle-aged, seemed to be dancing merely as an expected part of the proceedings.

[5.11] While this was going on, there were repeated cries, especially by older women, to the group in general, of *ii-yay al'arūs wal'arus*, followed by a shrill and very rapid "*la-la-la-la-la*," with hand held to mouth. A third type of cry arose repeatedly from groups of men. They would sing some praise of the bride and groom and end it with a long-held high note, hands raised high, one finger pointing upwards. This was done at the greeting outside the house.

The solo dances did not follow immediately upon one another, and the intervals were marked by little or no activity in the *majlis*, people either sitting quietly or talking with each other, some changing places, others coming in. One reason in general of social gatherings is sitting rather quietly in a state—an premise, apparently, to bolster if one does not feel like it. Small glasses of tea and wine, with small candies and sugared almonds, were passed around at one point.

[5.12] Finally, a round wooden table was placed in the center of the *majlis*, and a white cloth was put over it. The two priests stood at one side together, with a lay assistant (a nephew of the bride although her contemporary in age). The bride, dressed in white with veil, was escorted to the table, her arm held by her *shāhid* (maid of honor). Her eyes were downcast, her arms folded across her stomach, and she stood in this pose throughout the entire ceremony. The groom stood beside her, and the *shāhid* was to her right—bride and groom flanked by *shāhid* and

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children. The people present clearly in an all sides, but many stayed on the periphery, and at every moment throughout the ceremony there was talk among them.

Before the proceedings had gone far, the children took some packages of small candies out of his pocket and the candies were distributed among some of people present—mostly children and a few women. The children and the children (wife of bride's brother, and also a second cousin of the groom) each held one. After the ceremony, these were all thrown out informally. They were simply held during the ceremony.

In the ceremony itself all the principals acted throughout. The children, bride and groom took little active part, and there were few responses. The ceremony opened with both priests chanting—one chanting (reading from the Missal), the other responding with "amen." The key statement chanted alone at one point—no other activity taking place then, the priests simply standing by. The two rings lying on the table were blessed, and then the priest made the sign of the cross with each of them in turn on the foreheads and chests of bride and groom. He then put the groom's ring on the bride's finger and the bride's ring on the groom's finger and then exchanged them.

At this point, someone in the crowd handed the children two small white wreaths, made on wire. He put them on the table. They were blessed, and the priest made the sign of the cross again with them as he had done with the rings. Holding each over the heads of the principals, he called them by name as servants of God and repeated this over and over as he several times first held one wreath over one head, the other over the other, and then exchanged them, simply by crossing his own wrists. The wreaths were then set on the bride's and groom's heads. The two principals, children and children, the key statement, and the two priests then joined hands and marched around the table seven times, returning to their original places. The crowd babble in the crowd increased considerably as this went on. There was more chanting to follow, and finally the priest gave each three sips of wine from an ordinary glass tumbler.

The end came with no particular announcement—everyone knew the bride was to a man. There were renewed hand's and kiss's and the high-pressure cheers of the men. Everyone pressed forward to say individual farewells to bride and groom. The bride began to cry so earnestly that she seemed to have to lean for support on her brother and children. Others clustered around, and some of the women were also crying openly. There was nothing that would be recognized as comfort per se. One did express some recognizable signs of being either surprised or upset at these outbursts. Someone said, "Well, she is not because she is going away to another village—Look, her relatives are crying, too." Aside from this, there was a great deal of kissing and embracing—kissing on both cheeks alternately and repeatedly, particularly among the men. People began drifting toward the door

after about ten minutes, and about ten minutes more elapsed until the bride, still in bridal dress, and her party got into their car. They led the procession to Mzaqlē.

In Mzaqlē there was a large group observing the proceedings outside the groom's father's house. Upon arrival, the bride, standing on a chair in the door, chopped a piece of raw dough on the lintel above the door, molded it into a round bun shape, and made a cross on it with the heel of her hand. While still standing on the chair, she was provided with oranges which she threw at the people standing around. Then she walked inside. Two automobiles filled with relatives came with her from her village, and they included sponsors of siblings who were strange to both villagers. The bride, the groom, and his father stood in the *mqā'ad* to receive congratulations.

Again, with the principals in the center, people sat themselves down in the *mqā'ad*. Arag and wine were offered around. A large crowd of children gathered at each door to watch—staring silently.

[E25] The same dance performance as at the ceremony was carried out. However, the soloists included young men as well as women this time. After some solos, five persons, mostly of middle age, linked arms and danced a set of the *dabkē*, the principal folk dance of Lebanon, and during the evening it was done several times more.

The bride disappeared for a long period, during which two large tables were brought in and placed parallel to each other in the upper and lower parts of the *mqā'ad*. They were set with plates and glasses and bottles of 'arag. Fakhouri, cold dishes, beans and bread were served.

When the bride reappeared, after changing into an ordinary dress, she took her place at the main table. The groom's sisters were active all the time bringing in food and collecting dishes. A large number of persons sat, neither eating nor taking active part—just watching. These included the children. At one point, a woman holding over the children opened the front of her dress and began nursing a small baby. Later, another woman did the same with one of her small ones, sitting in the same place.

[E13]

[E25] The activity at the head table was enlivened by songs in praise of the bridal couple sung either by men standing behind the chairs or by others sitting down. At the end of each, some would be raised and the high musical note, mentioned before, sung in unison. One man after another seemed to pick up the solo part rather smoothly after the previous phrase was finished. Some were well-known and non-sentimental. In others, there would be laughter or ends, as if the singer had made up a clever verse impromptu, or said something with an apt and original turn of phrase. These songs of praise (*mdīḥ*) were usually phrased in terms such as those which likened the bridal couple to the stars or the light of the sun. Many seemed to be known by heart by everyone, just as everyone seemed to know the dance steps.

The bride no longer wept, and for a long time, she sat next to her father-in-law, who sat in a central, commanding position with him.

The table in the upper part of the *mafraj* was moved away first, and dancing continued as before in the space provided. In moments when there was no dancing, solo songs were sung by one or another sitting around the circle. A complete silence fell over the crowd while the *shāʿir* sang many verses in sonorous Classical Arabic of the tragic epic of Qays and Layla, whose plot, though set among Bedouin of the Umayyad period, bears striking resemblance to that of the story of Romeo and Juliet. During the recitation, familiar to all, the peoples' faces seemed thoughtful and reflective, and there was applause when the song was finished. Usually there was no applause after the dances during which everyone was clapping in time anyway.

The couple subsequently took up residence in the groom's own house. Neolocal residence is not uncommon at the present time, and it appears to be preferred by most young couples.

This account requires comment at a number of points.

1. In contrast to funerals, weddings are attended only by those who are invited. In this case the number of those invited by the groom was said to be limited because it was his second marriage, and because two large families happened to be in mourning, hence it was not fitting for their members to attend. Weddings are forbidden outright during the major part of Lent. There is a general sense of the incompatibility of happy and sad events or periods, and these rules and practices have the purpose of avoiding conflicts in emotions.

2. Peglau (1937, pp. 206-07) writes in some detail of what he calls a mock battle, of a verbal sort, which takes place in Moravian mountain villages when the groom's party approaches the bride's house. The incident reported above might not deserve to be called a verbal "mock battle" at all, but there was a definite sense of the groom's party being stopped for a time before it was allowed to approach and enter the house.

3. Writing of marriage practices in a Palestinian Muslim village, Granqvist (1950, p. 40) says that since they are losing a daughter, the bride's family do not rejoice at the wedding, and the bride herself is supposed to behave in a sad and subdued manner during the ceremony and must weep before leaving her father's house (*ibid.* p. 47). The same concept appears to be held by Lebanese Christians, and the behavior of the bride was undoubtedly largely conventional. The conventional aspect of this matter would explain the general lack of concern for the bride's tears. In this connection it should be mentioned that, like the European Mediterranean peoples, the Lebanese are on record as suppressing the expression of strong emotions in public. In fact, they interpret the unrepressiveness of North Europeans and their American cousins as evidence of other inadequacies or "deficiencies." By the same token, women in labor are free to scream loudly even when they are not actually suffering acute pain.

4. In the Middle East generally, the chief traditional role women's dance is some variation of what is commonly known as the "belly dance," the basic move-

[illegible]

ment of which consists of calling the guests. When performed by a professional dancer, it has indubitable sexual significance for the audience, although it is important to emphasize that the dancer's skill, grace, and general beauty are appreciated and valued per se and that her performance never descends to the vulgar level of the contemporary American "exotic" dancer's "bumps" and "grinds."

The women's solo dances at this wedding were not professional performances, and they cannot be described as being pelvic dances at all. The important point, however, is that these dances are performed in the village only at weddings. Granqvist (1935, p. 33) reports the same practice in a Palestinian Muslim village, although she does not describe the dances themselves. It is therefore possible that this culture element is standard in the general area. If these dances are merely decorative, why are they not performed at other festive occasions besides weddings? There is no immediate answer to this question, and at the very least room for the assumption that they have some special significance for weddings. Taking all the facts into consideration, it appears possible that dances of the type observed were originally pelvic dances which have been conventionalized almost entirely out of recognition by the demands of Christian propriety. Indeed, according to Mr. Abu Shakra (who received an eye-witness report), considerably pelvic dances are still performed unconventionally at weddings in at least one Palestinian Muslim village. Carl Seiby (1951, p. 30) writes that although pelvic dances on some occasions may have merely the purpose of sexual stimulation, they can also have a symbolic meaning connected with the interest in fertility. It is well known that fertility symbolism is regularly found in the wedding ceremonies of many cultures, and there could hardly be a more appropriate occasion than a wedding for fertility symbolization. (Conversely much enforcement), especially in a culture where large numbers of children are explicitly valued. Furthermore it is known (see, for example, Evans, 1955) that in Semitic paganism fertility dances and sexual symbolism were very important. There were, in fact, among the "Canaanite abominations" so censured by the leaders of the ancient Hebrews.

We are, therefore, tempted to reach the admittedly tentative conclusion that the women's solo wedding dances are vestiges of very ancient fertility dances, sanctioned by an on-going concern with the matter of fertility itself. Probably most of the dancers is conscious of the symbolization, but neither are the dancers of one at Western weddings. Readers may certainly be warned if they are skeptical of the validity of this reasoning, and any better explanation of the various observed phenomena is very welcome.

3. The bride's pushing of a lump of raw dough (*mahlib*) on the head of her husband's house is evidently a widespread practice. Granqvist reports on it from her Palestinian village, saying that it is supposed to be handed to the bride by her mother-in-law. She adds, "Although the women did not say so, it seemed as if they had a vague idea of some similarity between the raw dough which rises and swells as it ferments and women who become pregnant and increase the

family by giving birth to children" (1955, p. 100). This impression, if valid, may be instructively contrasted with the opinion of a young married woman of Mesnil who, although she put the mobility over the door and performed other traditional acts at her wedding, said that she thought such customs were ridiculous. She had conformed only on the insistence of others, apparently, and she seemed frankly contemptuous of those who took such things seriously.

4. The vigil, almost sepulchral, attention which was paid to the recitation of the Classical Arabic poem was significant behavior—not so much in regard to the wedding itself, but to the values which are attached to Classical Arabic, a matter which is discussed elsewhere in this work.

FUNERALS

Current evidence indicates that in Mesnil the younger generation is more willing to practice innovations than the elder, and less prone to cling to the old. And it is true in Mesnil as it is elsewhere that the wedding is a rite which evokes, largely in the younger people, hopeful thoughts about the future. On the other hand, the funeral evokes, mainly in elder people, wistful thoughts of the past. If these matters are founded in fact, they would help to explain why it is that substantial and formal changes are quite evident in the rite of marriage, and why the funeral, dominated ordinarily by elder people, appears to maintain its old forms and significance. Furthermore, to a greater degree than the wedding, the Lebanese village funeral always has been, and still is, more than a rite of passage. It is also a rite of consolidation which serves as a force for the solidarity of the entire village, and, to some extent, the district. It is of great significance that the vigor of this social function of the funeral appears to persist undiminished among the younger people as well as the elder.

One funeral service was attended during the period of study. It took place in the afternoon, somewhat more than twenty-four hours after the death had occurred. The deceased was an elderly widow who had very few close relatives. For these reasons, someone said, "There will not be many people there."

The body was immediately taken care of by neighboring women. They laid it out in the family house and kept vigil over it until the time of the service. During the evening before the service, a large number of women paid their respects at the house, and at least twenty men of a town gathered solemnly in a neighboring house owned by a cousin of the deceased's late husband. They ate in a large circle in the courtyard, conversing very quietly.

On the day of the funeral, the guests rose in attendance at the house, making arrangements during the morning. At about two thirty the men, solemnly dressed fifty or more, gathered at one house while the women were with the body. At about three the men were outside and gathered in groups outside the house of the deceased. There was considerable shaking of hands with men from other Druze villages. Within the deceased's house there was some wailing.

The term "incest" is most meaningful when it is restricted to the description of the mating and/or marriage of relatives so close that knowledge of the act evokes horror and revulsion among the other members of the community to such a degree that the guilty pair may be disgraced, ostracized or even killed. On this definition, the marriage of first cousins in Murngil is not incest. This is indicated by the status of the two pairs of first cousins known now living in the village. As far as could be observed, they suffer in no way because of their special relationship, and even have solid referents. The fact was alleged not for example as being criminal, against the Kunapipi rules, and therefore requiring an episodic disposition, but this was all.

Nevertheless, the marriage of first cousins is restricted, and though not absolutely impossible, difficulties are put in the way of its achievement, and it is rare. In terms of this restriction all first cousins are of equal and undifferentiated status. It is the guess of this writer that (1) the ratings of all first cousins being equally close relatives in terms of affective relationships, and (2) the cessation of the kinship taboo pair to the male spouses of all first cousins are developments from the pseudo-sibling status of all first cousins which the Church marriage rules established. These three elements of behavior are not in accord with what we would expect to find in a strictly patrilineal system. However, in regard to inheritance and other rights and privileges associated with lineage membership, patrilateral parallel cousins alone have special status, and none of the other types of first cousin count at all. It is important to note that the importance of matrilateral ties is limited to first cousins and their parents, especially the mother's brothers.

Such is the "compromise" between Church regulations and kinship rules as reflected in the various types of behavior associated with first cousins. The theory is admittedly speculative, but in the absence of a better alternative, it is the only interpretation which this writer can give the variously inconsistent phenomena which have been discussed.

RULES OF INHERITANCE

The rules of inheritance are relevant to the subject of kinship and marriage. Particularly, inheritance among the Arabs goes from father to children. According to Koranic and Ottoman law, all sons receive equal shares, and all daughters receive equal shares, but a daughter's share is equal to half a son's. As the villagers say: "One son is worth two daughters."

In Murngil, however, daughters commonly do not take their shares, but, instead, make them over to their brothers. Zboray (1951, p. 407) reports exactly the same practice in contemporary Kandahil. Several informants of both sexes said that this was not an unfair arrangement because most brothers give their sisters substantial presents when they are married. Some daughters do sell, to actual practice, ordinarily inherit property, their marriage or non-marriage of other kin groups does not contribute to any diversion of land, property.

what would be expected on the basis of chance alone in view of the following facts: (1) Individuals who choose spouses from inside the village, have a fifty-fifty choice, either to marry inside their maximal lineage or outside it. (2) By village marriage rules, this choice is entirely free.

The deviations from this overall pattern in the figures for the marriage patterns of the individual maximal lineages are, in all probability, due to the differences in gross size of the maximal lineages. "A" includes forty-eight per cent of the total population of the village. For "A" men, therefore, about half of the available women are also from "A" in the first place, in addition to the fact that there is a fifty-fifty chance of their choosing from "A." "B" is overwhelmingly exogamous, both in regard to its men and its women. "B" has only six per cent of the total population of the village, divided among six households. Marriage within any one household would be virtually impossible because of incest regulations, and although it happens that members of any one of the households *could*, theoretically, marry into any of the others, there is no instance of it. (The one case of an intra-"B" marriage was between a man of XII and a "deceased" lineage.) Like "A" and "C," "B" people have a theoretical fifty-fifty choice between "B" and "non-B," but because of the small size of "B" its men and women are really forced to take from and marry into the other two maximal lineages. "C" has thirty-five per cent of the total population, and, as might be expected, its marriage patterns reflect its middle position. In contradistinction to "A," "C" men show a moderately strong tendency to take their wives from the other two maximal lineages, but this tendency is not nearly so strong as it is in "B." In regard to its women, however, about the same situation obtains in "C" as in "A," that is, slightly under half of the women are taken by men from other lineages.

To summarize: "A" men tend to take wives from "A" because "A" is so large. "B" and "C" men tend to take their wives from "A" for the same reason. An actual count confirms this generalization. "B" men have taken eight from "A" and one from "C." "C" men have taken fourteen from "A" and three from "B."

One informant was conscious of these tendencies and was of the opinion that in the past, more than fifty years ago at least, they were more pronounced than they are now. This was explained by saying, in effect that "B" and "C" wanted to marry "A" because "A" was more distinguished. "And how did 'A' feel about it?" "Oh, some did not care, but some others minded a great deal." And a story was related of a person in the past with whom the family refused to have anything more to do after the person's marriage to a member of another maximal lineage than "A." No further examples could, however, be adduced. The informant also remarked emphatically that the conduct of the family had been shameful, and that it would never happen in the present day.

For some time, the writer seriously considered the hypothesis that until recently "A" was specifically endogamous, and that "B" and "C" were mutually exogamous, but necessarily endogamous with regard to "A." The probability of

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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582 606 Nevertheless, the marriage of first cousins is restricted, and though not absolutely impossible, difficulties are put in the way of its achievement, and it is rare. In terms of this restriction all first cousins are of equal and undifferentiated status. It is the guess of this writer that (1) the concept of all first cousins being equally close relatives in terms of affective relationships, and (2) the extension of the kinship term *yale* to the male spouses of all first cousins are developments from the pseudo-sibling status of all first cousins which the Church marriage rules established. These three elements of behavior are not in accord with what we would expect to find in a strictly patrilineal system. However, in regard to inheritance and other rights and privileges associated with lineage membership, patrilateral parallel cousins alone have special status, and none of the other types of first cousin count at all. It is important to note that the importance of matrilateral kin is limited to first cousins and their parents, especially the mother's brothers.

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In Musqil, however, daughters customarily do not take their shares, but, instead, make them over to their brothers. Zawar (1953, p. 437) reports exactly 585 the same practice in contemporary Ramallah. Several informants of both sexes said that this was not an unfair arrangement because most brothers give their sisters substantial presents when they are married. Since daughters do not, in actual practice, ordinarily inherit property, their marriage to members of other kin groups does not contribute to any dispersal of family property.

bride and to refer to describe the relationships between them, capital letters will be used to designate individuals. From the village of Dibon (south of Jbeil on the main highway) there are two households: (1) A, his wife, and his mother B; (2) C, his wife D, and three children. From the village of Hlaiele (northward and inland from Beirut) there is one household consisting of E, his wife, an unmarried daughter, a son F, and F's wife G.

B, now a widow, was married twice. By her first husband she bore C. By her second husband she bore A and G. At one time, B's second husband was married to another woman, and from this union there came D who is C's wife. In other words, C's mother was once the wife of his wife's (D's) father. C is the half-brother of A and G who are full siblings. D is a half-sister of A and G, and by stretching things a little one might be able to say that she is a step-sister of her husband (C).

This information came to light as the result of a Core Group informant's comment that C and his wife were brother and sister. After the explanation had been made, the informant said, "Well, they call each other brother and sister sometimes." The relationship clearly evoked humor, but it is possible that looking beneath the humor was a feeling that the connection was a little too close for comfort in the eyes of the Christians.

The presence and various activities in Munsif of the Peripheral Group, the Wheatmen, and the Mawali are, with one exception, concrete evidence of the ethnic division of labor which, in Coon's view (1951), accounts for so many of the salient characteristics of Middle East culture. With this view the present writer is in essential agreement, and a full discussion of its theoretical significance for this study is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations."

In this instance, the ethnic distinctions are primarily religious in nature. This conforms with the general pattern of the phenomenon, but there are lacking in Munsif most of the visible cultural differentiations, such as costume, which are often so conspicuous elsewhere. One reason for this homogeneity of appearance in Munsif is the fact that nearly everyone concerned is from the same urban small region, Northern Lebanon, although several different communities are represented.

It has been noted that there are really two classes of people in the Peripheral Group. One of these, the Greek Orthodox nuclear family from Ijeita, represents the kind of internal migration which is of common occurrence in the region. Long ago, a similar group by a similar action established the community itself. With respect to the Core Group, the Orthodox family in the Peripheral Group really does not exemplify Coon's ethnic division of labor. The remainder of the Peripheral Group do, however. They differ among themselves, and with respect to the Core Group, in the important matter of religion. Also, they are outsiders to the local group. In terms of the structural theory which is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations," each is a representative of a more widely distributed segment of Sphere 4 (Sect Group) within another, locally established, Sphere 4 segment which is itself an enclave in the area of another segment of Sphere 4. Functionally, all these members of the Peripheral Group serve the Core Group as hired hands in capacities which are generally regarded as menial. It was quite evident that members of the Core Group would be very unwilling to serve each other in such capacities.

What is true of members of the Peripheral Group as individuals is essentially true

The table in the upper part of the map[1] was moved away first, and dancing continued as before in the space provided. In moments when there was no dancing, solo songs were sung by one or another sitting around the circle. A complimentary [illegible] over the crowd while the *chicha* song many verses in common Classical Arabic of the tragic epic of Qays and Layla, whose plot, though set among Bedouins of the Umayyad period, bears striking resemblances to that of the story of Romeo and Juliet. During the recitation, familiar to all, the peoples' faces seemed thoughtful and reflective, and there was applause when the song was finished. Usually there was no applause after the dances during which everyone was clapping in time anyway.

The couple subsequently took up residence in the groom's own house. Neolocal residence is not uncommon at the present time, and it appears to be preferred by most young couples.

This account requires comment at a number of points.

1. In contrast to funerals, weddings are attended only by those who are invited. In this case the number of those invited by the groom was said to be limited because it was his second marriage, and because two large families happened to be in mourning, hence it was not fitting for their members to attend. Weddings are forbidden outright during the major part of Lent. There is a general sense of the incompatibility of happy and sad events or periods, and these rules and practices have the purpose of avoiding conflicts in emotions.

2. Peghiadi (1967, pp. 296-97) writes in some detail of what he calls a "mock battle, of a ritual sort, which takes place in Moroccan mountain villages when the groom's party approaches the bride's house. The incident reported above might not deserve to be called a ritual "mock battle" at all, but there was a definite sense of the groom's party being stopped for a time before it was allowed to approach and enter the house.

3. Writing of marriage practices in a Palestinian Muslim village, Granqvist (1935, p. 40) says that since they are losing a daughter, the bride's family do not rejoice at the wedding, and the bride herself is supposed to behave in a sad and subdued manner during the ceremony and must weep before leaving her father's house (*ibid.* p. 47). The same concept appears to be held by Lebanese Christians, and the behavior of the bride was undoubtedly largely conventional. The conventional aspect of this matter would explain the general lack of concern for the bride's tears. In this connection it should be mentioned that, like the European Mediterranean peoples, the Lebanese see no reason to suppress the expression of strong emotions in public. In fact, they interpret the impassiveness of North Europeans and their American cousins as evidence of other inadequacies or "hang-ups." By the same token, women in labor are free to scream loudly even when they are not actually suffering acute pain.

4. In the Middle East generally, the chief traditional solo women's dance is some variation of what is commonly known as the "belly dance," the basic move-

1. - [A newly married couple of the village -- Analyst]

heads of households and wives of household heads.

2.24 Other members of household. Tables 41, 42, 43, 44, 45

The birthplaces of other members of the household have no significant differences from the figures for the heads of households except where the sample is inadequate for accurate analysis. The tables are included for father-in-law, mother-in-law, siblings, other family members, and servants.

2.3 Number of children away from home. Table 46

The number of children away from home is rather small with less than one-quarter of the sample so reporting. Taken in combination as to age and sex, there are presumably children who have moved away for occupational reasons or have married and left the family.

2.41 Length of time at present address. Table 47

For an urban area, the length of time at which our sample households have resided at their present addresses is rather surprising. About forty-three percent of the sample have not moved in more than ten years. It is believed that the reason for this lack of mobility is the Rent Control Law. This law has been in operation for thirteen years (Dec. 20, 1946) and may have kept people relatively immobile. The Rent Control Law does not allow the raising of rents for a tenant already in residence, but does allow an increase for new tenants. Subsequent rent control laws have not had considerable influence. An indication that this is the proper hypothesis lies in the fact that our next biggest group lies in the interval of those who have been at the same address between one and three years. If it were discriminations to move rather than the Rent Control Law it would appear that the least frequency would have been in the category of less than one year with increasing frequencies as the time lengthened. Once having lost the benefits of rent control, the population of Beirut seems to be fairly mobile.

p. 13 (A)

3.42 [illegible] Table 40

The largest frequency of locations of previous households is in Beirut with seventy-one percent of our sample so reporting. The belief that a large part of Beirut citizens have come from rural areas to the city fairly recently does not seem to hold true, with only approximately eight percent of the sample in this category. A good part of the five and eight-tenths percent of the sample from other Arab states probably are accounted for by refugees from Palestine.

3.43 Length of time at previous address, Table 41

Here again the largest group, forty-two percent were in residences at their previous addresses for more than ten years and the second highest two-thirds (twenty-six and three years). The ten nearest category refers to those who had no previous address as well as those who were unable to recall.

3.44 [illegible] Table 36

Forty-three percent of the sample had not moved at all in the last ten years, which conforms with the roughly forty-three percent who claim to have been residents in their present households for more than ten years. These comparative figures constitute one of our checks for internal consistency. Of those who had moved, our largest frequency, twenty-eight percent, reported that they had moved only once, while our most mobile group, those who had moved more than six times in the past ten years, constituted slightly over one percent.

3.5 Reasons for moving to Beirut, Table 71

Of those who had moved to Beirut, the largest group (51 %), had moved for economic reasons, while the second largest category (23 %) moved for political reasons. The two together constituted eighty-three percent. The respondents were asked what their reasons for moving to Beirut were. Their two responses

of the example to June and rises to a peak with almost one-half of the sample in July, with the rest, who are unable to make it earlier, leaving in August.

Month of return to Beirut from village, Table 74

As the Beirutis go early, so they return late to Beirut from the village. Almost four-fifths of the sample returned to the pleasant fall climate in October. City institutions are geared to this return. For example, the schools do not open until October. A few, fifteen percent, returned in September probably as late as possible in the month, while only a fraction, four percent, returned in July or August.

Place of residence considered home, Table 75

Overwhelmingly Beirut residents considered their home to be in Beirut. This result is particularly surprising in view of the well-known cyclical tendencies of Beirutis to identify themselves with their village of origin. Evidently this feeling for the village is more verbal than actual, a conclusion which, however, is in accordance with the attractions of cities as noted in other places.* Other indications, however, are that the village is still highly attractive, especially in the summertime. Perhaps the safest conclusion would be that the Beirutis are schizoid.

p. 44(c)

Table 46

Question	Number	Percent	▼
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Rural	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Urban	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Other Urban Unknown	[illegible]	[illegible]	
Other Built Country	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Other Country	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Table 47

No. of years	Number	Percent
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]
Less than 1 year	[illegible]	[illegible]
1 - 3 years	[illegible]	[illegible]
4 - 6 years	[illegible]	[illegible]
7 - 10 years	[illegible]	[illegible]
More than 10 years	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[redacted]

Table [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]

[redacted]

Table [redacted]
[redacted]

[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]
[redacted]	[redacted]	[redacted]

[redacted]

Table 74

Month of Return to Bahrul from Village

Name of month	Frequency	Percent
Total	454	100.00
Apr	3	0.67
[illegible]	15	3.03
[illegible]	64	14.03
[illegible]	345	76.34
[illegible]	11	1.73

Table 75

Place of Residence Considered Home by Head of Household

Location	Number	Percent	sig.
Total	1830	100.00	
Bahrul	1354	83.80	.000
Other where in Lahoreen	9	0.68	
Village	101	5.43	.000
Punjab	49	3.64	.004
No answer	140	7.85	

[illegible]

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 M.U. Library MU
Sy Asst Edward H.S.

TABLE 8

Results of observations for taste reaction to phenyl-thio-carbamide, mid-digital hair, eye color, hair color, and skin color on two tribes of Syrian Bedouin. In per cents.

Tribe	Number	Taste reaction +	Taste reaction −	Tribe	Number	Mid-digital hair +	Mid-digital hair −
Rwala	172	59.9	40.1	Rwala	198	44.9	55.1
Aqeidat	88	68.2	31.7	Aqeidat	70	41.4	58.6

Tribe	Number	Eye pigmentation 1	2	3	4	Number	Hair pigmentation 1	2	3	4
Rwala	201	0	1.5	86.1	12.4	170	0	1.1	43.5	55.7
Aqeidat	78	0	11.1	79.5	9.7	65	0	3.8	36.5	61.5

Tribe	Number	Skin pigmentation 1	2	3	4
Rwala	198	7.1	47.4	45.0	0.5
Aqeidat	73	8.2	47.9	39.7	4.1

The Bedouin taste results are not notably different from those of the city dwellers; there seems to be a somewhat lower incidence of mid-digital hair, the eye and skin pigmentation is definitely darker, the hair is perhaps somewhat darker. Allowing for the great differences in nomenclature, this difference seems to agree fairly well with that found by Shanklin ('35).

Perhaps our data, in spite of their crudeness, and the small numbers of subjects represented, will contribute to some small degree to a filling out of our knowledge of the distribution of pigmentation in this part of the world. The importance of systematic surveys of the frequency of individual genes, such as the "tasting" gene, is beginning to be appreciated (Boyd, '40).

Effect of inbreeding. It is not uncommon in anthropological papers to see differences between various local populations ascribed to inbreeding. It has even been suggested that "races" may be created by a process depending partly on inbreeding. It is likely that the word inbreeding, as used by some authors, has been corrupted from its correct genetical significance, and perhaps is really meant to be synonymous with endogamy, or something of the sort. As the geneticist uses the word, it means mating among close relatives. Others

15: Boyd and Boyd D-5 (1937) 1941 M[S] Lebanon MSI

have remarked that actually the effect of inbreeding is transitory, in the sense that one generation of random mating would restore the population to the condition in which it started, so that the process can hardly have the importance apparently sometimes attributed to it (compare Boyd, '40). There has probably been a good deal of inbreeding in all of the villages studied by us. In the cases of Boarij, we are fortunate in having a sample of a population known to be relatively highly inbred. From a study carried out there by Miss Anne Fuller, we know that marriages between cousins are very common, as are consanguineous marriages where the relationship is less close. Almost the entire population of the village can be traced back to three or four family lines. The blood groups and the M,N types offer a means of checking the extent of the effect of inbreeding on the population.

It is known from genetics that the effect of inbreeding on a population is to increase the proportion of homozygotes and decrease the proportion of heterozygotes, and if the process is carried far enough, pure homozygous types will emerge in the same proportion (if selection or mutation play no role) as the frequencies of their genes in the original population (Robbins, '17).

With the M,N types, the heterozygote is type MN, and type M and type N are homozygous. If the inbreeding had modified these frequencies in the population of Boarij very much, we should find that type M and type N were relatively more numerous than would normally be found, so that we should have the relation:

$$\sqrt{M/100} + \sqrt{N/100} > 1$$

Actually, it may be seen from table 1 that in Boarij the heterozygote, MN, was slightly (but not significantly) in excess of the theoretical maximum of 50%, and we find

$$\sqrt{M/100} + \sqrt{N/100} - 0.902 < 1$$

Thus there is no evidence that inbreeding has increased the proportion of the homozygotes in the M,N types.

In the case of the A,B groups, the only group which is known a priori to be heterozygous is the AB group, which is

15c Boyd and Boyd D-5 (317) 1941 M-1 Lebanon MII

always heterozygous. If inbreeding had modified the A,B groups notably, we should expect the frequency of group AB to be less than 2pq (the gene frequencies p and q are calculated from the frequencies of O, A, and B only). In fact, 2pq does give an expected percentage of group AB of 14.4 which is greater, but not significantly greater than the value found.

Whether a person of group A or group B is heterozygous or homozygous cannot be told readily except by test of his parents or offspring, or both, and even then the test will of course often be inconclusive, since human families are so often too small to give a sample of all the types of children an individual could produce. In our tests on the families of Bourij, we tested six families in which one of the parents belonged to group A or group B. In four of these families, the groups of the children proved the individual in question to have been heterozygous, a result which again does not suggest that the proportion of heterozygotes in the population of Bourij has been notably decreased by inbreeding.

As a rule when the anthropologist has invoked the concept of inbreeding, the exact genetic mechanism by which the character in question is determined has been obscure, so no test analogous to the above could be made. We venture to suggest that if such cases tests could be made, inbreeding would be found not to be one of the major forces in the modification of the average local human population.[1]

SUMMARY

Tables showing the results of studies of blood groups, blood types, taste reaction to phenyl-thio-carbamide, mid-digital hair, and eye, hair, and skin pigmentation are presented for

[1] We are indebted to the officers of the Near Commissariat in Beyrouth, and in particular to M. le Général Martin, for permission and encouragement to carry out this work; to Hawkes Fuller, holder of the Margaret E. Maltby Fellowship of the American Association of University Women, 1937–38, for assistance and hospitality in Bourij; to the Trabulsi family for hospitality and assistance in Mashghara; and to Elias Berberian and Kassabian for help with the Armenian work. Miss Sofia 'Abd-el-Nur put us in touch with the Druze village of 'Aindara. Many others, too numerous to mention here, made our difficult task somewhat lighter. To all of them we extend our best thanks.

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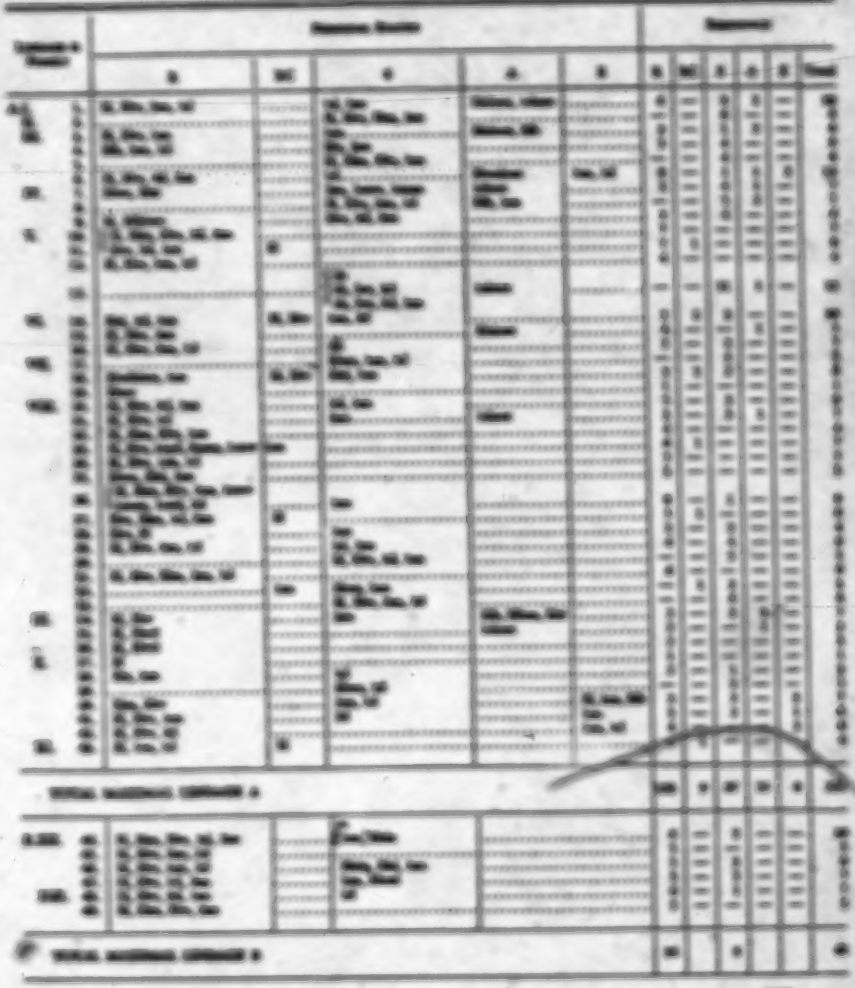
belong, variously according to the particular pattern, to the tenth, eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth generation in descent from Mongor Jorjo, he being counted as the first generation. The main part of the Core Group is divided into three

Table 1. Core Genos: Patronyms, or Lineage, Numbers and Ramages [1]



[1] [See key to symbols on page 99 -- Ankyp]

621
618
619
592

TABLE 1. CODE GROUP: PERSONNEL BY LANGUAGE, NATIONALITY AND RESIDENCE—Continued

Language & Country	Nationality											
	A	AC	C	D	E	A	AC	C	D	E	Total
[illegible]											

?: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
Middle East M1

L
562
M6
562

are being actively removed in most Middle East countries at the present time) do not intrude very much into everyday living in the average household, though they may do so somewhat more among the Muslims than among the Christians. Furthermore, he believes that that bugaboo of American feminists, the female chattel, has been attained in any culture at any time except under special, hence complicated, circumstances. The occurrence of such circumstances can be safely predicted only in individual families in a patrilineal system, which are so well off that the women can be relieved of all useful functions except sex. It is only in such families that extensive polygyny (if the culture permits it) is ordinarily to be found, and certainly an unloved wife in a wealthy polygynous household can even be deprived of the dignity of her sexual role.

L
562
562
M6
562
562
L
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In the Middle East village, however, the basic unit of everyday living is the single household. Among the Christians, it is always based on a permanent monogamous marriage, and the probability is that the same is true among the great majority of the Muslims. The very existence of the household, initially and as time goes on, depends upon the active participation of the wife. She is cook, housekeeper, seamstress, nurse, and, above all, mother of the children who, it is hoped, will project the honor of the family into the future. She is *sitt al-bayt*, "mistress of the house," a title which, in Mismīl, used to be given to quite a number of baby girls as their personal name. Such a woman is no chattel, and there are numerous women in the village who, as individuals, are accorded unqualified respect by all.

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The average village-dwelling woman works hard and makes no pretense of "hiding her age." She will continue to work hard until decrepitude overtakes her. One occasionally may even see an old woman trudging along bent nearly double under the weight of a bundle of firewood sometimes nearly as large as herself. But if this woman is socially oppressed, it is the incessant physical labor enjoined by necessity which is the tyrant and not the hard-heartedness of her husband, her brothers, or her sons, who are as hard-working and work-worn as she is.

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As has been noted, the great majority of the Mismīl women are housewives or apprentice housewives. Domestic duties occupy most of their time, but, as will be seen in the next chapter, their regular chores do not prohibit social interaction outside the house. Before the introduction of convenient and relatively inexpensive Western manufactures, the average housewife wove the cloth with which she made her family's clothes. Weaving, like shoemaking, has now completely disappeared from the village which is not exceptional in this respect (cf. Kulp, 1934, p. 269). A few housewives do ornamental needlework to supplement the family income (cf. Fisher, 1936, pp. 208-09). The forty-four village women who have non-domestic paying jobs certainly represent something entirely new in the village culture. But the jobs themselves are something entirely new, and the writer is unable to say whether or not the women's taking them is in general motivated primarily by necessity rather than by "career girl" ambitions. His impression is that most of the girls feel that their jobs are temporary arrangements before mar-

Middle East 961
7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Johnson ME1

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Ab). Sometimes, when a minimal lineage is long identified, the word *bayt* (house) is prefixed to the name, but in general reference 'ayl, as Murqus so among urban dwelling Muslims of Syria (Daghestani, 191, p. 147), serves equally well for "maximal lineage," "minimal lineage," and/or kinship units smaller than minimal lineages. To the last we shall now turn our attention.

THE FAMILY UNIT

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It is the first impression of the present writer that in Mungil it is the nuclear, or conjugal, family which is far more important than the extended family. This is quite at variance with the conclusions of observers on the Middle East in general. For example, both Tannous (1944, p. 37) and Woolmore (1946, pp. 216-17) declare emphatically that the nuclear family is of little consequence compared to the extended family as a social unit. The single example of Mungil, assuming that the interpretations given below is correct, cannot be used to refute the conclusions of recognized authorities. The present writer may have misinterpreted what he observed, but he hopes that the division expressed may be found, in fact, upon varying practices in the Middle East as a whole. For example, Lichtenwalter has recently reported (1952, pp. 363-65) a specific case of the extended family among acculturated Egyptian Muslim villagers.

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Tables 1 and 2 reveal that the Case Group consists of eighty-seven households, each an independent residence unit. The ultimate figure, eighty-nine, indicates the fact that in winter, two of the households are each split into two independent households. In summer, these pairs—they are brothers—and their families live together in the village; in winter they live separately in Beirut. There are two or four residence units depending on the season.

Of this total of independent households not two constitute true extended families. In one case there live under one roof the head and his wife, their only son (a commuter), and his wife and children. In the other, there is the head, his mother, his wife, an unmarried son, two unmarried daughters, and a married son with his wife and children. Table 1 shows that *alike* not are essentially nuclear families, though some are defective, and many include some additional dependents.

Before he was aware of the existence of the two extended families in the village, the writer inquired of an informant wholly extended families existed or ever had existed in Mungil. For this purpose a hypothetical extended family was described. The informant replied that he had heard that the Muslims sometimes had such families, but that they did not have this in Mungil, and that he had never heard that they ever had had them. "It would be impossible," he said. "You see, sometimes it happens that a woman and herself's wife must live together in the same house for a while. When they do, they are always enemies because each one wants to run the house her own way, and they never agree. About this female-himself trouble we have many sayings. And it is the same with the wives of brothers

592 if they must live together. So you see, if they *all* lived together in one house, it would be a terrible thing." Later, it appeared that the two technically extended families in the village were looked upon as temporary arrangements. As a residence unit, then, the extended family is absent from Mzeqif in the theory of the villagers themselves, and it is very exceptional in practice.

596 This does not mean, however, that we can dismiss the possibility of the power of extended families as *social* units regardless of residence. In fact, considering the violent storms and strains which the common residence of in-laws is believed to cause, it is reasonable to suppose that an extended family living in separate conjugal groups might be a stronger social unit than an extended family living under one roof. As a matter of fact, by way of comparison, among the sedentary Bedouin living around Aleppo, several generations of one family never live together under one roof (Dagistanni, 1932, p. 188), yet it is safe to assume that among these people strong extended families as social units are the rule.

BROTHERS

595 There are, indeed, some indications at Mzeqif of in-group cohesiveness extending beyond the conjugal family, but not, in this particular context, inclusive of the minimal lineage. There are all cases of the close relationship between adult brothers, most of whose fathers are dead or so old that they have made over their property to their sons. Note has already been made of the two pairs of brothers who live together as pairs in the summer, but live separately in the winter. In addition, there are three pairs of brothers each of which lives under one roof. These are listed as six independent households in Table 1 because they are so regarded by the villagers. In all cases the shared houses have been partitioned down the middle inside, and thus the families live independently of each other. We thus have five pairs of a total of ten conjugal families, each pair of which shares, in one way or another, a single house. In every case, these situations have arisen because the brothers have not yet "divided their inheritance," as the villagers say. Inheritance patterns will be discussed later; here it is enough to point out that inheritance is equal among brothers. Ideally, one brother—often the youngest—gets the family house, with consequent adjustments in the settlement of the rest of the property. The final settlement is often delayed several years—but never permanently—with results that have just been discussed (see Tennyson, 1942, pp. 253-34 for a discussion of the solidarity of close kin).

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615 houses, or houses very close to each other. This is considered a "nice" arrange-
621 ment, but it is often impossible, and there are many exceptions. Projected over many generations, however, this ideal has resulted in the tendency for the houses of minimal lineage mates to have remained clustered together (see map, Fig. 6) after the original division of the village territory among the three sons of the founder.

AL-MUNSIF
KIBRAWAN
LEBANON
HOUSE OWNERSHIP BY
MAXIMAL LINEAGE

GRAPHIC SUMMARY

128 THESE PICTORIAL STATISTICS ARE INTENDED TO GIVE THE READER THE SALIENT FACTS REGARDING THE AREA TO BE AFFECTED BY THE KASAMI RURAL IMPROVEMENT PROJECT. THIS AREA COVERS THE FIVE PROJECT VILLAGES OF SARAFAND, SAKSA-KIYAH, LOUBYA, EN-NEBARIYAH, AND 'ADLOUN. ALSO INCLUDED IN THIS GRAPHIC PRESENTATION ARE THE CONTROL VILLAGES OF EL-GHAZIYAH, EN-NAJJARIYAH, AND EL-'AQQOUSIYAH THAT NEIGHBOR ON THE PROJECT AREA.

592 AVERAGE SIZE of HOUSEHOLD

Eight Villages

3

Population

Accurate current population figures are not available for Lebanon. Only one complete census has been made since the days when Lebanon was a part of the Ottoman Empire. That census was made in 1932 during the French mandate. It is out of date and is of little use where current population data are required.

An attempt to establish what the current population is was made in this survey. The method used was to obtain an estimate by the mukhtar. In all cases his estimate was discussed by other village leaders who were present during the interview and the figure taken was the one that was agreed upon. As the mukhtar is the official government representative in the village, and is called among his duties to the registration of births and deaths, he is the best available source for population information. Discussion by other villagers tended to reduce bias and made for as accurate an estimate as possible.

Since the figures obtained from the mukhtar are at best only considered estimates, it was decided to check his figures through a sampling technique. Village residences were examined, a sample of about 15 per cent was selected at random, and a house-to-house inquiry was made to determine the number of persons living in each one of the dwelling units selected. After the average number of persons in a household in the sample was determined, the total village population was arrived at by multiplying this number times the number of residences.

The results of the sampling can be seen in Table II. It should be noted that they correlate closely to the estimates furnished by the mukhtar. The total population in the project area according to the housing sample is 5,310 while the estimates of the various mukhtars give a total of [illegible]. The average size of a household in the five project villages is 6.1 persons.

In light of the close agreement shown between the total population figures achieved by the sample and those the mukhtars, the inclination is to accept such estimates as being reliable estimates. The results shown Table II are believed to be more reliable than any other reliable data arrived at to date. It is recommended that the population estimate made by the mukhtars (column 4, Table II) be accepted as correct for use in connection with the Improvement Project.

[illegible]

TABLE II

[illegible]

[illegible] Kumari Dimasa Development Project

District	(1) Number of Blocks	(2) Average Number of Persons per Block	(3) Population Col. (1) x Col. (2)	(4) Population as Enumerated in Census
Project Area				
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	(Weighted)		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Control Area				
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	(Weighted)		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	(Weighted)		
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

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Farm Organization

The isolated farmhouse, typical of agriculture in the United States, is rarely seen in Lebanon. In the five project villages nearly all farmers live in the *dai'ah* or built-up area. Their wooden plows, harrows, and other farm equipment are stored each day in their houses in the *ḥārah*. Often a stable is connected to or a part of the living quarters to take care of the family cow or other livestock. The concentration of dwellings in one area in the Middle East often results in a considerable expenditure of time in walking to fields located sometimes one or two miles from the village. In the project villages the land lies in a narrow strip. Farms at the far ends require an hour or more to reach by walking.

The share-tenant or small landowner has a cow or two which he depends on for draft and milk, a simple wooden plow, and a few other simple hand tools. These comprise his capital equipment. The field work is shared by all the members of the family, although in this district women do not plow. There is a fairly rigid division of labor between the sexes. Plowing is a man's work, while rarely will a man be seen carrying water from the village fountain.

In the project area no evidence is seen of tractors, harrows, mechanical threshers, or other mechanized farm equipment except on one or two large farms operated by non-resident owners. None of the project villages has electric power. Farm organization is based upon an intensive use of labor rather than capital. Low wage rates and an ample supply of laborers combine to make the use of labor more advantageous than mechanization. In 1952 the prevailing rate for farm laborers was L.L. 3 (about 80 cents) for men and half that for women per 12 to 13 hour day.

Most of the project villages have a *ghar* of land called the *baidar* where the villagers, after harvesting the cultivated fields, thresh their grain. Here the wheat or other seed crop is placed after it has been brought from the fields. For month after month in the summer, one finds the oxen pulling behind them a massive, flat board the underside of which is dotted with protruding edges or jagged pieces of metal. The farmer's wife or a small boy rides on this and with a stick directs the oxen over a layer of grain. In this way the kernels of grain are loosened and the straw is cut like fodder. In order to separate the kernels of grain from the chaff, the farmer tosses the mixed grain and chaff

The composition of the sample households by sex, age, age at marriage, and number of inmate was tabulated. Chapter five has additional material on nationality and citizenship. Generally there are separate tabulations for the head of household and children, grandchildren, parents, siblings, other family members and servants. The material thus usually covers three generations.

Plural Marriage

It is particularly interesting that in only two of our sample households were there plural marriages. In one case the man had two wives, and in the other, three. The economics of subsistence militates against plural marriages.

Sex of Members of the Household

3.31 Head of household, Table 3

The head of the household was defined by the respondents themselves. In nine-tenths of the cases these were male.

3.32 Children of head of household, Table 4

Fifty-five percent of the children were male. The sex ratio of the first seven children and of the eighth through twelfth children, grouped, are shown in the table. It would appear that there is a significant difference in the incidence of children remaining in the household by sex.

It is possible that there is a survival differential in favor of male children, but on the other hand, there is also a greater tendency for male children to remain in the household.

3.22 **Grandchildren of head of household, Table 7**

Fifty-nine percent of the grandchildren of the heads of households are male. This figure is not significantly different from that of the children of the head of the household.

3.24 **Siblings of head of household, Table 8**

Females predominate slightly in the sample, although the difference is not statistically significant.

3.25 **Other family members to household, Table 9**

There is a significant difference in the sex ratio of other family members in the household which probably reflects the dependence of unattached females. At any rate, sixty-seven percent of this miscellaneous group are female.

3.26 **Servants of household, Table 10**

Servants in Saint Lucian households are overwhelmingly female, constituting as they do about ninety-three percent of the sample of servants.

The incidence of servants living in is high. Twenty-two percent of the families had at least one servant living with them. The only specialist category which is substantial is that of nurses. Generally, the maid cooks, cleans, and washes.

Age at Marriage of Members of Household

3.31 **Male head of household, Table 11**

The marital status of the male heads of household shows that only eight percent had not married. The modal interval for age at last

THE MODAL INTERVAL FOR AGE AT LAST

532 marriage is between twenty-six and thirty. Over half of the sample married between twenty-one and thirty. The incidence of child marriage is quite low (.3%) while only one-tenth delayed marriage until thirty-six or later.

3.32 Female head of household and wife of household head. Table 13

[592] When it comes to age at marriage, we find a considerable difference for women as compared to men. Only one percent are unmarried compared to eight percent of the men. Marriage occurred earlier, with eighteen percent married at the age of fifteen or younger compared to the men's three-tenths of one percent. The modal age of marriage is in the interval sixteen to twenty (43%) and the second highest frequency is twenty-one to twenty-five (22%). By the age of twenty-five, then, eighty-five percent of the female household heads and wives of heads were married.

Far fewer than among the men marry at thirty-six or over (.8%).

3.33 Children of head of household. Table 13

592 Surprisingly, over ninety-seven percent of the children residing in the sample households are unmarried. This figure probably reflects the influence of urbanization. In addition, it is a symptom of a tendency to set up
592 individual households when married. Of those who are married, the modal age is between twenty-one and twenty-five.

The detailed breakdown of age at marriage for the first seven children and for the eighth through twelfth child, grouped, are shown in the table.

3.34 Father of head of household. Table 14

592 There were just twenty-five fathers of
592 heads of household in the sample, while there were two hundred and thirty-one mothers. This discrepancy is accounted for by the presumed greater incidence of widows, based on our knowledge of the age difference between men and women at marriage, and also by the grea-

ter life span of females. About thirty-two per-
cent married at the age of twenty or under.

3.35 Mother of head of household, Table 15

The same sex difference as with the head of the household and his spouse in age at marriage occurs. Over seventy-two percent of the mothers of heads of households were married by the age of twenty.

3.36 Father-in-law and mother-in-law of head of household, Tables 16, 17

There were many less fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law of heads of household in residence than of fathers and mothers. The presumption is that parents go with their male children, if possible. Other values are not significant, but are shown for completeness.

3.37 Grandchildren of head of household, Table 18

A total of two hundred and twelve grandchildren were tabulated in the sample in ninety-one families; or roughly one in twenty households had grandchildren living with them. Ninety-one families had at least one child living with them, while two families had as many as eight. Of these, only one is married.

3.38 Siblings of head of household, Table 19

A tendency towards extended family living is seen in the incidence of siblings living with the head of the household. There were three hundred and fifty-eight siblings living with one hundred and ninety-four families in ten percent of the sample. Over eighty-six percent were unmarried.

3.39 Other family members in household, Table 20

There were two hundred and eighty-eight miscellaneous family members living in the sample households, or in about fifteen percent. The most significant figure, again, is that fifty-five percent are unmarried.

3.39.1 Servants of household, Table 21

The great majority of servants are un-

p. 4(8)

eighty-five percent were born prior to the mandate, the remainder during the mandate.

3.45 Female head of household and wife of household head, Table 24

As in case of men, the women heads of households and wives of household heads were in great majority born before 1922 (70 %). However, thirty percent compared to fifteen percent for the men, were born during the mandate.

3.46 Children of head of household, Table 25

The majority of the children of the heads of households, unlike their parents, were born during the mandate years (64 %). Only a few were born before the mandate. As might be expected, a detailed breakdown of the children from the first to the twelfth indicates a shift from the pre-mandate and mandate birth years to post mandate time. Thus for the sixth through twelfth children a majority have been born under the Republic.

3.47 Father and mother and father-in-law and mother-in-law of head of household, Tables 26, 27, 28, 29

Both fathers and mothers of heads of households and fathers-in-law and mothers-in-law all dated back to before the mandate.

3.48 Grandchildren of head of household, Table 30

Over three-quarters of the grandchildren of heads of households have been born since the mandate rule ended.

3.49 Siblings of head of household, Table 31

It is interesting to note that the siblings of the heads of households have a majority born during the mandate years, unlike the heads of households themselves. This is to be expected inasmuch as the eldest boy is the normal heir to the position of head of household upon the the death of the father.

p. 9(a)

3.49.3 Tenants, Tables 34, 35

To investigate the amount of crowding, respondents were asked if they had any tenants living in the same apartment. In only seven percent of the cases was there an affirmative answer. These people were asked if the tenants were part of the household consumption unit. One-third indicated that they were. It is estimated that in the population there are about 7,000 tenants.

F-1(b)

Table 5
Sex of Head of Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1831	100	
Male	1665	90.92	.007
Female	166	9.18	

Table 6
Sex of Children of Head of Household

Sex	Total	Percent	sp.	1st Child	Percent	2nd Child	Percent	3rd Child	Percent
Total	5071	100.00		1407	100.00	1243	100.00	981	100.00
Male	2804	55.29	.007	894	60.94	681	54.79	485	50.26
Female	2267	44.71	.004	573	39.06	562	45.21	478	49.74

4th Child	Percent	5th Child	Percent	6th Child	Percent	7th Child	Percent	8-12th Child	Percent
633	100.00	380	100.00	214	100.00	107	100.00	78	100.00
334	53.78	200	52.65	120	56.08	54	50.47	38	48.72
287	46.22	180	47.37	94	43.92	53	49.53	40	51.28

10; Churchill S--5 (1992) 1994 ME1 Lebanon MEI

Table 7
Sex of Grandchildren of Head of Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	212	100	
Male	128	60.43	.034
Female	86	40.57	.034

Table 8
Sex of Siblings of Head of Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	358	100	
Male	171	47.77	.026
Female	187	52.23	.026

Table 9
Sex of Other Family Members in Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	288	100	
Male	94	32.64	.028
Female	194	67.36	.028

Table 10
Sex of Servants of Household

Sex	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	385	100	
Male	39	6.55	.010
Female	355	93.28	.010
No Answer	1	.17	

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1692

Table 34

Number of Tenants in Household

No. of Household	Number	Percent
Total	1921	100.00
One	47	2.45
Two	20	1.04
Three	14	0.73
More than three	47	2.45
None	1793	93.34

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .0144$

$v = .086$

Table 35

Tenants by Membership in Household Consumption Unit

	Number	Percent	qf
Total	118	100.00	
Considered Members	38	32.76	.044
Not Considered Members	78	65.52	.044
Some Yes / Some No	2	1.72	

p. 36 (a)

18 Churchill's 5-5 (1956) 1954 1955 Lehmann 1983

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 :E1 Lebanon ME1

The table in the upper part of the *sufa'ad* was moved away first, and dancing continued as before in the space provided. In moments when there was no dancing, solo songs were sung by one or another sitting around the circle. A complete silence fell over the crowd while the *shāʿir* sang many verses in sonorous Classical Arabic of the tragic epic of Qays and Laya, whose plot, though set among Bedouin of the Umayyad period, bears striking resemblance to that of the story of Romeo and Juliet. During the recitation, familiar to all, the people' faces seemed thoughtful and reflective, and there was applause when the song was finished. Usually there was no applause after the dance during which everyone was clapping in time anyway.

The couple subsequently took up residence in the groom's own house. Neolocal residence is not uncommon at the present time, and it appears to be preferred by most young couples.

This account requires comment at a number of points.

1. In contrast to funerals, weddings are attended only by those who are invited. In this case the number of those invited by the groom was said to be limited because it was his second marriage, and because two large families happened to be in mourning, hence it was not fitting for their members to attend. Weddings are forbidden outright during the major part of Lent. There is a general sense of the incompatibility of happy and sad events or periods, and these rules and practices have the purpose of avoiding conflicts in emotions.

2. Feghali (1925, pp. 296–97) writes in some detail of what he calls a mock battle, of a verbal sort, which takes place in Marounite mountain villages when the groom's party approaches the bride's house. The incident reported above might not deserve to be called a verbal "mock battle" at all, but there was a definite sense of the groom's party being stopped for a time before it was allowed to approach and enter the house.

3. Writing of marriage practices in a Palestinian Muslim village, Granqvist (1935, p. 40) says that since they are losing a daughter, the bride's family do not rejoice at the wedding, and the bride herself is supposed to behave in a sad and subdued manner during the ceremony and must weep before leaving her father's house (*ibid.* p. 65). The same concept appears to be held by Lebanese Christians, and the behavior of the bride was undoubtedly largely conventional. The conventional aspect of this matter would explain the general lack of concern for the bride's tears. In this connection it should be mentioned that, like the European Mediterranean peoples, the Lebanese see no reason to suppress the expression of strong emotions in public. In fact, they interpret the inexpressiveness of North Europeans and their American cousins as evidence of either heartlessness or "deepness." By the same token, women in labor are free to scream loudly even when they are not actually suffering acute pain.

4. In the Middle East generally, the chief traditional solo woman's dance is some variation of what is commonly known as the "belly dance," the basic move-

1 - [A newly married couple of the village -- Analyst]

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

592 if they must live together. So you see, if they *all* lived together in one house, it would be a terrible thing." Later, it appeared that the two technically extended families in the village were looked upon as temporary arrangements. As a residence unit, then, the extended family is absent from Munşif in the theory of the villagers themselves, and it is very exceptional in practice.

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

[page 111 is a figure]

The exceptions, which are relatively recent, are sufficient to have obliterated most minimal lineage clusterings.

It is quite evident that brothers are expected and honor-bound to help each other throughout life, and very frequently they cooperate in business or other enterprises. Many of the remittances from emigrants appear to be based on the brother-brother relationship. The situation may be in part similar to that reported from India by Mandelbaum (1948, p. 137), in which it is now rare for extended families to remain unified after the death of the parents.

If this matrilocality be interpreted as sufficient evidence of the "presence of the extended family" in Munşif, this writer has no objection, but he himself is not entirely convinced. In part, to be sure, the problem is a terminological one, for the common usage is to equate "extended family" with "patriarchal family." The latter can only be rare or, in individual cases, of fairly short duration in a culture like that of Munşif in which, owing to the general lateness of marriage, a man is not likely to become a patriarch over sons and grandchildren until he is rather near death's door. The family organization in Munşif is possibly similar to that of the Chinese *chia* (Fei, 1939, p. 29).

NAMING PATTERNS

Related to the matter of lineages and families is that of personal names. Something has already been said about naming patterns, but more should be mentioned about the names themselves. Particular names do not seem to run in certain patrilines despite the reported ideal of naming the eldest son after his paternal grandfather (cf. Granqvist, 1950, p. 13). The names of the men are more conservative and less variable than the names of the women. There were one hundred and eighteen different male names recorded as against one hundred and forty-six different female names. Only eight of the male names (involving nine persons from five different conjugal families) are of recent foreign origin, whereas there are twenty-three female names of this type (involving thirty-one persons from twenty-seven conjugal families). The remainder of the female names are Arabic nouns and adjectives which generally have no religious significance. The most popular are Layla (Night), twelve examples; Munah, seven; Nabiha, Farida, Badr, and Sa'ada, five each. Most of male names are also Arabic nouns or adjectives, but thirteen of them (involving sixty-five persons) are specifically Christian and/or of Greek origin. Nearly ten per cent of all the males in the village are named Jurjis (George). The other most popular male names are Na'im, ten examples; Ilyas (Elijah), Mikhail or Michel, and Fu'ad, nine each; Hanna (John), eight; Ilia (also Elijah), seven; Wadi', six; and Nakhla, five.

In eleven conjugal families the names of the children form some sort of rhyming or alliterative pattern. For example:

[See preceding 3 pages -- Analyst]

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 MI:1 Lebanon MI:1

Fa'ad
Fahim
Fawzi
Fuad

or,

Na'im
Na'im
Nabih
Nadi
Nabiha

or this, the most elaborate,

Rafiq
Shafiq
Samir
Munir
'Imad
Ziyad
Marah

Informants said of this, as they said of some other types of behavior, "There is no rule; it is just a custom." For the most part, their attitude seemed to be that it was just a petty notion which some people put into effect. One wonders, however, if it is not significant, at the implicit level, of two important cultural patterns: (1) the fascination with the sound of words, and (2) the concept of siblings as a solid unit rather than merely a collection of individuals who happen to have the same parents.

Teknonymy, a well-recognized item in Arab culture, is used to a considerable extent in the village, particularly by younger people who are referring to or addressing their elders. In such situations a teknonymous appellation is the only alternative to a kinship term (see Part Two).

KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The most recent and concise statement of the Arabic kinship system is by Davies (1949). In the paper cited, the author lists and very briefly discusses the systems of kinship terminology used by a Palestinian Christian and a Syrian Muslim. The two systems are essentially the same, though there are a few substantive differences. The system used in Munqif is almost identical with Davies' Palestinian Christian system, there being between them only a few dialectical differences which need not be discussed here. Since this material is so readily available, it is not necessary to reproduce here a complete paradigm of the terminological system. This section will, instead, consist of comments upon some facts and opinions stated by Davies and some original statements as well. The purpose is to elucidate certain problems which study of the Arabic kinship system raises, and, in so doing, to carry forward the discussion of patterns of kinship behavior in Munqif.

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of view, to be difficult inconsistencies. In the discussion which follows, both the "linguistic" and the "functional" approaches (these particular terms are used merely for the sake of convenience in identification) will be used.

Let us look first at certain aspects of the kinship terminology which do not appear to correlate very closely with kinship behavior. Eggan, for whose work this writer has the most profound respect, says that the burden of proof is now on Kroeber's theory of linguistic priority rather than on his own "sociological" approach (Eggan, 1950, p. 295). These Arabic data might give heart to Kroeber and pause to Eggan.

First, the distinctions between all the various types of first cousin, which are carried to the ultimate in precision, are mostly "unnecessary" from the functional point of view. In *Mesqid*, only patrilateral parallel cousins appear to be set apart in any way from the other first cousins of ego. This is because they alone are necessarily members of ego's lineage, with all the behavioral implications which this status carries. But even this distinction does not appear to obtrude very much into everyday relationships. In the latter, ego seems to regard *all* his first cousins as people to whom he is bound equally closely by blood and affection. (This is a rather important matter, discussion of which cannot be completed until we come to the subject of marriage regulations.) Why, then, has not some "blanket" term been adopted for all first cousins? The answer is that to introduce such a change would do violence to the kinship system as a "system of semantic logic." All things considered, the most likely procedure would be to extend the term *ibn* (or *bint*) *'amm* (father's brother's son or daughter) to all first cousins, thus eliminating *ibn* (or *bint*) *'ammit* (father's sister's son or daughter), *ibn* (or *bint*) *khaal* (mother's brother's son or daughter), and *ibn* (or *bint*) *khaalit* (mother's sister's son or daughter). This would result, for example, in the son of a *khaal* being called *ibn 'amm*, and this would seem so grotesque and absurd that either the whole idea would be rejected or the term *khaal* itself would be replaced by *'amm*. This last would be very unlikely. To Arabs *khaal is* "mother's brother" and *'amm is* "father's brother." They are two different statuses, conveniently distinguished and impossible to equate. Besides, there are behavioral distinctions. Ego's *'amm* is automatically expected to render his nephew assistance. His *khaal* is not.

Most of these difficulties could be avoided, of course, by the adoption of a foreign term such as the English or French "cousin." But this seems unlikely because the Arabs could not be expected to replace an element of their own beloved language with a foreign word, especially in such an affect-laden area as this.

During many conversations in English, informants made frequent use of the term "cousin," and it soon became obvious that as often as not they were referring to cousins more distant than first cousins. Upon investigation, it was learned that in Arabic *ibn* (or *bint*) *'amm* is regularly used in such cases, even when the relative in question is related to ego through his mother, although a matrilateral kinsman (*?awlād 'amm?*) more distant than first cousin is often not felt

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME: Lebanon, Mt

tion to the special connection which is created between two women when they marry into the same family.

Somewhat similar in function is the reciprocal term *'ašlil* which is used only by men, two or more men who are married to sisters. There is, however, no term *'ašlilat*, which might be applied to the wives of *'ašlil*, as *sitt* is applied to the husbands of *sitāt*. This difference is a significant one. Whereas two *sitāt* become members of the same family by their marriage to brothers, two *'ašlil* do not become members of the same family by marriage to sisters. Rather, these sisters become members of their husbands' families, respectively. (Village phraseology aptly covers these conceptions: a man *takes* his wife *from* her family which *gave* her to him, and, up to a point, to his family.) Nevertheless, as has been pointed out before, the marriage of a woman does not entirely dissolve the bonds which have tied her to her parents, brothers and sisters. It seems to create for her an ambivalent, or double, set of bonds. And so, two men who marry sisters *do* establish between them a sort of vicarious bond, through the close connection between their wives. This bond is symbolized by the reciprocal term *'ašlil*.

Concerning the uses of *sitāt* and *'ašlil* Davies writes, "Marriages such as these create bonds between otherwise unrelated persons and usage of these reciprocal terms usually implies intimacy and affection. Yet the Palestinian informants felt that these terms as often imply strife and tension between such individuals, since problems of distribution of property rights on the death of the spouses' father frequently arise" (1949, p. 251). The opinion of the Palestinian informant would, in the present writer's view, be especially applicable to *sitāt* and their jealousies.

Of more significance than *sitāt* and *'ašlil* is the term *ṣahr*. When the writer first encountered this term, the informants said that it meant only ego's (male or female) sister's husband or daughter's husband. Further investigation revealed that it refers to many other statuses, though very likely it is most often employed in these two senses. Ego can use the term in the following ways:

ṣahri, "my *ṣahr*"	sister's husband daughter's husband granddaughter's husband
ṣahrna, our *ṣahr*	husband of matrilateral and patrilateral first cousin
ṣahrna (vocatively) *ṣahr al-'ayli* ("family *ṣahr*," referentially)	husband of any member of lineage, provided he is ego's age or younger and not himself a member of the lineage
ṣahrna (vocatively) *ṣahr al-dal'a* ("village *ṣahr*," referentially)	husband of any member of the village, provided he is ego's age or younger and assuming that he is an outsider

It is clear that the basic conception behind this term is the identification of any man who takes in marriage a member of ego's lineage, provided he is a cer-

temporary or younger. It is of particular importance, of course, if ego's lineage mate who is so taken is a member of his or her immediate family. *Jede* is used in exactly the same way by men and women. After a woman is married, she continues to use the term as she did before, but she also very often calls people *jede* whom her husband calls *jede*. This last point is another indication of the double family allegiance of a married woman.

Beyond this, we see that the use of the term is extended in two ways. First, it is extended to the male spouses of *all* first cousins. This is another indication of bilateral solidarity to the degree of first cousin but not beyond it, a striking phenomenon in a supposedly very strongly patrilineal system. Second, it is applied to any outsider who takes a wife from among the villagers. This usage is, in the writer's opinion, of the utmost significance. It says, in effect, that an outsider who marries a village girl is an in-law to everyone in the village, or, to the whole village as a collectivity of individuals. Either way it is phrased, it implies that the village as a unit is conceived of, or at least symbolized, as a single kin group. Of course, from the point of view of genealogy alone, this extended use of *jede* is a perfectly logical projection from minimal lineage, through maximal lineage, to encompass the entire Core Group, which, by reason of universal descent from one man is, actually, a single superlineage. As a matter of fact, ego does not call *jede* the husbands of his *maximal* lineage mates. This is another indication of the present-day conceptual weakness of the maximal lineages, a matter which can be readily accounted for (see Chap. 9).

One set of data on kinship terminology remains to be discussed. These are the reciprocal uses of *baabe* (cf. "daddy") and *maame* (cf. "mummy"). Within the immediate family, grown sons and daughters address their parents by these terms as well as the more formal *baypi* and *'ameti*. In their turn, the parents reciprocate these terms in addressing their children, so that before one becomes accustomed to the practice, one is regularly startled to hear a mother address her son as *maame*. Reciprocation of the formal parental terms is much less common. Parents also use, of course, the formal terms for son and daughter in addressing their children. Davies, in fact, says that actually fathers do not address their daughters as *baabe* at all (1949, p. 231), but this usage was heard in Munşil. There is undoubtedly considerable individual variation in this practice. Davies says that there is a similar reciprocation of avunculate terms between aunts, uncles, and their nieces and nephews. The present writer has no evidence, one way or the other, of this usage in Munşil. Davies does not mention, however, a practice which does occur in Munşil, viz: the reciprocal use of *jiddi* and *sitti* (cf., in this context, "grandchild" and "grandma") between grandparents and grandchildren. The terms *hafiid* (grandson) and *hafiidat* (granddaughter) are referential and are never used in direct address.

These familiar and familial usages are striking in that they seem to do violence to the facts of generation and sexual statuses. The phrase "seem to do violence" is

Santiago, Argentina; dated Oct. 22nd, 1904. 642/186

"... I have previously written you that my aunt wants me to marry her daughter, Miriana. I see that this is a good match. She is nice and well educated, and I don't believe there is any better girl back in our village. But your consent is my primary concern, and I beg of you not to deny me this request, for Miriana is a gem ..." [532]

7. From three sons to their father, N. R. Nejjar, back home; Burraga, Australia, dated Dec. 22nd, 1905. 642/186 573

"... Two weeks ago, we sent you a check for 50 pounds. ... Our dear father, we have to remark about the way you write to us, and that it should not be so. Your letters contain many statements in which you address us and praise us in such a way, as if we were the masters and you the follower. There is no need for this at all, and our financial success should not change the relationship between us. We are your sons and shall always be obedient to you and do all we can to serve you. ... Write us as father and master, who orders his servants to do their duty towards him. ..."

8. From M. Saqkis to his relative I. T. Elias; Cleveland, Ohio; dated March 20th, 1913.

"... Please forgive the manner in which I wrote you last, doubting your honesty in handling money I sent you for my mother and the family. It was all the fault of my sister who sent me false news and made me write to you as I did. I know now that she was after her selfish

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B.T. [illegible] G,5-6 (as date) 1942
MEI Lebanon MEI

friends. May God never bless such a minister. . . ."

9. From H. to his relative, I. T. Elias; Fenna., August 6th, 1914.

" . . . I have sent you a telegram to foreclose the land property of N. (a fellow emigrant). He has refused to pay me what he owes me or to give me a mortgage on his land in the village. Then he resorted to a mean and immoral trick. He instigated his wife to bring a case against me in the courts, accusing me of assulting her. He did that with the hope of getting much money out of me. . . . Don't pay much attention to the newspapers cuttings (referring to the case) that I understand some of our jealous and mean people here have sent to the village. In this country, all things, little and big, are written up in papers, and nobody pays much attention to them. . . . Later, N. discontinued the prosecution of the case and came over with some of my friends and begged my pardon. . . ."

10. From S. M. Halaibel (middle aged woman) to her relative, I. T. Elias, U. S. A., April 3rd, 1913.

" . . . The news of my son's death has broken my heart and my life. I don't know what to think or say. He was my only child. I brought him up until he was married, and then prevented him from sailing to America, as I did not want to expose him to any danger. I sailed away in his place, and have been laboring for years to gather some money, on which his children could grow up comfortably. . . . He is gone now, and his child is the only one left for me. Please pay

p64 (B)

D:Tamuna G,S-5 (no date) 1940
1921 Lebanon 1921

attention to the child and his mother; give them all they need, until I come back. . . ."

11. From M. T. Elias to his wife; Argentina, Feb. 2nd, 1920.

" . . . Within two months, our son Selim will leave for home, so as to get married in the village and bring back all of you with him. Come with him to this country which is our new home and which gives us honey and milk. . . . Bring with you the following: (1) three fig seedlings (2) two grapevine seedlings 3) one red and one white hawthorne seedling (4) hindbane seeds (5) some "Arak" (local drink) (6) some olive oil. . . . Forget all about our property in the village. Let our relatives take care of it. Upon your arrival here, you will see that we own as much land as the whole village of Rishmiyeen. . . ." (Subsequently, the whole family left, father, mother, three sons and three daughters.)

12. From S. Najjar to her relative; Iowa, Argentina, March 7th, 1923.

" . . . I shall send you enough money to buy back all the pieces of land that used to belong to my late husband. You know I am not making of this a business affair for profit. I am doing this only because I want to keep alive the memory of my husband and ancestors who used to own that land. I want our son to inherit the land. . . ."

The Village Organization Is Shaken And New Adjustments Are Attempted

Analysis of the above mentioned tables, cases and letter extracts seem

head of the family, and her cash gave her prestige.

In this respect, the silk industry, the education movement, and emigration were equally influential. They brought about what may be called the "emancipation" of woman. However, it must be clearly stated that that emancipation brought in its wake a great deal of cultural conflict and social disorganization. Until now, people in the village are still confused about how to define a situation in which a woman is involved. Should they define it in terms of the old pattern of behavior, or in terms of the new economic prestige attained by woman? Can S. M. Jeha ask his wife (who earned the money in America and who holds the property in her name) to do something for him, or must he obey her orders? Should the children of C. W. Deek look up to their father as the head of the family, or to their mother who sends them the cash from abroad?

6. *The parent-child status relationship is broken down:* Not only did the man-woman status relationship undergo a change but also that of the parent and child. Most of those who emigrated were young men, who had always played the role of dependents, subject to the authority of the parent or grandparent. Emigration put these young people on their own, when they had to face new situations as independent individuals. At the same time, they earned that coveted cash and sent it home. The symbol of economic prestige began to shift from the land to cash. With that, a corres-

p.72(B)

• 595 ponding shift in the parent-child
SS status relationship took place. Again,
178 confusion in behavior was the inevitable result.

In case 3 above, the young emigrant sends his mother much money; but at the same time he scolds her and orders her to tell him the truth about her financial situation.

In case 6, we see the young man still living up to the old standards by consulting his father about the girl he intends to marry. However, some twenty years later, that same young man deserted and completely neglected his parents and kinship group.

Case 7 is another illuminating illustration. The three young men are bewildered by the new status assumed by their father! They urge him to continue playing the role of the family head and master, while he insists on giving that to them, because of their financial prestige!

621 7. *Other indications of disorganization:* Case 1 shows how the cooperative background of the five or six emigrants was shattered by the elements of the new situation. Some of them were able to get tickets at the rate of five pounds a ticket, while the others had to pay seven and a half for a ticket. The latter felt betrayed by and estranged from their companions.

Case 2 shows how the emigrant became indignant over the fact that a friend at home wrote the emigrant insisting that he should pay back his debt. The emigrant cannot reconcile this attitude with his conception of village friendship.

p. 73(4)

the households are of moderate size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

United in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Khanaiil maintain a basically egalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is much of this sort which is done in the village. Those who do it live in al-Khanaiil, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These subsidiary inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 50 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the workers in each of the bakeries. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Marounites and they come to al-Khanaiil in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are mentioned at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Khanaiil and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Ishmeili (Lebanese Shi'is). This group has been in al-Khanaiil only about 12 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.* The ethnic distinction in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Location. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme localism of al-Khanaiil has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Khanaiil.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

*Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1951).

by the people, and ordained by higher religious authorities. Through unspecified directions, members of the community meet his needs. In some cases, he does not even cease to be an active farmer. A balance is established between the central religious organization of the country and the village church through respect for local autonomy.

Another pillar of life among the rural people of Lebanon is the family organization, which is characterized by three functional units or stages. The first of these is the primary biological unit, consisting of the married couple and their children. The second is a more comprehensive unit, known as the joint family, which consists of the grandparents as the head, their unmarried daughters, and the various families of their sons. At a certain point in its growth, this joint family breaks up into new units, resulting ultimately in the development of the largest family organization, the *kinship group*. Members of this group claim descent from the same ancestor and normally carry his name.

Evidences of the importance of the family organization are numerous and convincing. A village consists actually of a community of people held together to a large extent by blood ties, either through descent within the kinship group or through intermarriage between these units. Practically everybody is related directly or indirectly to everybody else. A strong sense of belonging and of solidarity develops as a result. Marriage, to a large extent, is a family affair, with emphasis upon the interests and welfare of the two family groups concerned. Children are usually named after ancestors or other relatives, thus emphasizing the blood tie. Land is normally held and operated jointly by various members of the unit. Loyalty to the family in times of crisis is binding; family honor and prestige must be upheld.

In their use of proverbs, expressing fundamental attitudes, the village folk frequently refer to this family relationship. "Blood can never turn into water." "A boy is two-thirds the image of his uncle." "Marry the daughter of a good family, though she be an old maid." "He who has no family backing has no backbone." These are but a few examples. Further evidence of the identification of the individual with the family group is supplied by the manner in which people are addressed or introduced.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

Parents, after the birth of their first son, cease to be addressed by their given names. They are now addressed by the name of their son, as the father or the mother of so-and-so. On the other hand, the members of the younger generation, until they are married, are referred to and introduced as the children of so-and-so, of such-and-such a family.

An outstanding characteristic of this rural family organization is that, with minor exceptions in certain parts of Lebanon, the woman occupies a relatively high status. Moslem or Christian, she does not submit to the veil, nor does she suffer from undue segregation. In the majority of cases, boys and girls attend the same village school. Whenever both men and women do farm work, we find, as a general rule, that division of labor prevails, with the lighter tasks assigned to women. In many villages of the mountain region, an increasing proportion of women do not do any farm work at all, applying themselves completely to homemaking. Some fifty years ago the doors of higher education were opened to the village women of Lebanon. Since then they have played an increasingly important role in national leadership and development as teachers, writers, doctors, lawyers, and enlightened homemakers.

Recreational activity, to one degree or another, is characteristic of many rural societies. This seems to be an essential need, biologically and socially, of human group life. By this means the group gives spontaneous expression, in symbolic form, to the fundamental values of its life and to its aspirations. The rural society of Lebanon is outstanding in this respect, having developed a rich recreational heritage that is well known in the Arabic-speaking world. Some aspects of this heritage have been carried to, and kept alive in, foreign countries by Lebanese emigrants. The Lebanese farmer is characterized by a well-developed sense of humor and a lively tendency to indulge in pranks. He loves to compose folk poetry and sing folk songs, when alone working in his fields or when in the company of friends. From his early childhood he learns to be a good folk dancer. At the same time his community life is characterized by an abundance of recreational expression.

Occasions for community festivities and group-play activity

16:Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

621 613 551 only one exception to this rule in al-Munsif. In this case, the son was born while the family was living in Australia.

Special formal titles are addressed to no one except the priest, the mayor, the school teachers, and the doctor. Otherwise, personal names and kinship terms are used. It is significant that when a villager addresses another who is definitely his senior, he never under any circumstances uses the Arabic equivalents of "Mr." or "Mrs." To do this would be a grave insult, for it would imply that the person addressed is considered to be a stranger and an outsider. "Paternal uncle" or "aunt" are the kinship terms most commonly used in such cases (which include the address of one's father- and mother-in-law), although the well-known teknonymous formula (for example, "Abu 'Abdallah"—"father of 'Abdallah") is often employed. (It can also be used in a joking sense, but there is never any confusion in this matter.)

621 613 601 602 Space does not allow any further elaboration on the intricacies of the system of kinship terms which is used in al-Munsif. It can be said here only that these terms—which are verbal symbols of status and role—encompass the entire pattern of reciprocal obligations, social distance, and social nearness which regulates interpersonal relations in the village. Over all, there is the abiding concept of everyone in the village being related. This is symbolized best, perhaps, by the extensive use of the term *sihr*. The basic meaning of this word is a man who has married a member of one's immediate family; in other words, a sister's or a daughter's husband. But the term is extended to any man (of same age or younger) who is married to a member of one's lineage, and it is applied to an outsider who has married any village girl. Conceptually, the outsider becomes an in-law of the entire community.

621 613 The lineages function as units of identification by name (if necessary), as units for the automatic support and aid of individual members on a reciprocal basis, and to some extent for the regulation of marriage. Marriage to a member of another lineage is preferred, provided the spouse is a member of the village. There are exceptions to this, but as a whole, the network of marriage ties—which become blood ties through women in the generations following the marriage—between the lineages is very complex. Thus the potential exclusiveness of each lineage is minimized for the benefit of village solidarity. There are, indeed, factions and cliques within the village, but its basic unity is never lost sight of.

621 594 The Arabs are often thought of as actually living their daily lives in large, extended family groups. This is not, and apparently never has been, true in al-Munsif. All the households, with one exception, consist of what sociologists call "nuclear" families. That is, they are composed, basically, of only the parents and the immature or unmarried children. But the resemblance to the typical American family ends at this point, for though

16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

the households are of minimum size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

Unified in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Munsif maintain a basically equalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is work of this sort which is done in the village. Those who do it live in al-Munsif, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These additional inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 58 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the stokers at each of the bakeries. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Maronites and they come to al-Munsif in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are snowbound at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Munsif and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Mitwali (Lebanese Shi'is). This group has been in al-Munsif only about 12 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.[2] The ethnic distinction in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Localism. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme localism of al-Munsif has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Munsif.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

[2] Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1951).

17: Tanoous S, G-5 fea. 1947-48\1949 MEI Lebanon MEJ

by the people, and ordained by higher religious authorities. Through unspecified donations, members of the community meet his needs. In some cases, he does not even cease to be an active farmer. A balance is established between the central religious organization of the country and the village church through respect for local autonomy.

Another pillar of life among the rural people of Lebanon is the family organization, which is characterized by three functional units or stages. The first of these is the primary biological unit, consisting of the married couple and their children. The second is a more comprehensive unit, known as the joint family, which consists of the grandparents at the head, their unmarried daughters, and the various families of their sons. At a certain point in its growth, this joint family breaks up into new units, resulting ultimately in the development of the largest family organization, the kinship group. Members of this group claim descent from the same ancestor and normally carry his name.

Evidences of the importance of the family organization are numerous and convincing. A village consists actually of a community of people held together to a large extent by blood ties, either through descent within the kinship group or through intermarriage between these units. Practically everybody is related directly or indirectly to everybody else. A strong sense of belonging and of solidarity develops as a result. Marriage, to a large extent, is a family affair, with emphasis upon the interests and welfare of the two family groups concerned. Children are usually named after ancestors or other relatives, thus emphasizing the blood tie. Land is normally held and operated jointly by various members of the unit. Loyalty to the family in times of crisis is binding; family honor and prestige must be upheld.

In their use of proverbs, expressing fundamental attitudes, the village folk frequently refer to this family relationship. "Blood can never turn into water." "A boy is two-thirds the image of his uncle." "Marry the daughter of a good family, though she be an old maid." "He who has no family backing has no backbone." These are but a few examples. Further evidence of the identification of the individual with the family group is supplied by the manner in which people are addressed or introduced.

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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عيلة). Sometimes, when a minimal lineage is being identified, the word *beyt* (house) is prefixed to the name, but in general reference *'eyli*, in Munqif as among urban dwelling Muslims of Syria (Daghestani, 1952, p. 147), serves equally well for "maximal lineage," "minimal lineage," and for kinship units smaller than minimal lineages. To the last we shall now turn our attention.

THE FAMILY UNIT

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It is the firm impression of the present writer that in Munqif it is the nuclear, or conjugal, family which is far more important than the extended family. This is quite at variance with the conclusions of other writers on the Middle East in general. For example, both Tannous (1944, p. 337) and Weulersse (1946, pp. 216–17) declare emphatically that the nuclear family is of little consequence compared to the extended family as a social unit. The single example of Munqif, assuming that the interpretation given below is correct, cannot be used to refute the conclusions of recognized authorities. The present writer may have misinterpreted what he observed, but he hopes that the division of opinion may be based, in fact, upon varying practices in the Middle East as a whole. For example, Lichtenstadter has recently reported (1952, pp. 382–83) a specific case of the extended family among acculturated Egyptian Muslim villagers.

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Of this total of independent households only two constitute true extended families. In one case there live under one roof the head and his wife, their only son (a commuter), and his wife and children. In the other, there is the head, his mother, his wife, an unmarried son, two unmarried daughters, and a married son with his wife and children. Table 1 shows that all the rest are essentially nuclear families, though some are defective, and many include some additional dependents.

Before he was aware of the existence of these two extended families in the village, the writer inquired of an informant whether extended families existed or ever had existed in Munqif. For this purpose a hypothetical extended family was described. The informant replied that he had heard that the Muslims sometimes had such families, but that they did not have them in Munqif, and that he had never heard that they ever had had them. "It would be impossible," he said. "You see, sometimes it happens that a woman and her son's wife must live together in the same house for a while. When they do, they are always enemies because each one wants to run the house her own way, and they never agree. About this *hamab-hirnah* trouble we have many sayings. And it is the same with the wives of brothers

12: Churchill 5-5 (1952) 1964 MFI Lebanon MFI

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The composition of the sample households by sex, age, age at marriage, and number of tenants was tabulated. Chapter five has additional material on nationality and citizenship. Generally there are separate tabulations for the head of household and children; grandchildren, parents, siblings, other family members and servants. The material thus usually covers three generations.

Plural Marriage

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It is particularly interesting that in only two of our sample households were there plural marriages. In one case the man had two wives, and in the other, three. The economics of subsistence militates against plural marriages.

Sex of Members of the Household

3.21 Head of household. Table 5

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The head of the household was defined by the respondents themselves. In nine-tenths of the cases these were male.

3.22 Children of head of household. Table 6

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Fifty-five percent of the children were male. The sex ratio of the first seven children and of the eighth through twelfth children, grouped, are shown in the table. It would appear that there is a significant difference in the incidence of children remaining in the household by sex.

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It is possible that there is a survival differential in favor of male children, but on the other hand, there is also a greater tendency for male children to remain in the household.

p. 5(a)

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

592 if they must live together. So you see, if they *all* lived together in one house, it would be a terrible thing." Later, it appeared that the two technically extended families in the village were looked upon as temporary arrangements. As a residence unit, then, the extended family is absent from Munqif in the theory of the villagers themselves, and it is very exceptional in practice.

• 596 This does not mean, however, that we can dismiss the possibility of the power of extended families *as social units* regardless of residence. In fact, considering the violent stresses and strains which the common residence of in-laws is believed to cause, it is reasonable to suppose that an extended family living in separate conjugal groups might be a *stronger* social unit than an extended family living under one roof. As a matter of fact, by way of comparison, among the sedentary Bedawin living around Aleppo, several generations of one family never live together under one roof (Dagbestani, 1932, p. 188), yet it is safe to assume that among these people strong extended families as social units are the rule.

BROTHERS

595 There are, indeed, some indications in Munqif of in-group mechanisms extending beyond the conjugal family, but not, in this particular context, inclusive of the minimal lineage. These are all cases of the close relationship between adult brothers, most of whose fathers are dead or so old that they have made over their property to their sons. Note has already been made of the two pairs of brothers who live together as pairs in the summer, but live separately in the winter. In addition, there are three pairs of brothers each of which lives under one roof. These are listed as six independent households in Table 1 because they are so regarded by the villagers. In all cases the shared houses have been partitioned down the middle inside, and thus the families live independently of each other. We thus have five pairs of a total of ten conjugal families, each pair of which shares, in one way or another, a single house. In every case, these situations have arisen because the brothers have not yet "divided their inheritance," as the villagers say. [423] Inheritance patterns will be discussed later; here it is enough to point out that inheritance is equal among brothers. Ideally, one brother—often the youngest—gets the family house, with consequent adjustments in the settlement of the rest of the property. The final settlement is often delayed several years—but never permanently—with results that have just been discussed (see Tannous, 1942, pp. 232–34 for a discussion of the solidarity of close kin).

593 613 621 There are several more cases of brothers who own and occupy adjoining houses, or houses very close to each other. This is considered a "nice" arrangement, but it is often impossible, and there are many exceptions. Projected over many generations, however, this ideal has resulted in the tendency for the houses of maximal lineage mates to have remained clustered together (see map, Fig. 6) after the original division of the village territory among the three sons of the founder.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

[page 111 is a figure]

The exceptions, which are relatively recent, are sufficient to have obliterated most minimal lineage clusterings.

It is quite evident that brothers are expected and honor-bound to help each other throughout life, and very frequently they cooperate in business or other enterprises. Many of the remittances from emigrants appear to be based on the brother-brother relationship. The situation may be in part similar to that reported from India by Mandelbaum (1948, p. 137), in which it is now rare for extended families to remain unified after the death of the parents.

If this material can be interpreted as sufficient evidence of the "presence of the extended family" in Munṣif, this writer has no objection, but he himself is not entirely convinced. In part, to be sure, the problem is a terminological one, for the common usage is to equate "extended family" with "patriarchal family." The latter can only be rare or, in individual cases, of fairly short duration in a culture like that of Munṣif in which, owing to the general lateness of marriage, a man is not likely to become a patriarch over sons and grandchildren until he is rather near death's door. The family organization in Munṣif is possibly similar to that of the Chinese *chia* (Fei, 1939, p. 29).

NAMING PATTERNS

Related to the matter of lineages and families is that of personal names. Something has already been said about naming patterns, but more should be mentioned about the names themselves. Particular names do not seem to run in certain patrilines despite the reported ideal of naming the eldest son after his paternal grandfather (cf. Granqvist, 1950, p. 13). The names of the men are more conservative and less variable than the names of the women. There were one hundred and eighteen different male names recorded as against one hundred and forty-six different female names. Only eight of the male names (involving nine persons from five different conjugal families) are of recent foreign origin, whereas there are twenty-three female names of this type (involving thirty-one persons from twenty-seven conjugal families). The remainder of the female names are Arabic nouns and adjectives which generally have no religious significance. The most popular are Layla (Night), twelve examples; Munah, seven; Nabīlha, Farīda, Badr, and Sa'ada, five each. Most of male names are also Arabic nouns or adjectives, but thirteen of them (involving sixty-five persons) are specifically Christian and/or of Greek origin. Nearly ten per cent of all the males in the village are named Jurjis (George). The other most popular male names are Na'īm, ten examples; Ilyas (Elijah), Mukhail or Michel, and Fu'ād, nine each; Ḥanna (John), eight; Ilīa (also Elijah), seven; Wadī', six; and Nakhlī, five.

In eleven conjugal families the names of the children form some sort of rhyming or alliterative pattern. For example:

[See preceding 3 pages -- Analyst]

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48) 1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

by the people, and ordained by higher religious authorities. Through unspecified donations, members of the community meet his needs. In some cases, he does not even cease to be an active farmer. A balance is established between the central religious organization of the country and the village church through respect for local autonomy.

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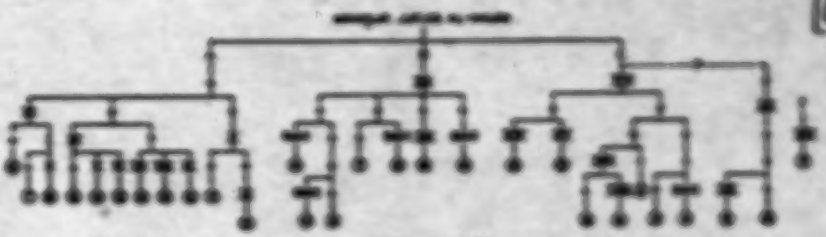
7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Origin of Minimal Lineages. A word concerning the origin of the minimal lineages is in order (see Table 8 and Fig. 3, both of which are abstractions from village genealogies, showing males only, which were in the possession of the priest). The minimal lineages are clearly segmentations of the maximal lineages, but beyond this we cannot, unfortunately, make any very conclusive statements.

The writer asked several informants, on many occasions and in many different ways, why certain ancestors were the eponymous founders of the minimal lineages. Were they, for example, famous men? No one was sure, even in regard to his own lineage. The only suggestion was that perhaps when the families grew too large, they divided. It was also repeatedly stated that it has only been during the last fifty years or so that lineage names have been used at all, because the genera-



A, B, C = Eponymous Ancestors of Maximal Lineages
I–XXI = Eponymous Ancestors of Minimal Lineages
(Dec) = Eponymous Ancestors of Deceased Lineages
Numbers or O = Number of Generations Descended from the Last Specifically Indicated Individual in Each Patriline

FIG. 3. GENEALOGY OF LINEAGES

most began to insist that everyone have a "family" name. "So they all returned to their grandfathers." (The term "grandfather" was used loosely in the village, and Mansour Jurjis al-Khouri was often referred to as "our grandfather.") No one could say why they "returned to" a particular "grandfather" and not to another one. Thus, for some time the writer thought that perhaps the minimal lineages were recent arbitrary creations for the sake of providing names. It is possible, but it seems unlikely. Minimal Lineage III, for example, with its *waqf* trust, is an ancient institution, and there is no reason to suppose that it is exceptional in this respect.

Table 8 indicates that the patrilines of the village were not very large or profound at the time when most of the eponymous ancestors were actually alive, and hence the formation of the minimal lineages may have been an arbitrary procedure on the part of the descendants of certain men, though not exactly as recently as some informants seemed to suggest. Size of groups or enmities between them might have been deciding factors. The present sizes of the lineages, since there is such a wide range of size, offer no clue. Lineage VIII, which might have been expected to divide long ago on account of its size but has not done so, and there are

615 no indications that it will. Yet there are possible signs of division in XI and XII. Two men in these lineages are using rather than their father's name as a second name, one his grandfather's, and the other his great-grandfather's, name. The children are following this pattern, which may be the beginning of two new lineages. No explanation was available.

Both Table 6 and Figure 3 show that the lineages are of very unequal generational depth. In some cases this is because some lineages are older, genealogically, than others. In other cases, it is because some lineages have reproduced faster than others. These two factors combine to give a range of depth of from four to ten generations, if we follow Figure 3. The mode is six generations; the average is nearer seven than six.

It will be observed that the eponymous ancestors of lineages XII and XVI are placed in the fifth generation of descent from Mansur Jaʿfa al-Khatri in Table 6, whereas they appear in the third generation in Figure 3. The reason for this discrepancy is this: in both cases there are on the original genealogy men with the appropriate name and in the proper position in both generations. In each case, either man, the first or a grandson, could have been the eponymous ancestor, and no one knows which. The maximal lineage names, represented by the letters A, B, and C, are all teknonymous, being Abū Yūnis, Abū ʿAwwad, and Abū Nāṣr, respectively. Their sons were Yūnis, ʿAwwad, and Nāṣr, respectively. ʿAwwad and Nāṣr are represented as XII and XVI, respectively, because these two men (or two grandsons who were their namesakes), were the ancestors of present minimal lineages which bear their names. Figure 3 places the eponymous ancestors of these lineages in the earlier of the alternative generations to emphasize the following fact: The names of Maximal Lineages B and C are retained in the names of present minimal lineages, whereas the name of Maximal Lineage A, the largest, has been eliminated. This fact was recognized by the villagers, but they could not see any reason for it, or significance in it.

Figure 3 suggests that there are three patterns of derivation of minimal lineages: (1) derivation from sets of brothers; (2) derivation of one lineage from a father, of others from his younger sons; (3) derivation of one minimal lineage from another, e.g., the derivation of a lineage from one man, of another from his grandson.

This entire argument has been severely handicapped by the fact that we could either accept the genealogy on which Table 6 and Figure 3 were based at its face value, or not give it any detailed consideration at all. The former course has been followed, but the possibility must be kept in mind that the genealogy may be very inaccurate. The Arabs, and other Semites, have always been fond of explaining history in genealogical terms, with great distortion as a result. Doughty (1936, pp. 178–79) warns explicitly against taking Arab genealogies of any size at their face value.

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The generic term for lineage which is used in Mmajd is ʿaʾā (properly

Abu). Sometimes, when a minimal lineage is being identified, the word *hay* (house) is prefixed to the name, but in general reference *'a'ā'ir*, in Mosqūl as among other dwelling Muslims of Syria (Dagher, 1955, p. 147), seems equally well for "maximal lineage," "minimal lineage," and for kinship units smaller than minimal lineages. To the last we shall now turn our attention.

THE FAMILY UNIT

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The Arabic kinship terminology, which appears to be basically the same wherever Arabic is spoken, allows for the very precise designation of a large number of close relatives. Morgan included it in his "descriptive" category of kinship systems, and it is certainly a better example than many of those he put into this new classificatory theoretical category. In most modern terms, it is bifurcate collateral in type: each parent is distinguished from his siblings, mother's siblings are distinguished from father's siblings, "aunts" are distinguished from "uncles." These distinctions are continued into the children's generation simply by prefixing *ibn* (son of) or *bint* (daughter of) to the appropriate term. Thus, eight different first cousin statuses are linguistically defined: male and female patrilateral and matrilateral cross and parallel cousins. With these few distinctions in mind, it is rather surprising, perhaps, to discover that there is only one term for "grandfather" and "grandmother," respectively.

Turning to the affinal system, it has long been a point of interest that in Arabic, "*ayn*" calls his or her father-in-law 'amm. The basic meaning of 'amm is "father's brother." However, in Mandaïl, and probably elsewhere, 'amm is used for "father-in-law" secondarily only. There is a special referential term, *hamm*, for "father-in-law," whose feminine form, *hamm*, means "mother-in-law." So much for general characteristics, whereas, actually, lies the substance of controversial theoretical interpretations.

Everyone is agreed that kinship terms are linguistic symbols of kinship statuses. Different kinship statuses, and the many different interaction patterns between them, call for various types of behavior and attitude on the part of any one individual. This much agreed, the longstanding anthropological controversy over the functional significance of kinship systems seems to revolve around this question: Must there be a one-to-one correspondence between the patterns of "lumping" and of differentiation of certain relatives in any one kinship system, and the prevailing behavioral and attitudinal patterns concerning relatives in the culture which uses that system? One side of the controversy tends to insist on "yes" as the answer to this question. The proponents of this view have produced many brilliant analyses of kinship systems, but they always encounter some difficulty in explaining a few usages whose functional significance is elusive. The other side of the controversy in effect seeks to solve this difficulty by answering the basic question with "Not necessarily always." The reason for this view has been expressed as follows: "In modern peoples, kinship terminologies are pattern systems of semantic logic, highly variable in detail and historically derivable, but also classifiable." As such they cannot be "construed as mere collections or indices of marriage or other social institutions." (Kroeber, 1952, p. 172. Emphasis mine.) In this connection, we are reminded of Sapir's remark that "all grammars leak," and if the present writer's understanding is correct, Kroeber's opinion is that kinship terminologies are grammars of kinship behavior. If we put Sapir and Kroeber together, we have a linguistic "explanation" of what seem, from the sociological, "functional," point

of view, to be difficult inconsistencies. In the discussion which follows, both the "linguistic" and the "functional" approaches (these particular terms are used merely for the sake of convenience in classification) will be used.

Let us look first at certain aspects of the kinship terminology which do not appear to correlate very closely with kinship behavior. Eggan, for whom such discrepancies have the most significance, says that the burden of proof is now on Kroeber's theory of linguistic priority rather than on the more "sociological" approach (Eggan, 1950, p. 295). These Arabic data might give heart to Kroeber and pause to Eggan.

First, the distinctions between all the various types of first cousin, which are central to the ultimate in precision, are nearly "unnecessary" from the functional point of view. In Mamgil, only patrilateral parallel cousins appear to be set apart in any way from the other first cousins of ego. This is because they alone are necessarily members of ego's lineage, with all the behavioral implications which this status carries. But even this distinction does not appear to intrude very much into everyday relationships. In the latter, ego seems to regard all his first cousins as people to whom he is bound equally closely by blood and affection. (This is a rather important matter, discussion of which cannot be completed until we come to the subject of marriage regulations.) Why, then, has not some "blanket" term been adopted for all first cousins? The answer is that to introduce such a change would do violence to the kinship system as a "system of semantic logic." All things considered, the most likely procedure would be to extend the term *ibn* (or *bint*) 'amm (father's brother's son or daughter) to all first cousins, thus eliminating *ibn* (or *bint*) 'ammah (father's sister's son or daughter), *ibn* (or *bint*) *khaal* (mother's brother's son or daughter), and *ibn* (or *bint*) *khaalah* (mother's sister's son or daughter). This would result, for example, in the use of a *khaal* being called *ibn* 'amm, and this would seem so grotesque and absurd that either the whole idea would be rejected or the term *khaal itself* would be replaced by 'amm. This last would be very unlikely. To Arabs *khaal* is "mother's brother" and 'amm is "father's brother." They are two different statuses, conveniently distinguished and impossible to equate. Besides, there are behavioral distinctions. Ego's 'amm is automatically expected to render his nephew assistance. His *khaal* is not.

Most of these difficulties could be avoided, of course, by the adoption of a foreign term such as the English or French "cousin." But this seems unlikely because the Arabs could not be expected to replace an element of their own beloved language with a foreign word, especially in such an affect-laden area as this.

During many conversations in English, informants made frequent use of the term "cousin," and it soon became obvious that as often as not they were referring to cousins more distant than first cousins. Upon investigation, it was learned that in Arabic *ibn* (or *bint*) 'amm is regularly used in such cases, even when the relative in question is related to ego through his mother, although a matrilateral kinsman ('awlâd ummi) more distant than first cousin is often not felt

to be very much of a relative. This is, of course, a classificatory device employed largely for the sake of convenience. It is possible to designate exactly a particular second cousin, for example, in English by something like "my father's father's brother's son's son." In Arabic it is usually the same, in unusual cases like the Abyssinian boys. Obviously such enhanced designations are to be avoided if possible, and usually they are unnecessary. If pressed in such a case as the example given above, he is not my father's brother's son (*ibn khuy bayy*). He is my *'amm*, but there are six *'amm* (*ahd wahad*) between us."

"Feet" counting is a short-hand device for reducing the degree of relationship between two people. Between first cousins, for example, there are four feet, ego (1), ego's father (2), ego's father's brother (3), and ego's father's brother's son (4). The principle of the thing is to count up and down two lines of direct descent, crossing from one to the other at the point of closest connection between them. This is a sibling relationship, either from a common ancestor.

In my own, we saw we that the *'amm* can be an ambiguous term. It happens, however, that there is a method for insuring that when one says the *'amm*, one means first cousin only, and this is by adding the word *banim* to the first term. Hilma Granqvist (1931, p. 80) encountered exactly the same usage among Palestinian Muslim villagers. The word *banim* is derived from the root *b.n.y* which denotes construction, and Granqvist says that its use in this context is a reference to the preferential parallel cousin marriage of the Muslims.

This brings us to other suggestions of this marriage pattern in the kinship terminology used in Muwaili. It is possible that the single pair of terms for both sets of grandparents is a reflection of a Patrilateral parallel practice, of course, here are set of grandparents, their fathers' parents, in common. In a strongly patrilineal organization, these persons are far more important than mother's parents, and it may be that one set of grandparents tends to collapse simply because otherwise to and interaction with grandparents is almost always with fathers' parents only. This, however, is speculative, and the argument is admittedly tenuous.

Much more striking is the use of *'amm* in relation to the father-in-law. Davies (1949, pp. 249-50) seems to accept this without question as an indication of patrilateral parallel cousin marriage. For the Muslims, among whom this type of marriage is still preferred and very often practiced, this interpretation seems clearly to be correct, for in such a case, the father-in-law of one spouse is necessarily also his or her father's brother. Here, however, consider the Muwaili who says *'amm* to his father-in-law, yet whose Church forbids, ordinarily, the marriage of all first cousins, and whose forebears have been speaking Arabic for at least a thousand years. Davies reports his Palestinian Christian informant as saying that Palestinian Christians tend to regard their parallel cousins as potential spouses, at least. The present writer finds it difficult to believe that this is true, as a general rule in any case. Certainly there were no indications of it in Muwaili.

If we think in terms of kinship and marriage behavior only, the use of 'ammo for father-in-law and of khaalo to specify first cousin appears to be nothing less than the "kidding" of kinship grammar on the result of some sort of linguistic inertia. It is not necessary to leave the matter at this, however, in the case of 'ammo.

Since meaning father-in-law may have originated as an extension from "father's brother," how the continued use in Christian Arab culture is, in this sense, a mystery, not to the fact that 'ammo has an extra kinship use. It is the standard term of address used by a younger person to a man of his or her parents' generation, even if they are not relatives at all. Very frequently, in this use, the term is prefixed to the addressee's name. The usage is obviously not due to mistaken meaning of kinship, nor is it a means of establishing fictional kinship. It is as humorist, Dennis Deligdisch (1955, p. 57) reports this use of 'ammo among the Sabeans Kalabrish, and she says that it is universal among Arabic speakers.

Jiddi (my grandfather) is sometimes addressed to a man so much older than the speaker that he seems like a grandfather, but the occurrence of this is not very common. ('ammoh, "father's sister", and sitti, "grandmother," are used analogously with women.)

Concerning this usage, a young adult informant pointed out that unless one was a Mississippian form of address, 'ammi is the only way in which an older villager can properly be addressed. To use his name only, as to a contemporary, would be disrespectful. On the other hand, he said, it would be inconceivable to use such titles as ayyuhā (Ms.), sīr (Mrs.), ustaz or fadīwah (sir) to a fellow villager of whatever age. These terms are used by the Arabs in cities and among strangers. They connote the formality of strangeness and distance equally as much as, if not more than, respect.

It is not uncommon in modern America to encounter "uncle," with the individual's first name, used by younger people for very close friends of the family, to whom the use of the first name alone would be unseemly because of great difference in age, but with whom "Mr." would be too formal. To a limited extent, the Arabic and American usages are analogous, but of course the extension of it in the former to include nearly every older person in the community is peculiarly Arabic. Perhaps it would be going too far to say that this particular usage in itself indicates a general conception of the entire village as a sort of kinship unit, but nevertheless it is important to note the use of a kinship term in definite preference to a formal title among the villagers.

We may now consider three kinship terms whose functional significance is clear and, in one case, rather important. All three are affinal terms.

The first is sihr. This term is used by women only, and it is a reciprocal term. Two (or more) women are sihr to each other when they are married to brothers. In addition, each sihr refers to the other's husband as sihr (the connective form of the word). This term seems to serve the function of giving emphasis

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[C] tion to the special connection which is created between two women when they marry into the same family.

Somewhat similar in function is the reciprocal term *'ahlil* which is used only by men, two or more men who are married to sisters. There is, however, no term *'ahlilat*, which might be applied to the wives of *'ahlil*, as *ikh* is applied to the husbands of *ikhat*. This difference is a significant one. Whereas two *ikhat* become members of the same family by their marriage to brothers, two *'ahlil* do not become members of the same family by marriage to sisters. Rather, these sisters become members of their husbands' families, respectively. (Village phraseology aptly covers these conceptions: a man *takes* his wife *from* her family which *gives* her to him, and, up to a point, to his family.) Nevertheless, as has been pointed out before, the marriage of a woman does not entirely dissolve the bonds which have tied her to her parents, brothers and sisters. It seems to create for her an ambivalent, or double, set of bonds. And so, two men who marry sisters *do* establish between them a sort of vicarious bond, through the close connection between their wives. This bond is symbolized by the reciprocal term *'ahlil*.

Concerning the uses of *ikhat* and *'ahlil* Davies writes, "Marriages such as these create bonds between otherwise unrelated persons and usage of these reciprocal terms usually implies intimacy and affection. Yet the Palestinian informant felt that these terms so often imply strife and tension between such individuals, since problems of distribution of property rights on the death of the spouses' father frequently arise" (1949, p. 251). The opinion of the Palestinian informant would, in the present writer's view, be especially applicable to *ikhat* and their polygamous.

[D] Of more significance than *ikhat* and *'ahlil* is the term *pahr*. When the writer first encountered this term, the informants said that it meant only ego's (male or female) sister's husband or daughter's husband. Further investigation revealed that it refers to many other relatives, though very likely it is most often employed in these two senses. Ego can use the term in the following ways:

pahri, "my *pahr*"	sister's husband daughter's husband granddaughter's husband
pahrna, "our *pahr*"	husband of mentioned and mentioned first cousin
pahrna (vocatively)	husband of any member of lineage, provided he is ego's age or younger and can himself a member of the lineage
pahr al-hal ("family *pahr*," substantially)	
pahrna (vocatively)	husband of any member of the village, provided he is ego's age or younger and assuming that he is an outsider
pahr al-hara ("village *pahr*," substantially)	

It is clear that the basic conception behind this term is the identification of any man who takes in marriage a member of ego's lineage, provided he is a cou-

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

temporary or younger. It is of particular importance, of course, if ego's lineage mate who is so taken is a member of his or her immediate family. *Sabr* is used in exactly the same way by men and women. After a woman is married, she continues to use the term as she did before, but she also very often calls people *jnēb* whom her husband calls *jnēb*. This last point is another indication of the double family allegiance of a married woman.

Beyond this, we see that the use of the term is extended in two ways. First, it is extended to the male spouses of *all* first cousins. This is another indication of bilateral solidarity to the degree of first cousin but not beyond it, a striking phenomenon in a supposedly very strongly patrilineal system. Second, it is applied to *any* outsider who takes a wife from among the villagers. This usage is, in the writer's opinion, of the utmost significance. It says, in effect, that an outsider who marries a village girl is an in-law to everyone in the village, or, to the whole village as a collectivity of individuals. Either way it is phrased, it implies that the village as a unit is conceived of, or at least symbolized, as a single kin group. Of course, from the point of view of genealogy alone, this extended use of *jnēb* is a perfectly logical projection from minimal lineage, through maximal lineage, to encompass the entire Core Group, which, by reason of universal descent from one man is, actually, a single superlineage. As a matter of fact, ego does not call *jnēb* the husbands of his *maximal* lineage mates. This is another indication of the present-day conceptual weakness of the maximal lineages, a matter which can be readily accounted for (see Chap. 9).

One set of data on kinship terminology remains to be discussed. These are the reciprocal uses of *bauke* (cf. "daddy") and *mamme* (cf. "mummy"). Within the immediate family, grown sons and daughters address their parents by these terms as well as the more formal *bayyi* and *?ommi*. In their turn, the parents reciprocate these terms in addressing their children, so that before one becomes accustomed to the practice, one is regularly startled to hear a mother address her son as *mamme*. Reciprocation of the formal parental terms is much less common. Parents also use, of course, the formal terms for son and daughter in addressing their children. Davies, in fact, says that actually fathers do not address their daughters as *bauke* at all (1949, p. 251), but this usage was heard in Munqil. There is undoubtedly considerable individual variation in this practice. Davies says that there is a similar reciprocation of avuncular terms between aunts, uncles, and their nieces and nephews. The present writer has no evidence, one way or the other, of this usage in Munqil. Davies does not mention, however, a practice which does occur in Munqil, viz: the reciprocal use of *jiddi* and *sitti* (cf., in this context, "granddad" and "grandma") between grandparents and grandchildren. The terms *hafid* (grandson) and *hafidat* (granddaughter) are referential and are never used in direct address.

These familiar and familial usages are striking in that they seem to do violence to the facts of generation and sexual statuses. The phrase "seem to do violence" is

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used purposely here, for the reciprocal use of avuncular, parental, and grandparental terms by their respective referents is not meant literally by them nor is it to be taken literally in interpretation. These reciprocal usages are, it would seem, clear evidence of the semantic logic aspect of kinship terminology. In this case, the situation which is handled by the logic is the intense unity which is felt to bind close blood relatives together. And so, the argument with which this discussion began has come full circle. We can easily perceive that the reciprocal use of close familial terms is, from the functional point of view alone, "inconsistent," "dysfunctional," "non-functional," and so on. Viewed in terms of a semantic system, however, the usage turns out to be the source of significant insights one of which is that the usage serves a consistent function. Where, then, is the controversy? The answer should be that there really is none, that both the functional and the linguistic points of view are valid and necessary in the interpretation of kinship systems.

One final point should be made. In actual practice, in Munqif, the use of personal names by elders addressing juniors and by contemporaries addressing each other is more frequent than the use of vocative kinship terms.

MARRIAGE

MARRIAGE PATTERNS

The Orthodox Church explicitly forbids the marriage of all types of first cousin. In Munqif this means that if two first cousins wish to be married, they cannot be married by the village priest. They may, however, appeal to the bishop of the district, and he is empowered to grant a dispensation. If he does, he performs the ceremony himself.

There is no formal rule for or against the marriage of a person to a member of his own minimal lineage. In Munqif, however, it is considered a better idea to marry outside the minimal lineage. The reason for this, according to one informant, is that all members of the minimal lineage are close relatives, and it is a poor idea for close relatives to marry because the children might be defective. The investigator volunteered the idea that, for example, a second cousin related to ego through ego's mother (wholly acceptable as a spouse) is more closely related as far as "blood" goes, after all, than a lineage-mate who is a fourth cousin. The informant did not deny the truth of this, but its significance was denied. Lineage-mates are all close relatives; matrilateral kin, except first cousins and their parents, are not. This is the villagers' definition of the situation.

At the present time, one's particular maximal lineage affiliation appears to have no bearing whatever on the choice of spouse. It is insignificant whether one marries inside or outside one's maximal lineage.

At this point, let us consider briefly Table 9 which indicates the closest degree of relationship, reckoned bilaterally, between the members of eighty-four married couples in Munqif. *Closest* degree of relationship is specified because many of

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possible relatives, except siblings, who can ordinarily be expected to be of similar age (see Barth, 1954, p. 167). The prohibition on the marriage of siblings is one of the few unequivocally universal traits in the behavior of human beings which have so far been identified, and the Arabs are no exception.

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This marriage system is a reflection of one of the most fundamental concepts in Arab culture. If the Arab-in-the-street could fully verbalize this concept, he would say something like this: "The strongest tie which binds one person to another is the tie of blood, reckoned in the male line. The only people in this land world in whom I can put my full trust are my relatives. Therefore, the best people in the world are my relatives—my brother, my father, my father's brothers and their sons, and beyond them, everyone in my father's lineage. When one marries, one chooses the best person one can find, and the best person is to be found among one's kinsmen—the closer the better."

A rigid functionalist might well reject this formulation, dismissing it as unverified sentimentality. He would say that lineage, and better still, extended family, endogamy exists because (a) it is a means of keeping property within the family (cf. Latron, 1936, p. 132), and (b) because it means that the bride price is materially reduced (cf. Daghestani, 1932, p. 22 and Barth, 1954, p. 168). These elements *are* associated with the system of marriage of close relatives, and they undoubtedly serve to reinforce the desirability of the system in the peoples' minds. But primary dependence upon hypothecated *causal* relationships of this sort can be a most misleading procedure. The fact is that the Arabs *are* sentimental, in both the literal and the common meanings of the word, about their kinsmen (cf. Tannous, 1942b, *in toto*). All the attitudes and emotions involved in this stem from the key conception of human relationships which has been noted above. This conception for the majority of Arabs probably exists largely at the implicit level, at least in its fully developed form.

Its power is no less among Christian Arabs than it is among Muslim Arabs. But the Christian Arabs have a special problem, a conflict between, on the one hand, their conception of the kinsman and his role in marriage and, on the other hand, the dictates of their religion. For strong sectarian sentiments, solidified here as everywhere else by meticulous adherence to closely specified rules, are another behavioral cornerstone of Arab culture, equally important as kinship. In fact, so strong are both that one cannot be sacrificed for the other, even temporarily, without great discomfort, and certainly not in a continuous system like the marriage patterns of a community.

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Obviously the conflict comes to a head in Mutqif in the matter of the prohibition of marriage of all first cousins. The resolution of the conflict appears to be a sort of compromise which is revealed in the rather ambiguous general status of all first cousins as a group. In some respects they appear to be undifferentiated, which is a violation of strict patriliny. In other instances, patrilateral parallel cousins alone have special status.

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THE PATTERNS OF CULTURE CHANGE*

THE PAST

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LEBANESE VILLAGE

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TANNOUS has described the social life of the traditional Middle East (including Lebanese) village as revolving around three major themes each ... which organizes action and focalizes emotions and values. These themes are the land (Tannous, 1944, p. 530 *ff.*), kinship (*ibid.*, p. 537 *ff.*), and religion (*ibid.*, p. 539 *ff.*).

Under "land" Tannous subsumes subsistence techniques, which are mainly agricultural techniques, and in general the actions, attitudes, and values of rural economic life. The major point is that the traditional peasant, who draws his entire subsistence from the land, feels toward it a rather intense personal devotion and sense of identification. In Lebanon, where individual private ownership is common, and based in large degree on inheritance from ancestors, these feelings are particularly intense.

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In regard to kinship (we have previously discussed its importance as an organizing mechanism), the following quotation from Tannous, describing the social unit called minimal lineage in the present study, is a good summary:

> It consists of all those who claim descent from the same paternal ancestor. The number of joint families that make up a kinship group varies from village to village according to the age of the community and the occurrence of disruptive factors that may split the group at a certain stage in its development or retard its growth. Its influence is felt by the individual in a variety of situations. From the start, the child learns that he should address every member of the unit as "cousin," or "uncle," or "aunt," or "grandfather," or "grandmother." As mentioned above, it is expected of a young man to marry within rather than outside the kinship group. [Tannous is generalizing on *all* Middle East villages, and most of them, of course, unlike Munqid, are Muslim.] In times of serious conflicts or feuds within the village, kinship loyalty asserts itself and is binding upon every member. (Tannous, 1944, p. 538.)

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Of religion, Tannous says that it is a way of life in the traditional village, that it permeates life completely. In this connection, he writes about the peasant and his religion: "He may not know much about its dogmas or subscribe to their

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* The main points which are treated in this chapter have been published elsewhere (Gulick, 1954) in somewhat different form.

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only one exception to this rule in al-Munsif. In this case, the son was born while the family was living in Australia.

Special formal titles are addressed to no one except the priest, the mayor, the school teachers, and the doctor. Otherwise, personal names and kinship terms are used. It is significant that when a villager addresses another who is definitely his senior, he never under any circumstances uses the Arabic equivalents of "Mr." or "Mrs." To do this would be a grave insult, for it would imply that the person addressed is considered to be a stranger and an outsider. "Paternal uncle" or "aunt" are the kinship terms most commonly used in such cases (which include the address of one's father- and mother-in-law), although the well-known teknonymous formula (for example, "Abu 'Abdallah"—"father of 'Abdallah") is often employed. (It can also be used in a joking sense, but there is never any confusion in this matter.)

Space does not allow any further elaboration on the intricacies of the system of kinship terms which is used in al-Munsif. It can be said here only that these terms—which are verbal symbols of status and role—encompass the entire pattern of reciprocal obligations, social distance, and social nearness which regulates interpersonal relations in the village. Over all, there is the abiding concept of everyone in the village being related. This is symbolized best, perhaps, by the extensive use of the term *sihr*. The basic meaning of this word is a man who has married a member of one's immediate family; in other words, a sister's or a daughter's husband. But the term is extended to any man (of same age or younger) who is married to a member of one's lineage, and it is applied to an outsider who has married any village girl. Conceptually, the outsider becomes an in-law of the entire community.

The lineages function as units of identification by name (if necessary), as units for the automatic support and aid of individual members on a reciprocal basis, and to some extent for the regulation of marriage. Marriage to a member of another lineage is preferred, provided the spouse is a member of the village. There are exceptions to this, but as a whole, the network of marriage ties—which become blood ties through women in the generations following the marriage—between the lineages is very complex. Thus the potential exclusiveness of each lineage is minimized for the benefit of village solidarity. There are, indeed, factions and cliques within the village, but its basic unity is never lost sight of.

The Arabs are often thought of as actually living their daily lives in large, extended family groups. This is not, and apparently never has been, true in al-Munsif. All the households, with one exception, consist of what sociologists call "nuclear" families. That is, they are composed, basically, of only the parents and the immature or unmarried children. But the resemblance to the typical American family ends at this point, for though

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specific, and are usually due to some such fact as the death of the father in his son's infancy. After she is married, a woman continues to be known by her own and her father's names, but if she is asked to give a family name, she will give her husband's rather than her father's family name (cf. Granqvist, 1950, p. 39).

The minimal lineages, then, are name groups. Each lineage name identifies its various bearers as members of a common descent group who are, *ipso facto*, relatives. When pressed, everyone who was asked admitted that he was also related to all the members of his maximal lineage, "and of course *all of us* in Mansūf return (*sirjū'*) to Manṣūr Jurjis al-Khūrī." Of these two wider connections, the latter, wider one seemed to be the stronger. In fact, many young adults were quite vague as to the maximal lineage affiliation of many of the minimal lineages. To put the matter in another way, it appears that in many cases a stronger identification is felt with the village as a kin group than with the maximal lineages. Even here, the writer would suggest that the sense of village identification is based possibly more on the interests of common residence than on the kinship bond of common descent from a very remote ancestor. At this point, the possibility must be raised that common descent from Manṣūr Jurjis al-Khūrī and the various descent patterns indicated in Table 8 and Figure 3 are partially or wholly fictional. As it is, it can be seen that the ultimate descent of Minimal Lineages XX and XXI are unknown or in dispute. But if it is fiction, it is nonetheless a significant symbol of the conceptual unity of the village, a conception which is put in terms of kinship. A basically similar concept is held by the people of Rasmiyah in regard to their genealogical origins (Zarour, 1953, p. 432).

Returning to the minimal lineages, we have seen that they identify by name people who are considered to be relatives. Several people said that the only relatives "who count" are the members of one's minimal lineage. In addition to this, however, matrilateral first cousins appear to count about equally as relatives. Discussion of this exception to patrilineal emphasis must be postponed till later in this chapter.

If, for our immediate purposes, lineage-mates are the only relatives who count, what do they count for? In a negative function, lineage-mates are people who should not marry each other. There is no strict rule about this, and marriages within minimal lineages do occur. They are, in fact, significantly numerous in lineage VIII, which is by far the largest lineage in the village (see Table 10). Having said this much, it must nevertheless be emphasized that marriages within a minimal lineage appear to be avoided in general. They could be much more frequent than they are without violation of the definite rule against the marriage of first cousins. In a positive function, lineage-mates may inherit from each other, whereas matrilateral relatives, no matter how close they may be, can never do so.

It cannot be said definitely that the minimal lineages have any more functions than those which have just been outlined. There are, apparently, no lineage heads, and if lineages ever act as units on any issue, no such behavior was observed or re-

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temporary or younger. It is of particular importance, of course, if ego's lineage mate who is so taken is a member of his or her immediate family. *Şahr* is used in exactly the same way by men and women. After a woman is married, she continues to use the term as she did before, but she also very often calls people *şahr* whom her husband calls *şahr*. This last point is another indication of the double family allegiance of a married woman.

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MARRIAGE

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The Orthodox Church explicitly forbids the marriage of all types of first cousin. In Munqif this means that if two first cousins wish to be married, they cannot be married by the village priest. They may, however, appeal to the bishop of the district, and he is empowered to grant a dispensation. If he does, he performs the ceremony himself.

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teristic personality traits of a large number of Arabs. A few of these statements seem to be germane to this discussion.

Tannous (1944, p. 526) lists a number of Arab cultural themes two of which, in particular, are constantly reflected in individual personalities. One of these is hospitality, and the other is the predilection for the personal touch in human relationships.

Bonne (1948, p. 253), quoting from Havelin, characterizes the Syrians as spontaneous, impulsive, versatile, endowed with excellent memories and capacities for assimilation, but somewhat less endowed with initiative and perseverance.

Kohn (1956, p. 75) characterizes the Middle East villager as a "hard worker, cautious and suspicious, but with great natural intelligence." He also remarks on the "personal element" which, he says, coupled with "the tendency of likes and dislikes to outweigh rational and practical considerations, often leads to nepotism and to the granting of personal favors which interfere with the quality of administrative service" (*ibid.*, p. 83). He also notes quickness in comprehension, the gift of oratory, and deftness in the handling of other people (*ibid.*, pp. 83–84).

Thoumin (1936, p. 29) writes: "Neither Christianity nor Islam could ever modify the Syrian mentality, its mysticism (ascetic and voluptuous by turns), its passion for talk, and the pride of the individual in possessing a different faith from that of his neighbor" [author's translation.]

IN-GROUPS

The matter of in-groups in the culture of *Munjid* is one of central importance. A large amount of material has been given on it already, more will be said in Part Two; here the situation will be summarized very briefly.

There are three criteria for the formation of in-groups—three standards, as it were, around which the passions of loyalty and identification cluster. They are kinship, locality, and religion. These three criteria have led to the formation of four units of social structure. Kinship is the basis of the family and the lineage; locality is the primary basis of the village; religion is the primary basis of al-Qurni. To some degree the village is also a religious unit, and al-Qurni is also a local unit from the point of view of all its inhabitants.

Family, lineage, village, and Qurni—for any one individual these four form a series of in-groups of ever increasing inclusiveness from his family outwards. We should ordinarily be inclined to assume that the cohesiveness and solidarity of these units would vary inversely as their size and inclusiveness. In one respect, at least, this generalization does not appear to hold true for *Munjid*, for there are strong suggestions that to the average *Munjid*, the village as a whole is more meaningful as a unit than his particular minimal lineage, and this is unquestionably true as far as the maximal lineage is concerned. In this connection, it must be

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We can say, in summary, that the traditional theme of religion has in one aspect been weakened by acculturation, but that in another aspect it retains its traditional vigor.

Kinship. In the values surrounding kin groups, and by logical extension, the entire village group, *there have been almost no changes whatever.* In saying this, we arrive at the denouement of this work. The family and the lineage maintain their function of serving as a link between the individual and the village as a whole, which is, itself, a kin group toward which feelings of utmost loyalty and unity are directed.

The only suggestion of a weakening of the village *as* an in-group is the recent and increasing tendency toward village exogamy mostly on the part of women. This seems to be outstripped, however, by no diminution of feelings of village loyalty on the part of most of these women. Potentially, this tendency is a threat to the strength of the village because the children of these marriages will have no more than a sentimental attachment to it through their mothers. What effects this will have, or whether any counter-effects will be developed—these matters lie in the future.

Thus, that aspect of religion which has remained the most vigorous is precisely that aspect which, along with kinship, serves to define and identify loyalty groups. The remainder of this work will be devoted to an analysis of the question of why these in-groups, exemplified in multiple fashion by the village of Mansûf, have maintained their strength in a period of momentous cultural changes.

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be of any help. Then there was the flat statement that the shrines were no longer used at all. The most interesting comment was that many people still believed in the efficacy of the shrines but that they would probably deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Actually, there was clear evidence that candles and olive oil are regularly burned as offerings at the shrines, but by how large a proportion of the people was not ascertained. In any case there is no doubt that there are now fundamental differences among the villagers on a matter which would not have been the subject of any disagreement 35 years ago.

In other aspects of life, religion plays a vigorous role. There are three types of occasion — weddings, and especially funerals and Easter — when all the villagers who are living away are strongly obligated to return to the village for the ceremonies. There is absolutely no question about this matter, in theory or in practice. The ritual occasions all have, of course, the same latent function, which is the intensification of group loyalty and solidarity sentiments. It can be argued that the prime motives behind these events which account for their vigor are not, strictly speaking, religious. Be that as it may, religious behavior is an integral part of the observances.

Kinship Organization. It appears that the kinship organization of al-Munsif has been the least affected by change of all the major aspects of the culture. It is often very difficult for modern Americans, in whose own culture kinship groups are of minimum importance, to comprehend the fact that in most other parts of the world kinship is one of the strongest elements in social organization. When we speak of the kinship organization of an Arab village, such as al-Munsif, we are not referring to a genealogical abstraction; we are referring, in fact, to the social organization itself. For the social organization — a pattern of interrelated statuses and roles — is defined in terms of kinship.

The unity of al-Munsif is enhanced by the fact that the villagers believe themselves all to be descended from a common ancestor who was the founder of the village. Whatever other differences there may develop among them, they continue to maintain this conception of themselves as a group. The founder had three sons among whom he divided equally the land of the community. For some time, the descendants of each of the three sons held land only in the areas originally apportioned. Each group, or lineage, also sponsored and developed one of the saint's shrines located in its territory. Eventually, the three original lineages were divided into what is now a total of 21 lineages. The name of each lineage is that of the man who is recognized as having been the common ancestor of all the members, but among the villagers themselves these lineage (or "family") names are rarely used. Their chief use is in filling out government and other official forms. A person is ordinarily designated by his own and his father's names only. Traditionally, the father's name is never given to any of his sons, and there is

only one exception to this rule in al-Mansūrī. In this case, the son was born while the family was living in Australia.

Special formal titles are addressed to no one except the priest, the mayor, the school teachers, and the doctor. Otherwise, personal names and kinship terms are used. It is significant that when a villager addresses another who is definitely his senior, he never under any circumstances uses the Arabic equivalents of "Mr." or "Mrs." To do this would be a grave insult, for it would imply that the person addressed is considered to be a stranger and an outsider. "Paternal uncle" or "aunt" are the kinship terms most commonly used in such cases (which include the address of one's father- and mother-in-law), although the well-known teknonymous formula (for example, "Abu 'Abdullah" — "father of 'Abdullah") is often employed. (It can also be used in a joking sense, but there is never any confusion in this matter.)

Space does not allow any further elaboration on the intricacies of the system of kinship terms which is used in al-Mansūrī. It can be said here only that these terms — which are verbal symbols of status and role — encompass the entire pattern of reciprocal obligations, social distance, and social interest which regulates interpersonal relations in the village. Over all, there is the abiding concept of everyone in the village being related. This is symbolized best, perhaps, by the extensive use of the term *ebn*. The basic meaning of this word is a man who has married a member of one's immediate family; in other words, a sister's or a daughter's husband. But the term is extended to any man (of some age or younger) who is married to a member of one's lineage, and it is applied to an outsider who has married any village girl. Conceptually, the outsider becomes an in-law of the entire community.

The lineages function as units of identification by name (if necessary), as units for the automatic support and aid of individual members on a reciprocal basis, and to some extent for the regulation of marriage. Marriage to a member of another lineage is preferred, provided the spouse is a member of the village. There are exceptions to this, but as a whole, the network of marriage ties — which become blood ties through women in the generations following the marriage — between the lineages is very complex. Thus the potential exclusiveness of each lineage is minimized for the benefit of village solidarity. There are, indeed, factions and cliques within the village, but its basic unity is never lost sight of.

The Arabs are often thought of as actually living their daily lives in large, extended family groups. This is not, and apparently never has been, true in al-Mansūrī. All the households, with one exception, consist of what sociologists call "nuclear" families. That is, they are composed, basically, of only the parents and the immature or unmarried children. But the resemblance to the typical American family ends at this point, for though

by the people, and criticized by higher religious authorities. Through unspecified literatures, members of the community mark his words. In some cases, he does not even cease to be an active farmer. A balance is established between the central religious organization of the country and the village church through respect for local autonomy.

Another pillar of life among the rural people of Lebanon is the family organization, which is characterized by three functional units or stages. The first of these is the primary biological unit, consisting of the married couple and their children. The second is a more comprehensive unit, known as the joint family, which consists of the grandparents as the head, their unmarried daughters, and the various families of their sons. At a certain point in its growth, this joint family breaks up into new units, emitting ultimately in the development of the largest family organization, the kinship group. Members of this group claim descent from the same ancestor and normally carry his name.

Evidences of the importance of the family organization are numerous and convincing. A village consists usually of a community of people held together to a large extent by blood ties, either through descent within the kinship group or through intermarriage between these units. Practically everybody is related directly or indirectly to everybody else. A strong sense of belonging and of solidarity develops as a result. Marriage, to a large extent, is a family affair, with emphasis upon the interests and welfare of the two family groups concerned. Children are usually named after ancestors or other relatives, thus emphasizing the blood tie. Land is normally held and operated jointly by various members of the unit. Loyalty to the family in times of crisis is binding; family honor and prestige must be upheld.

In their use of proverbs, expressing fundamental attitudes, the village folk frequently refer to this family relationship. "Blood can never turn into water." "A boy is two-thirds the image of his uncle." "Marry the daughter of a good family, though she be an old maid." "He who has no family backing has no backbone." These are but a few examples. Further evidence of the identification of the individual with the family group is supplied by the manner in which people are addressed or introduced.

The term "taran" is most meaningful when it is restricted to the descendants of the mating and/or marriage of relatives so close that knowledge of the act evokes horror and revulsion among the other members of the community to such a degree that the guilty pair may be disowned, ostracized or even killed. On this definition, the marriage of first cousins in Mawgli is not taran. This is indicated by the views of the two pairs of first cousin spouses now living in the village. As far as could be observed, they suffer in no way because of their special relationship, and even have solid attitudes. The last one alleged not to be taran is being censured, against the formal rules, and therefore regarding an episcopal dispensation, but this was all.

Nevertheless, the marriage of first cousins is restricted, and though not absolutely impossible, difficulties are put in the way of its achievement, and it is rare. In terms of this restriction all first cousins are of equal and undifferentiated status. It is the genius of this writer that (1) the concept of all first cousins being equally close relatives in terms of affective relationships, and (2) the restriction of the mating rules path to the male spouses of all first cousins are developments from the parallel-sibling status of all first cousins which the Church marriage rules establish. These basic elements of behavior are not in accord with what we would expect to find in a strictly patrilineal system. Elsewhere, in regard to inheritance and other rights and privileges associated with lineage membership, patrilineal parallel cousins often have special status, and none of the other types of first cousins count at all. It is important to note that the importance of matrilineal ties is limited to first cousins and their parents, especially the mother's brothers.

Such is the "compromise" between Church regulations and kinship rules as reflected in the various types of behavior associated with first cousins. The theory is admittedly speculative, but in the absence of a better alternative, it is the only interpretation which this writer can give the variously inconsistent phenomena which have been discussed.

RULE OF PREFERENCE

The rules of inheritance are relevant to the subject of kinship and marriage. Preferably, inheritance among the Arabs goes from father to children. According to Koranic and Ottoman law, all sons receive equal shares, and all daughters receive equal shares, but a daughter's share is equal to half a son's. As the villagers say: "One son is worth two daughters."

In Mawgli, however, daughters commonly do not take their shares, but, instead, make them over to their brothers. Dumon (1931, p. 407) reports exactly the same practice in contemporary Rawshah. Several informants of both areas said that this was not an unfair arrangement because most brothers give their sisters substantial presents when they are married. Since daughters do not, as usual, practice, ordinarily inherit property, their marriage is one more of other kin groups does not contribute to any dispersion of family property.

Women in general, however, can and do inherit property in their own right. For example, a widow, even if she has children, gets one-eighth of her husband's property, and if there are no children at all, she gets one-fourth. If there are daughters but no sons, the daughters inherit, in equal shares, a total of fourteen-twenty-fourths of their father's property, while seven twenty-fourths go to his brother or brothers. There appears, nevertheless, to be a tendency for such heiresses to make over their inheritance to sons of one status or another, or at least to relinquish all responsibility for it. For example, one house in the village was reported to be owned jointly by two men who were not close relatives at all. By marriage, however, they were 'still' married to sisters, and these women, who had no brothers, had inherited the house from their father.

For purposes of inheritance, a man's property is theoretically divided into twenty-four equal parts, on which basis the shares of various heirs can automatically be computed. One can imagine, however, the difficulties and disagreements which arise in trying to divide what is mainly real property, rather than money, into twenty-four equal parts. These difficulties are one reason for the frequent postponement of the actual division of inheritance among brothers.

GODPARENTS

It has been mentioned that godparenthood establishes a ritual obligation between the second generation. Ordinarily the sibling at the wedding becomes the godfather ('arrab) of the children, while the sibling becomes their godmother ('arrabe). Between the godchildren (masc., *fel-yasar*; fem., *fel-yasar*) and the children of their godparents marriage is forbidden, as between siblings, and sometimes they use sibling terms. However, in actual practice, this prohibition does not greatly widen the range of persons with whom marriage is forbidden because many of the brides and grooms select their own brothers or sisters to be *sibbin* and *sibbin*. Consequently, in these cases the children are first cousins. In this culture, the godparental complex is largely a means of reinforcing the solidarity of an already solid group of kinsmen. Most informants did not seem to take these ritual statuses, or each, very seriously.

VILLAGE ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

We now turn to the important topic of village endogamy and exogamy. Strictly, one is considered to have married outside the village or the Qurei (marriages within the Qurei are to be considered as locally endogamous) before about one hundred years ago. It has been mentioned before that most of the early cases were men who took wives from villages in which they were doing wage labor. These cases were apparently sporadic and had little or no effect on the social structure of the village since the wives were absorbed into it.

Table 11 indicates that village exogamy did not become a real social unit

[illegible] of each other, along the flank of a crest which descends uniformly in the direction [illegible] the sun whose fat bottom rims high in the western sky.

Daylight came dimmed as we drove through it, and then we drove into blurred. At first, olive terraces rise above us on the right and fall away below us on the left, but almost immediately they are replaced by houses. We stop in what appears to be the middle of the village, where an old car is parked with [illegible] entirely in opposite. In the next half minute or so, a group of small barefooted boys, dressed in shorts, gathers, and they eye us intently as they talk among themselves in low tones. Across the road, an old man in a long striped gown leans on a heavy cane. While he stands looking at us, he is joined by a young man in a spun shirt and neatly pressed European-style trousers. Other figures appear, but no one moves, and everyone keeps his distance. Two women walk close by the car, peering into it as best they can without upsetting the large white trays which they carry on their heads. They do not stop, however, and disappear into a windowless building nearby. The loud chatter which has been coming from this building dies down suddenly to a murmur, and more people appear. Their faces seem expressionless except that they manage to convey a feeling of wholeness, yet undivided, curiosity. We can begin forward.

As we get out of our car, someone grabs up a stone and hurls it at a large dog which has been barking savagely at us. It runs off, yelping. We approach the young man in European clothes and address him haltingly in Arabic, asking the whereabouts of one whose name we have been given. Almost before he has finished his reply, spoken in good English, the man we seek himself appears. We introduce ourselves, and he leads us to his house, elaborately inquiring after our health. Seated under his roof, we are offered cigarettes and small candies, even tea with [illegible] as coffee, and we experience for the first time the warm hospitality for which the people of Khamjil are famous.

We have arrived and can begin our study.

of the Wheatsun and the Mhowli as groups. The Wheatsun are transhumants, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thomson, 1954, pp. 134-35). According to Core Group informants, they, or other Maronites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower stations of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily to their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. However, the Core Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The Radio Kemish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the core less domestics out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mhowli are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mhowli as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The core are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a percentage rent to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this rent is agreed upon with a view to the Core Group members getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mhowli, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the kitchens or less frequently are part time or domestic servants or laundresses. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of ritual-pollution (religionists they joined look something like castes. More explicitly, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degree of economic opportunity and local establishment which obtain in the particular area. In other words, at the level of general charm, Mhowli is simply one localized example of the operations of Core's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way relieved by group avoidance or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in all social relationships in the village is equalitarian, conformal, in the main, with the various barriers which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of itinerants: (1) Tinkers and miscue grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the liveliness of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are known and have" Some are beggars outright, others sell, perhaps nominally, to their work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawar (Gypsies). One group of these was observed—three women, a diminutive entourage, including circular hand-drum, their faces smeared, matching up the road with

434 It is evident that in all the villages the great majority of the breadwinners must depend on sources of income other than their own fields. Therefore, younger members of the family with the most mobility of the village, while the farmer himself must work part-time for one of the larger landlords or the oil company, hold a government job, get money from abroad, or subsist on a very low level.

Physical Description of Project Villages

390 It is now possible to describe with statistical accuracy the average village known to the project
365 area. A very general description must suffice until more detailed information is available. Houses are usually one-story stone structures of two or three rooms. They do not have electricity or running water. Usually the animals are accommodated in a stable connected to the house, or in a room in the house itself.

364 The villagers do not seem to be concerned with keeping their surroundings sanitary. In none
374 of the villages is there any attempt to collect and properly dispose of garbage. The uniform practice
369 is to relieve it to the fields. There are few toilets. Some walls and fields close to town serve as
370 certain community sand for sewage disposal. To serve the 1,000 people in the project area there are
42 pit privies. There are no tubs or showers. Women have no access and there are few to contaminate food and mosquitoes to transmit and transmit disease.

376 Houses are usually shown over and clean and the people attempt to clothe themselves decently
● 369 even with crowded quarters. Though extremely poor, the village family is very hospitable and
374 insists on sharing with a guest its meager supply of cigarettes or treasured coffee and sugar.

361 In the five project villages there are 1,100 buildings. This number includes 912 dwelling units, 94 business establishments, 105 separate barns and 11 public buildings. A detailed breakdown of the types of buildings by village is shown in Table VIII. Included in the category of public buildings are seven mosques. Saraband and Ein Hamrah have two mosques each, while in each

911 The government furnishes a teacher for government-sponsored elementary schools. The village
658 [illegible] rents a school room and the rent is paid by small contributions from the students. The
annual rent for one room varies from LL. 50 to LL. 250 per year.

915 Four of the government elementary teachers have completed their secondary education. In
the fifth government elementary teacher provided this data was absent, it was not possible to
determine his educational background. None of these men has been teaching for more than four
years or less than two. The annual salaries of the government-furnished teachers varies from
LL. 1,400 in Sarafand to LL. 1,800 in Sidon/Arab. The only individual teaching without more
than an elementary education was attached to the Sidon/Arab private school and received a meager
LL. 250 per year (about $100 at the current rate of exchange).

Local Attitude toward the Technical Cooperation Service

609 Expressions of confidence in the Technical Cooperation Service and Americans in general
805 were heard in all of the villages. The enumerators and others who visited these villages during the
course of the study were all cordially received and were given free cooperation. The expressed
desire of the people to work with the Technical Cooperation Service seems genuine.

The ordinary villager has no conception of just who the Americans were to build irrigation
projects, furnish schools, dig wells, or provide public health services for him, but he is hopeful that
they will do these things for him. They react to all of this proposed activity on a personal basis
and will judge its results on the basis of the benefits that they personally gain from it.

Many villagers made a point of stating that access to relieve their situation is all-important.
They felt that studies such as this are pointless, unless they are followed by worth-while acts. To
a large extent they believe that only through some such agency as the Technical Cooperation
Service can action be obtained and their situation improved.

Mc Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

the households are of minimum size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

United in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Mansūf maintain a basically equalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is work of this sort which is done in the village. Those who do it live in al-Mansūf, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These additional inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 53 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the stokers at each of the bakeries. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Maronites and they come to al-Mansūf in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are mentioned at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Mansūf and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Mitwali (Lebanese Shi'is). This group has been in al-Mansūf only about 12 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.* The ethnic distinctions in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Location. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme localism of al-Mansūf has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Mansūf.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

*Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1951).

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

the couples are related to each other in several ways. These data were obtained by asking the informant to state the number of *faces* between the husband-wife pairs on the census sheets. His immediate reaction was to count the faces patrilineally

TABLE 9. CLOSEST DEGREE OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPOUSES

DEGREE	NUMBER	FAMILY OF HUSBAND	TYPE OF MARRIAGE
First cousin	2	B.XII. 45	Out. Mar. Lin.
		A.XI. 45	In Mar. Lin.
First cousin, once removed	9	B.XIII. 44	Out. Mar. Lin.
		A.VIII. 20	In Mar. Lin.
		C.XVI. 36	In Mar. Lin
		C.XIII. 76	Out. Mar. Lin.
		C.XX. 67	Out. Mar. Lin.
Second cousin	5	A.I. 1	In Mar. Lin.
		A.III. 4	In Mar. Lin.
		B.XII. 46	Out. Mar. Lin.
		A.VII. 19	In Mar. Lin.
		C.XIV. —	In Mar. Lin.
Second cousin, once removed	6	A.X. 50	Out. Mar. Lin.
		A.VIII. 26	In Mar. Lin.
		A.VI. 14	In Mar. Lin.
		A.III. 3	In Mar. Lin.
		A.X. 42	In Mar. Lin.
		C.XVI. 59	Out. Mar. Lin.
Third cousin	11	A.VIII. 21	In Mar. Lin.
		A.VI. 13	Out. Mar. Lin.
		A.VIII. 22	In Mar. Lin.
		A.VII. 25	In Mar. Lin.
		A.IX. 34	In Mar. Lin.
		A.VII. 29	In Mar. Lin.
		A.VIII. 30	In Mar. Lin.
		C.XII. 77	Out. Mar. Lin.
		C.XV. 33	Out. Mar. Lin.
		A.V. 52	Out. Mar. Lin.
		A.IV. 9	In Mar. Lin.
Third cousin, once removed	1	A.VIII. 27	In Mar. Lin.
Fourth cousin, or more distant	34	—	—

with the husband as the primary reference. When it was explained to him that the *closest relationship* patrilineally *or* matrilineally was desired, he did so, though it was clear that he thought it was unnecessary. He also admitted that he wasn't certain of all the relationships "through women." Between many of the spouses he said simply that the relationship was "far" or that there were "many" faces. There

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 MK1 Lebanon MK1

POPULATION

MUGHIR is the locus of activity of a grand total of about 581 people. This population can be divided into four clearly distinguishable component groups as follows:

Core Group	320
Peripheral to Core	13
"Women"	30 plus
Mawâli	13
	381 plus

Numerically, all of the smaller or "subsidiary" groups are insignificant as compared to the Core. Of the three, the "Women" (*dhâtiyya*) are the most numerous, but they are present in the village, as their name suggests, only during part of the year. As far as the members of the Core Group are concerned, the smaller components of the population are socially, as well as numerically, insignificant, and inquiries about them invariably elicited bored, uninterested responses and comments like, "What do you want to know about them for? They are not from here, they do not belong among us."

In their own eyes and in the eyes of the law, the members of the Core Group, 320 strong, *are* the village, whereas the three subsidiary component groups in the population are outsiders whose residence in the village is either periodic or more or less temporary. Hereafter, we will be concerned with the Core Group only, but, since they are of considerable interest, the Subsidiary Groups will be discussed in some detail in Appendix A.

THE CORE GROUP

Table 1 presents a considerable amount of data on the Core Group. We need not concern ourselves at this point with the very important question of residence status, which appears in numerical form in this table.

The essentials of the lineage system which is indicated in the table are as follows: The members of the Core Group consider themselves to be direct descendants of a man named Mansour Jarjis al-Khouri who, with his three sons, migrated to the site of the present village from Jabal Hawran, south of Damascus, after a few years' sojourn in Baalbek. The youngest members of the Core Group at present

621
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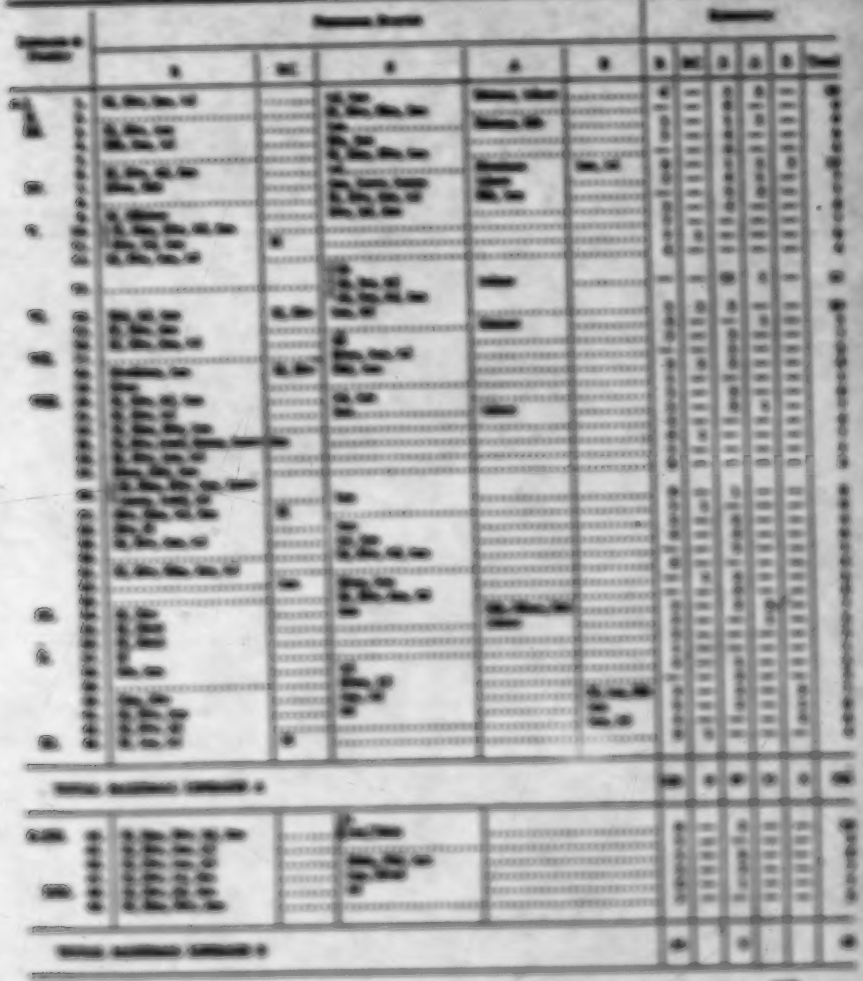
512

being, variously according to the particular position, to the sixth, eleventh, twelfth, or thirteenth generation in descent from Mangar Jorjis, he being counted as the first generation. The male part of the Core Group is divided into three

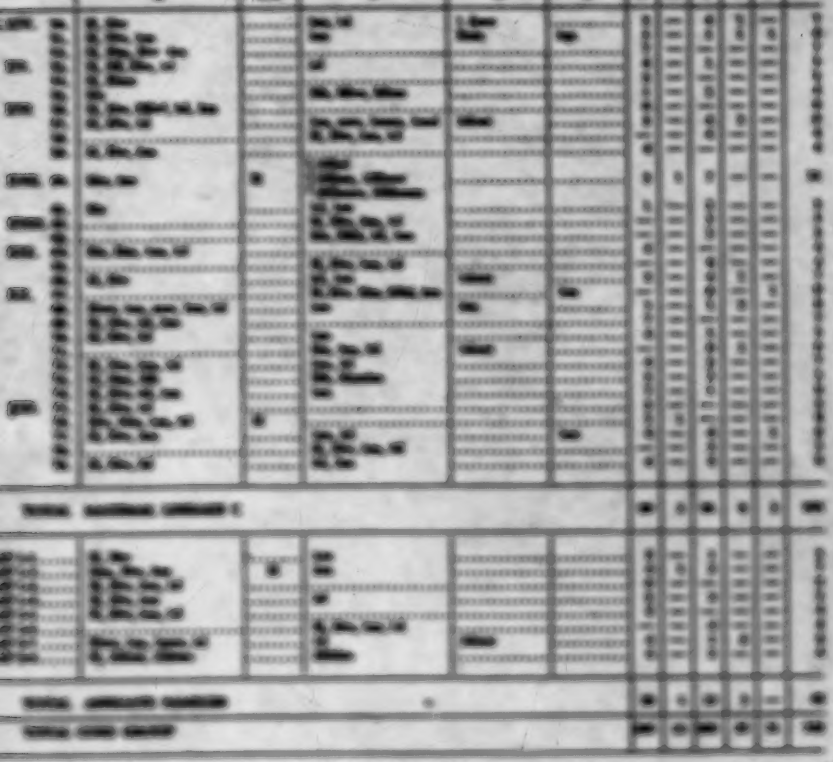
Table 1. Core Group: Patronym, or Lineage, Numbers and Segments [1]

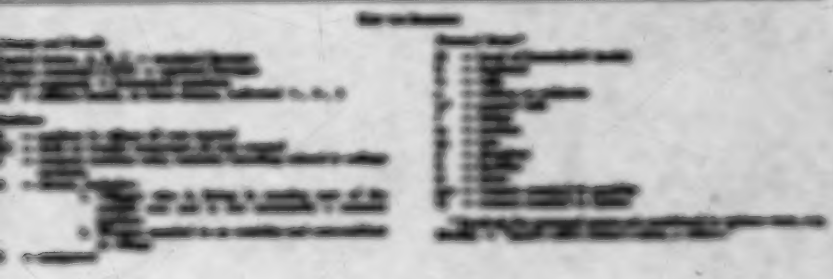


[1] [See key to symbols on page 49 -- Ruth]

621
618
64
512

TABLE 1. CASE GROUP: PERSONNEL BY LANGUAGE, PROFICIENCY AND EXPERIENCE—Continued





7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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large kin groups each of which consists of the descendants (reckoned patrilineally) of one of the three sons of the founder. These kin groups are called Maximal Lineages in this study, and they are designated by the capital letters A, B, and C. Each Maximal Lineage is subdivided into a number of smaller kin groups which herein are called Minimal Lineages, designated by Roman numerals. Four Minimal Lineage consists of from one to fourteen households, each represented by a number in Arabic numerals. Minimal Lineages, Minimal Lineages, and households are distinct social units, recognized as such by their members. This whole group is exclusively Greek Orthodox in religion.

In addition to the descendants of the founder of the village, the Core Group also includes eight households each of which is called in this study an Affiliate Family. The villagers themselves do not have any special term for them, and it should be emphasized that the eight families do not cohere as a unit. The status of Affiliate Family was achieved in every case by a man from another village or district first settling in the village and then marrying a member of the Core Group. The man himself always remains an outsider in the eyes of the Core Group, but his children have Core Group relatives through their mother. The heads of some of the present Affiliate Families are still in the position of technical outsider. The head of AF1-2, however, belongs to the fourth generation of his family to live in the village. "He is from here, but it is a new family," was the way in which his status was described.

The Affiliate Families have been divided into three arbitrary classes in an attempt to indicate the differing degree to which they have been accepted as members of the in-group. This is the writer's conceptualization, not that of the villagers, so far as he knows. Class 1 appears to have been fully accepted in every sense, except that exclusively patrilineal descent from the founder cannot be claimed. The distinction between Class 1 and Class 2 is rather subjective on the writer's part and may not be valid. Class 3, however, is definitely marginal in status, and an important reason for this is that the founders of the families in the village were not Greek Orthodox, and the religious affiliation of some of their children is rather dubious.

It might be said at this point that no one was able to demonstrate the descent of Minimal Lineage XII either from the village founder or from the founder of Maximal Lineage C, although its members claim patrilineal descent from the village founder. A genealogy of the lineage covers 3 inch seven generations, which is in line with the depth of the other Minimal Lineages. It was generally agreed that a woman in one of the earliest generations of the lineage married a man of A.III, but it was quite obvious that in terms of loyalty and cohesion XII belonged to C. It is entirely possible that lineage XII was once in the position of the present Affiliate Families.

The structure of the Core Group will be considered in greater detail in the

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 19[illegible] ME1 Lebanon ME1

621
613
614

TABLE 2: LINEAGE NUMBER OF HOUSEHOLDS AND POPULATION BY RANDOMIZE*

Maximal and Minimal Lineages	Number of Households	Population					
		R	RC	S	A	E	Total
A	45/44	123	9	107	12	9	252
I	5	6	—	3	2	—	10
II	1	—	—	4	—	—	4
III	4	14	—	10	3	3	31
IV	3	4	—	13	3	—	20
V	4/3	10	1	11	1	—	23
VI	3	14	2	3	1	—	22
VII	3	3	2	3	—	—	10
VIII	14	31	3	26	1	—	61
IX	3	4	—	2	4	—	12
X	4	12	—	7	—	4	23
XI	1	3	1	—	—	—	4
B	4	34	—	6	—	—	40
III	4	23	—	7	—	—	30
IIII	2	11	—	1	—	—	12
C	30/31	90	2	61	6	5	164
IIIV	3	12	—	5	2	1	20
IIV	3	7	—	4	—	—	11
IIVI	4/3	13	—	8	2	—	23
IIVII	2	4	1	9	—	—	14
IIVIII	2	—	—	10	—	—	10
IIIX	3	6	—	6	1	—	13
IIX	4	10	—	20	3	1	34
IIXI	3	10	1	10	—	1	22
Affines Residue	6	20	1	12	3	—	40
Core Group Total	87/90	260	12	140	30	10	520

* [illegible] symbols for Table 1.

chapter on the social structure of the village. Table 2 indicates the relative size of the lineages in successive iterative fashion from Table 1.

"There are as many of us there as there are here," it was said. Material evidence of the consequences of emigration have already been observed in the elevated houses and the fifty-odd ruined houses in the village.

In terms of reduction of potential population, the following facts should be noted: (1) In Maximal Lineage B, now so small, there were, before emigration, six minimal lineages. Four of these, referred to later as "favoured" lineages, have completely disappeared through emigration. There is one other one in Maximal Lineage C. (2) Table 7 indicates the number of permanent and long-standing

Table 7. Permanent Emigrants, Minimal Lineages of Guild of Shoemakers

Lineage	Men		Women	
	Alive	Dead	Alive	Dead
I	—	—	—	—
II	—	—	—	—
III	9	—	4	—
IV	1	—	3	—
V	4	—	1	—
VI	3	—	1	—
VII	3	—	—	—
VIII	4	3	1	—
IX	—	—	—	—
X	6	3	1	—
XI	1	—	3	—
XII	3	—	1	1
XIII	1	—	—	—
XIV	1	—	—	—
XV	1	—	1	—
XVI	4	3	3	—
XVII	—	—	—	1
XVIII	—	—	—	—
XIX	3	3	—	—
XX	—	—	3	—
XXI	4	1	1	—
AP	—	1	3	—
	—	—	—	—
Total	49	11	23	1

emigrants, forty-four in all, who were recorded. They are mostly a sample, selected because they were or are siblings of present heads of households, of the total number who emigrated. Of these thirty-eight departed between 1904 and 1914, sixteen between 1919 and 1926. No one in the village pretends that these people have not gone for good. In this respect, they are rather distinct from the eleven "emigrants" noted in Tables 1 and 2. The latter are nearly all young adults who have left recently (all for Australia). Of them it cannot be stated whether their emigration will be permanent or not.

As far as was learned, five of the present heads of households are returned emigrants, in addition to at least two women of reproductive status. The heads of households appear to have re-entered the life of the village without introducing many changes in the culture.

It was not determined to what extent remittances from emigrants contribute to the present income of the village as a whole. Specific examples of it indicated that the process still continues, but various residents reported that it is on the decrease.

WELFARE

In a very few cases of total incapacitation, individuals have had to be placed in public institutions for care. Otherwise, the village takes care of its own unfortunates, in conformance with the traditional attitudes of self-sufficiency. A unit of the Lebanese Red Cross visits the village at regular intervals to provide medical care for those who need it, but have been unable or unwilling to go to a doctor in the city. There is a regular, and entirely traditional, mechanism for caring for families who get into financial straits. A close friend of the family, who has learned of the situation because of his closeness, goes to each household in the village saying, "There is among us a family in need. I am going to give them some money; how much are you willing to give?" It is very hard here to ask for [illegible] whom the collection is being made, and a contribution which is offered under such conditions may be refused by the collector. The strict anonymity which accompanies this behavior suggests that even in such a tight-knit group as the village keeping up appearances is a conscious value. Clique and lineage structure undoubtedly contribute to this.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONS

Everyone in the village, except for a handful among the very old, can literate. A quite respectable number have received at one university college education. The significance of education in the village will be discussed in the next chapter; here it is appropriate to consider only the training which education has an occupation.

Literacy itself is no rarity in Lebanon. In fact, among the Christians, at least, one can safely say that it is the expected thing. Mere literacy alone would raise one's aspirations only above that of manual laborer, in the city. For professional status or for governmental positions college education are prerequisite. Medicine and the law require additional training beyond college which no one in Khanjil has recently undertaken. The number of positions open to ordinary college graduates which are in line with the individual's ambitions (including a decent and cultured person) are rather limited in Lebanon, and many such persons must be satisfied with whatever they can find. In consequence, a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction is to be found among those who have had advanced education.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

Khanjil depends, and has always depended, upon crops which do not require rain as irrigation in the growing season. In order, the most important are olives, figs and grapes. Of these the major cash crop is olives. This has not always been true. Up to 1914 the major cash crop in the village, and in Lebanon as a whole, was the [illegible]-worm cocoon, fed on mulberry leaves. Sericulture has not died out completely in Lebanon, and it is still fairly strong in the Kisserwan, Kura, Shtura, and Bsaal districts (Hitrun, 1948b, p. 140), but it has long since lost its economic

KINSHIP STRUCTURE AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS

[illegible]

In the chapter "Population" the kinship structure of the village was discussed in a preliminary way. It was pointed out that everyone in the Core Group except those in the Jukkum Families, is patrilineally descended from the founder of the village. Most are also matrilineally descended from him. These descendants are divided into three so-called Maximal Lineages which at the present time appear to have little more than genealogical significance. Membership in a given maximal lineage is based on patrilineal descent from one of the three sons of the founder. These three brothers were the founders of the three maximal lineages. Each maximal lineage is subdivided into a number of so-called Minimal Lineages which are of unequal size and governmental depth. Membership in a minimal lineage is, again, based upon patrilineal descent from its founder, and the name of the founder is the name of the lineage. The names of the minimal lineages are the "family" names which the villagers give when they are required to in southeastern situations outside the village. Among such situations are the filling out of government forms like identity cards, school and college registrations, and so forth. Each family, lineage, or lineage segment owns rarely used in the village itself for personal identification, and this practice was today. Every individual, male or female, has his own name by which he calls his father's sibling, by rule, is always different from his own. (In Mawadi, there is only one exception to this rule, and in this case the birth and naming of the child after his father occurred in Ayemada.) Thus, if Jacob is his son of Simon, he is known as Jacob Simon. In principle, this usage is exactly the same as that of the Bedouin who would call him Jacob Ibn Simon. In Mawadi, the ibn ("son of") is omitted, but it is certainly understood.

Theoretically, Jacob Simon, if asked, could complete the naming of himself by adding his grandfather's and great-grandfather's names, and so on, until he came to the name of the founder of the maximal lineage, and this name is the name of the lineage. In practice, the intermediary steps are omitted, and he would give, if required, his own, his father's and his lineage founder's names (cf. Tumin, 1961, p. 210). Occasionally a man will be known by his own and his father's, rather than his father's, name as a second name. Such cases are considered also

specialty, and are usually due to some such fact as the death of the father in the son's infancy. After she is married, a woman continues to be known by her own and her father's names, but if she is asked to give a family name, she will give her husband's rather than her father's family name (cf. Crossgrove, 1978, p. 99).

The unrelated lineages, then, are mere groups. Each lineage name identifies the various females as members of a common descent group who are, also, kin relatives. When pressed, everyone who was asked admitted that he was also related to all the members of the unrelated lineage, "well of course all of us is blood or bone (*wiqi*) to Mbapar [*sulja ni Ekiwoi*]." Of these two vague connections, the latter, while one accord to be the strongest in fact, many young adults have quite vague or to the unrelated lineage affiliation of many of the unrelated lineages. To put the matter in another way, it appears that in many cases a stranger identifies him- or herself with the village or a kin group from with the unrelated lineages. Even here, the writer would suggest that the sense of village identification is based possibly more on the interests of common residence than on the kinship bond of common descent from a very remote ancestor. At this point, the possibility must be raised that common descent from Mbapar [*sulja ni Ekiwoi*] and the various descent patterns indicated in Table 4 and Figure 1 are possibly or wholly fictional. As it is, it can be seen that the ultimate descent of Unrelated Lineages 010 and 020 are unknown or in dispute. See 0 0 in Index, it is nevertheless a significant symbol of the conceptual unity of the village, a conception which is put in terms of kinship. A basically similar concept is held by the people of Dimolitok in regard to their genealogical origins (Downs, 1970, p. 162).

Returning to the unrelated lineages, we have seen that they identify by name people who are considered to be relatives. Several people said that the only ones from "other towns" are the members of one's unrelated lineage. In addition to this, however, unrelatedness does seem to count about equally as relatives. One exception of this exception to prohibited emphasis must be postponed till later in this chapter.

3) As we have/also pointed, lineage-mates are the only relatives who count when the they count *kot*. In a negative function, lineage-mates are people who should not marry each other. There is no strict rule about this, and marriages within unrelated lineages do occur. They are, in fact, significantly numerous in lineage 110, which is by far the largest lineage in the village (see Table 10). Barring one or two cases, it must nevertheless be emphasized that marriages within a unrelated lineage appear to be avoided in general. They would be much more frequent than they are without violation of the taboo rule against the marriage of their relatives. In a positive function, lineage-mates may inherit from each other, whereas unrelatedness of kinship, no matter how close they may be, can never do so.

It remains to add incidentally that the unrelated lineages have very many functions other than those which have just been outlined. There are, apparently, no lineage feasts, and if lineages ever act as units on any basis, no such behavior was observed or an

[illegible]

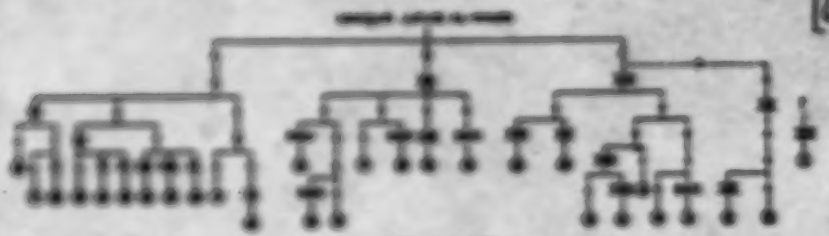
[illegible]

Table [illegible] Various Components and Phases of Work, according to Construction Conditions

Construction	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13

Origin of Minimal Lineages. A word concerning the origin of the minimal lineages is in order (see Table 6 and Fig. 5, both of which are abstractions from village genealogies, showing males only, which were in the possession of the guide). The minimal lineages are clearly segmentations of the maximal lineages, but beyond this we cannot, unfortunately, make any very conclusive statements.

The widest scope of information, on many occasions and in many different ways, why certain ancestors were the eponymous founders of the minimal lineages. Were they, for example, famous men? No one ever was, even in regard to his own lineage. The only suggestion was that perhaps when the families grew too large, they divided. It was also repeatedly stated that it has only been during the last fifty years or so that lineage names have been used at all, because the govern-



A, B, C = Eponymous Ancestors of Maximal Lineages
I, II, III = Eponymous Ancestors of Minimal Lineages
(One) = Eponymous Ancestors of Deceased Lineages
Numbers on G = Number of Generations Descended from the Last Specifically Indicated Individual in Each Position

Fig. 5. Genealogies of Lineages

ment began to insist that everyone have a "family" name. "So they all assumed to their grandfathers." (The term "grandfather" was used loosely in the village, and Shaykh Jarjis al-Khuri was often referred to as "our grandfather.") No one could say why they "assumed to" a particular "grandfather" and not to another one. Thus, for some time the writer thought that perhaps the minimal lineages were recent arbitrary creations for the sake of providing names. It is possible, but it seems unlikely. Minimal Lineage III, for example, with its waqf trust, is an ancient institution, and there is no reason to suppose that it is exceptional in this respect.

Table 6 indicates that the families of the village were not very large or prolific at the time when most of the eponymous ancestors were actively alive, and hence the formation of the minimal lineages may have been an arbitrary procedure on the part of the descendants of certain men, though not nearly as recently as some informants seemed to suggest. Size of groups or families between them might have been deciding factors. The present sizes of the lineages, since there is such a wide range of size, offer no clue. Lineage VIII, which might have been expected to divide long ago on account of its size has not done so, and there are

615 no indications that it will. Yet there are possible signs of division in III and XII. Two men in these lineages are using rather than their father's name as a second name, one his grandfather's, and the other his great-grandfather's, name. The children are following this pattern, which may be the beginning of two new lineages. No explanation was available.

Both Table 8 and Figure 3 show that the lineages are of very unequal generational depth. In some cases this is because some lineages are older, genealogically, than others. In other cases, it is because some lineages have reproduced faster than others. These two factors combine to give a range of depth of from four to ten generations, if we follow Figure 3. The mode is six generations; the average is nearer seven than six.

It will be observed that the eponymous ancestors of lineages XII and XVI are placed in the fifth generation of descent from Mawan Jaeja-a-Kliaut in Table 8, whereas they appear in the third generation in Figure 3. The reason for this discrepancy is this: in both cases there are on the original genealogy men with the appropriate name and in the proper position in both generations. In each case, either man, the first or a grandson, could have been the eponymous ancestor, and no one knows which. The lineage names, represented by the letters A, B, and C, are all toponymous, being Abi Yamit, Abi Awwad, and Abi Nayr, respectively. Their men were Yamit, Awwad, and Nayr, respectively. Awwad and Nayr are represented as XII and XVI, respectively, because these two men (or two grandsons who were their namesakes), were the ancestors of present minimal lineages which bear their names. Figure 3 shows the eponymous ancestors of these [illegible] as the second of the additional generations to represent the resulting fact: The names of Minimal Lineages B and C are retained in the names of present minimal lineages, whereas the name of Minimal Lineage A, the largest, has been obliterated. This fact was recognized by the villagers, but they could see no any reason for it, or significance in it.

Figure 3 suggests that there are three patterns of derivation of minimal lineages: (1) derivation from sets of brothers; (2) derivation of one lineage from a father, of others from his younger sons; (3) derivation of one minimal lineage from another, e.g., the derivation of a lineage from one man, of another from his grandson.

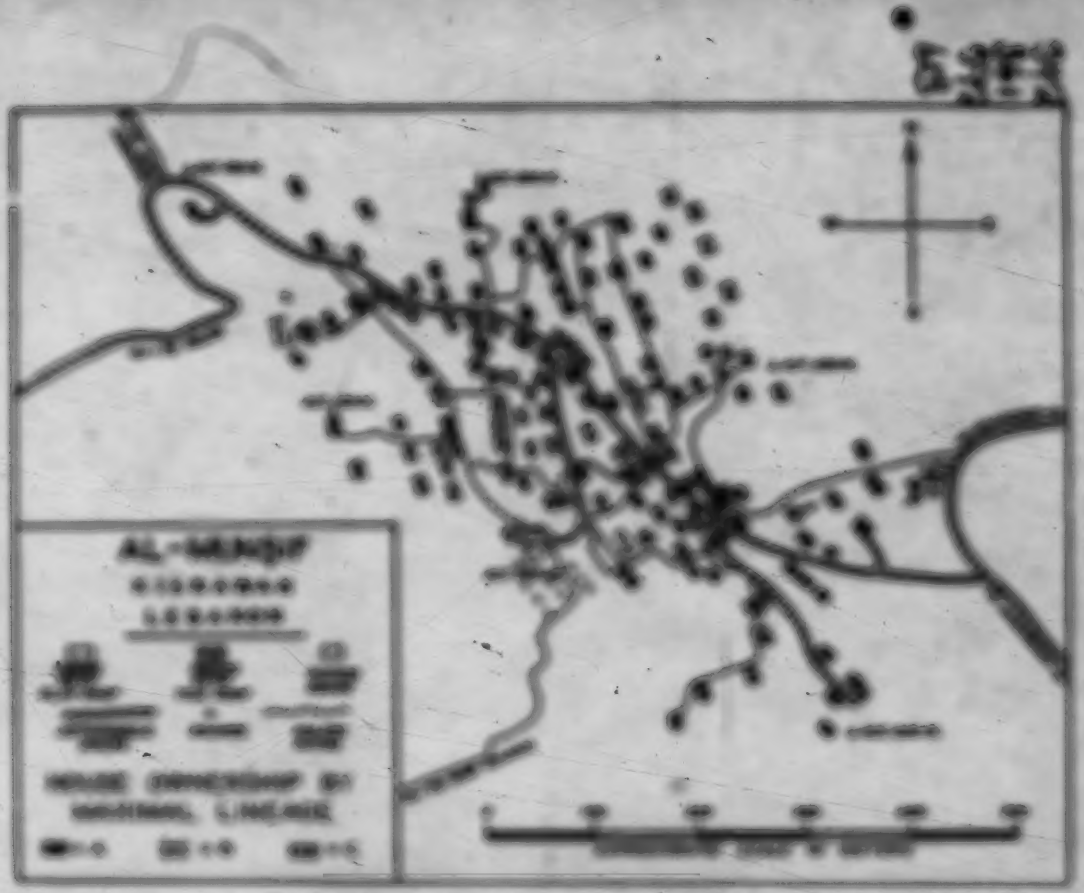
This entire argument has been severely handicapped by the fact that we must either accept the genealogy on which Table 8 and Figure 3 were based at its face value, or not give it any detailed consideration at all. The former course has been followed, but the possibility must be kept in mind that the genealogy may be very inaccurate. The Arabs, and other Semites, have always been fond of manipulating history in genealogical terms, with great distortion as a result. Doghmeni (1953, pp. 178–79) warns explicitly against taking Arab genealogies of any size at their face value.

[illegible]

673
601

The generic term for lineage which is used in Mawaji is 'eel (properly

[illegible]



[illegible] used purposely here, for the reciprocal use of *mamandan*, *parentid*, and *grandparental* terms by their respective referents is not meant literally by them nor is it to be taken literally in interpretation. These reciprocal usages are, it would seem, clear evidence of the semantic logic aspect of kinship terminology. In this case, the structure which is handled by the logic is the inverse unity which is felt to bind close blood relatives together. And so, the argument with which this discussion began has come full circle. We can easily perceive that the reciprocal use of close familial terms is, from the functional point of view above, "nonsensical," "dysfunctional," "non-functional," and so on. Viewed as terms of a semantic system, however, the usage terms are to be the source of significant insights one of which is that the usage serves a consistent function. Where, then, is the controversy? The answer should be that there really is none, that both the functional and the linguistic points of view are valid and necessary in the interpretation of kinship systems.

[illegible] One final point should be made. In actual practice, in Manali, the use of personal names by elders addressing juniors and by contemporaries addressing each other is more frequent than the use of vocative kinship terms.

MARRIAGE

RESIDENCE PATTERNS

[illegible] The Orthodox Church explicitly forbids the marriage of all types of first cousins. In Manali this means that if two first cousins wish to be married, they cannot be married by the village priest. They may, however, appeal to the bishop of the district, and he is empowered to grant a dispensation. If he does, he performs the ceremony himself.

There is no formal rule for or against the marriage of a person to a member of his own *mamandan* lineage. In Manali, however, it is considered a better idea to marry outside the *mamandan* lineage. The reason for this, according to one informant, is that all members of the *mamandan* lineage are close relatives, and it is a good idea for close relatives to marry because the children might be defective. The lineage gives volunteered the idea that, for example, a second cousin related to one through one's mother (wholly acceptable as a spouse) is more closely related as far as "blood" goes, after all, than a lineage-mate who is a fourth cousin. The informant did not deny the truth of this, but its significance was denied. Lineage-mates are all close relatives, sanctioned like, except first cousins and their parents, are not. This is the villagers' definition of the situation.

[illegible] At the present time, one's particular *mamandan* lineage affiliation appears to have no bearing whatever on the choice of spouse. It is insignificant whether one marries inside or outside one's *mamandan* lineage.

At this point, let us consider briefly Table 5 which indicates the closest degree of relationship, reckoned bilaterally, between the members of eighty-two married couples in Manali. Closest degree of relationship is specified because many of

the couples are related to each other in several ways. These data were obtained by [1952, 4-5] asking the informant to state the number of lives between the husband-wife pair on the genea charts. His immediate reaction was to count the lives patrilineally

TABLE 3. CURRENT DANCE OF RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SPOUSES

Spouses	Persons	Persons of Reference	Type of Relationship
First cousin	2	B.SD. 40	Cross, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD. 40	Ego, Matri. Lin.
First cousin, once removed	2	B.SD. 44	Cross, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD.SD. 20	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		C.SD.SD. 18	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		C.SD.SD. 18	Cross, Matri. Lin.
		C.SD. 47	Cross, Matri. Lin.
Second cousin	2	A.S. 1	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD. 4	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		B.SD. 40	Cross, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD. 10	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		C.SD.SD. —	Ego, Matri. Lin.
Second cousin, once removed	4	A.S. 38	Cross, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD.SD. 20	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD. 40	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD. 1	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		A.S. 40	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		C.SD.SD. 18	Cross, Matri. Lin.
Third cousin	10	A.SD.SD. 21	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD. 22	Cross, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD.SD. 23	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD.SD. 27	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD. 28	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD.SD. 29	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD.SD. 30	Ego, Matri. Lin.
		C.SD.SD. 77	Cross, Matri. Lin.
		C.SD.SD. 78	Cross, Matri. Lin.
		A.S. 117	Cross, Matri. Lin.
		A.SD. 3	Ego, Matri. Lin.
Third cousin, once removed	1	A.SD.SD. 27	Ego, Matri. Lin.
Fourth cousin, or more distant	34	—	—

with the husband as the primary reference. When A was explained to him that the [1952, 5-6] *closest relationship* patrilineally or matrilineally was desired, he did so, though it was clear that he thought it was unnecessary. He also admitted that he wasn't certain of all the relationships "through women." Beyond many of the spouses he said simply that the relationship was "far" or that there were "many" lines. These

[illegible] were born ethnically [illegible] than the "fourth cousin or more distant" category, which may well be inaccurate. Table 9 indicates the fact that a sample of close biological relatives (i.e. third cousins and closer) includes pairs of people who are not only members of different ethnical lineages, but of different matrilineal lineages as well; and this suggests sufficiently well the intricate web of kinship and marriage ties which connects different families and lineages.

Marriage within the village, that is, local endogamy, is very definitely preferred. Although exogamous marriages are more fairly numerous, this is a recent development which will be discussed later. For the purpose of this study, marriage with members of other villages in the Qumi, which have always occurred but relatively infrequently, are considered locally endogamous. (Defense of this definition will be presented in Part Two.)

Now let us turn to Table 10, which gives statistics on the present marriage patterns of the villagers, and considers, first, the inter-village marriages. The table does not illustrate the marriage patterns between lineages of the smallest lineage level. This is because no such patterns could be discovered in analyzing the census data.

Considering the columns which represent the type of inter-village marriage which have been contracted, from the primary informants of men, we observe that:

a. "A" men take "A" women 2 to 1 as against "B" and "C" women.
b. "B" men take "A" or "C" women 4 to 1, as against "B" women.
c. "C" men take "A" or "B" women 3 to 0, as against "C" women.

Looking at these same marriages from the point of view of the women concerned, it is seen that:

a. A large proportion (40 per cent) of "A" women have been taken by "B" and "C" men.
b. Of "B" women seventy-five per cent have been taken by "A" and "C" men.
c. Of "C" women forty-six per cent have been taken by "A" and "B" men.

To put the matter in another way:

a. There are 61 women who have been taken from their own maternal lineage.
b. There are 47 women who have been taken by their own maternal lineage.
c. There are 48 men who have taken wives from their own maternal lineage.
d. There are 48 men who have taken wives from other maternal lineages than their own.

(The discrepancy in the total number of men and women is due to the occurrence of second marriages. Inter-village marriages do not ordinarily affect the roughly 70-40 ratio of women to men in the total population because they involve an approximately equal number of men and women. In other words there is an approximately equal number of men and women available for inter-village marriage.)

Table 10. Clan Clans Marriages Partners on Lineage

Lineage	Marriage Village			Marriage Persons			Sp. of	Sp. Clans Village	Sp. Clans Neighbors	Sp. Clans Other Settlement	Sp. Clans Elsewhere
	Sp. Village Clan	Sp. Village Lin.	Clan Village Lin.	Sp. Village Clan	Sp. Village Lin.	Clan Village Lin.					
A	0	10	14	0	20	20	0	10	10	46	170
A1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	0	1	10
A2	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	2
A3	—	0	1	—	0	0	—	—	1	4	20
A4	—	1	2	—	0	1	—	—	2	2	20
A5	—	—	2	—	0	0	—	0	0	2	21
A6	—	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	1	2	10
A7	1	—	1	1	0	1	—	—	1	2	10
A8	1	7	1	0	0	0	—	6	0	10	40
A9	1	0	1	1	0	0	—	0	1	2	11
A10	1	1	1	1	—	0	0	0	1	0	0
A11	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	4
B	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	0	10
B1	—	1	0	—	0	7	—	1	0	0	30
B2	—	—	0	—	1	0	—	0	1	1	0
C	0	10	10	0	10	10	0	0	0	11	100
C1	0	—	0	0	1	1	—	1	1	1	20
C2	—	0	0	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	11
C3	0	—	0	0	0	0	—	0	0	1	10
C4	—	0	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	10
C5	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	1	10
C6	—	1	0	—	—	1	—	—	0	1	11
C7	—	0	0	—	0	0	—	—	0	0	10
C8	—	0	0	—	0	0	—	—	0	1	10
Unknown								—	1		
C9								1	0		
C10								—	1		
C11								0	—		

To put the matter in another way, for the village as a whole, marriages out-side matrilineal lineages and castes have an almost evenly evenly division. This is

what would be expected on the basis of chance alone in view of the following facts: (1) Individuals who choose spouses from inside the village, have a fifty-fifty choice, either to marry inside their maximal lineage or outside it. (2) By village marriage rules, this choice is entirely free.

The deviation from this overall pattern in the figures for the marriage patterns of the individual maximal lineages are, in all probability, due to the difference in size of the maximal lineages. "A" includes forty-eight per cent of the total population of the village. For "A" men, therefore, about half of the available women are also from "A" in the first place, in addition to the fact that there is a fifty-fifty chance of their choosing from "A." "B" is unmistakably exogamous, both in regard to its men and its women. "B" has only six per cent of the total population of the village, divided among six households. Marriage within any one household would be virtually impossible because of incest regulations, and although it happens that members of any one of the households could, theoretically, marry into any of the others, there is no instance of it. (The one case of an inter-"B" marriage was between a man of XII and a "deceased" lineage.) Like "A" and "C," "B" people have a theoretical fifty-fifty choice between "B" and "non-B," but because of the small size of "B" the men and women are really forced to take from and marry into the other two maximal lineages. "C," the dairy-farm per cent of the total population, and, as might be expected, its marriage patterns reflect its middle position. Its matrilateralization to "A," "C" men show a moderately strong tendency to take their wives from the other two maximal lineages, but this tendency is not nearly as strong as it is in "B" in regard to its women, however, about the same situation obtains in "C" as in "A," that is, slightly under half of the women are taken by men from other lineages.

To summarize: "A" men tend to take wives from "A" because "A" is so large, "B" and "C" men tend to take their wives from "A" for the same reason, but actual count confirms this generalization. "B" men have taken eight from "A" and one from "C," "C" men have taken fourteen from "A" and three from "B."

One informant was conscious of these tendencies and one of the opinions that in the past, more than fifty years ago at least, they were more pronounced than they now were. This was explained by saying, in effect that "B" and "C" wanted to marry "A" because "A" was more distinguished. "And how did 'A' feel about it?" "Oh, some did not care, but some others minded a great deal." And a story was related of a person in the past with whom the family refused to have anything more to do after the person's marriage to a member of another maximal lineage than "A." His further examples could, however, be adduced. The informant also remarked emphatically that the conduct of the family had been resented, and that a would serve bigger in the present day.

The same time, the writer naturally questioned the hypothesis that until recently "A" was specifically endogamous, and that "B" and "C" were merely exogamous, but necessarily endogamous with regard to "A." The probability of

the truth of this notion of a dichotomous social organization was seen to consist [illegible] factors, viz: (1) The town split in population between "A" on one hand and "B" and "C" on the other. (2) The indisputable fact that there is a conceptual division of the village into an upper half (dominated by "A") and a lower half (dominated by "C"). (3) The aspect of all authorities that Arab kin groups tend to be endogamous and that Arab villages tend to be split into two factions (cf. Barnes, 1959, p. 402). (4) The apparent tendency for the present village groups to fall into the town half by the supposed dichotomies. (So many exceptions to this were discovered, that this factor was discarded before the main theory was.)

On this theory, the present patterns of extra-village marriage were interpreted as a recent "breakdown" caused indirectly by acculturation. It was granted that if the villagers felt that the integrity of the village as a unit was being seriously threatened by foreign influences, especially the lure of the city, there would be a tendency for the village as a unit to assume an even more important position as such in the villagers' eyes, so much so that matrilateral lineage ties would be greatly weakened. The widening of matrilateral lineage, losers of nobility, endogamy rules would be consistent with this tendency toward entrenchment.

This was a tempting and plausible theory. As time went on, however, it became impossible to support its line of reasoning with behavioural evidence. Moreover, the theory was found to run afoul of two sets of objective evidence as follows:

1. During the period to which the postulated "breakdown" of lineage marriage function and concomitant solidification of village unity would have occurred (c. 1900 to the present), marriages to outsiders became a definite element in village life. (Previously they had been sporadic and had consisted entirely of village men marrying Orthodox women whom they had met in other districts while doing migrant labor there. These women were eventually brought into the village and entirely assimilated.) These marriages to outsiders are, at present, well distributed among the lineages, and with only a very few exceptions those who have contracted them have been persons of solid repute and status in the village. Marriage to an outsider is not, therefore, by and large, the behavior of persons whose social status is questionable, nor does it lower the status of such individuals. Attitudes toward it range from indifference ("If it means whatsoever I fall in love with. If she is not from the village, it does not matter."), to mild disapproval, couched in practical terms ("It is worse, it is taking a big chance."), to moderately strong disapproval ("The children of the girls who do it will be lost to the village, and we will not be able to see them often."). As far as could be observed, however, there is no violent objection to it, and in most, only when social pressures are brought against it. It is not a social offense. Consequently, it is difficult to rationalize away the conflict between preferred village endogamy and marriage to outsiders by suggesting that the hypothesized commitment to village unity (represented by the development of two marriage choice within the village as a whole in place of choices solely endogamy) was a violent reaction to the behavior of social correctness.

[illegible]

3.3.1 3. Data on marriages contracted between 1960 and 1970 indicate that the present patterns in intra-village marriage were in operation in full force from the beginning of that period, and presumably before it. In this period, according to the fragmentary figures at hand, "A" contracted thirty-one marriages. Thirteen of these were within "A" itself. Of the remaining eighteen, there were ten men who took two wives from "B" and eight from "C", and there were eight women, two of whom were taken by "B," six by "C." "B" contracted eleven marriages. Two of these were within "B"; three men took from outside, one from "A," one from "C." Eight "B" women were taken by "A" and "C." "C" contracted twenty-four marriages, nine within itself, fifteen outside. Six men took from "A," one from "B," and eight women were taken by "A." This is naturally the same pattern as that illustrated by the figures for present marriages.

It should be added that even if all the evidence lined together properly, it would be difficult to conceive of an ordered change in a change in marriage patterns taking place in so short a time as in large a socio-culture that had already been in large a number of exceptions to the rule but in reality would be open to serious question anyway.

It is valid, then, that the present patterns of intra-village marriage are not a product of recent acculturation that they are, in fact, of long standing. Presumably they have been in effect ever since the very early days when the village had grown to be more than a single family group. Except for the very limited range of close family prohibited relations, the marriage system in Mawiyl is one of free choice within the village. The apparently different patterns among the mentioned lineages revealed in the figures are, in reality, functions of mathematical chance and therefore are not useful as cultural patterns at all.

3.3.2 In Mawiyl, specific marriage prohibitions apply within any group of relatives which consists of a married pair, their children, the original pair's siblings and their children. In other words, they apply to all first cousins, to aunts and nephews, uncles and nieces (very often of the same age in Mawiyl), and, of course, to parents and children. Marriage is also forbidden between any person and his grandparents or children, between whom a conventionalized siblingship is recognized.

The restriction on marriage between any kind of first cousin has been alluded to [illegible] Inasmuch as it is an important aspect of the kinship emphasis in the social organization, it requires considerable comment.

The extension of marriage prohibition to all first cousins is a Church rule. Presumably it is of so long standing among the Orthodox Arabs in their Christianity is. Originally, however, it was imposed upon the pagan Arabs approximately at the same time as their conversion, and it apparently displaced the system current at the time, which Muhammad formalized and incorporated into Islam. The key to this latter system is the preferential marriage of patrilateral parallel first cousins which is commonly known as [illegible]

In a strongly patrilineal system, patrilateral parallel cousins are the closest

THE PATTERNS OF CULTURE CHANGE*

THE PAST

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LEBANESE VILLAGE

[illegible] has described the social life of the traditional Middle East (including Lebanon) village as revolving around three major themes such ... which organizes action and facilities emotions and values. These themes are the land (Tannous, 1946, p. 264 ff.), kinship (ibid., p. 267 ff.), and religion (ibid., p. 269 ff.).

Under "land" Tannous addresses subsistence technologies, which are mainly agricultural technologies, and in general the actions, attitudes, and values of rural economic life. The major points are that the traditional peasant, who draws his entire subsistence from the land, feels toward it a rather intense personal devotion and sense of identification. In Lebanon, where individual private ownership is common, and based to large degree on inheritance from ancestors, these feelings are particularly intense.

In regard to kinship (we have previously discussed its importance as an organizing mechanism), the following quotation from Tannous, describing the social unit called *mutakawil* (*mutagh* in the present study), is a good summary:

> A member of all those who claim descent from the same paternal ancestor. The number of men families that make up a kinship group varies from village to village according to the age of the *mutakawil* and the occurrence of divergence factors that may split the group or a certain segment of its development or cause its growth. Its influence is felt by the individual in a variety of situations. From the start, the child learns that he should address every member of the unit as "uncle" or "aunt" or "cousin" or "grandfather" or "grandmother." As mentioned above, a sequence of a young man in many ways rather than endure the kinship group. [Tannous is generalizing to all Middle East villages and most of them, of course, unlike Ghazzin.] In times of serious conflict or trouble within the village, kinship loyalty seems itself and a kinship upon every member. (Tannous, 1946, p. 266.)

Of religion, Tannous says that it is a way of life in the traditional village, that it permeates life completely. In this connection, he writes about the peasant and his religion: "He may not know much about its dogmas or subscribe to their

* Two main points which are treated in this chapter have been published elsewhere (Patai, 1954); a somewhat different form.

is also a decent example of Sphere 3 (Sect Group)—it is a Greek Orthodox [illegible] endure in a Moorish area.

Consequently, for the purposes of this study in the light of Levi-Strauss's definition of "true endogamy," and in view of the point values of al-Qaisi, the marriages of Mustafa to members of other Qasr-i-Nigar are considered to be locally endogamous but it is remembered, also, that such marriages, though technically, have always been in the minority, for most Mustafas have always married each other.

The culture of Mosul therefore conforms to or ignores spheres in these two respects: (1) it is an endogamous local group (Sphere 2), within a small but not, necessarily endogamous local group, al-Qaisi, which surrounds a unit of which it is the cultural centre. (2) al-Qaisi, a district of my examined size, is a distinct sect group (Sphere 3).

When we turn to the internal organization of Mosul, we find that it is, according to the expectations of the theory, subdivided into lineages (in two orders of magnitude of which only one—the minimal lineage—seems functional significance at the present time), and that the lineages are subdivided into families (whether genuinely nuclear or extended cannot definitely be decided from the data at hand). However, we find that lineage exogamy rather than endogamy is preferred, and that marriage within the degree of relative who ordinarily constitutes extended families is explicitly against the Church law of marriage. In other words, Spheres 1 and 2 are present, but they do not conform to expectations in that they are not strictly endogamous.

The extended family exogamy rule in Mosul has already been discussed in such detail that further lengthy discussion of Sphere 1 is not necessary. Suffice it to repeat only that it is viewed as the product of conflict oversimilarities, the extent between pagan Arabs and Christianity, dating with present the pagan Arab ideal of marriage to the closest possible relative (cf. Speer, 1911, p. 467) goes way to the Christian rule against it. We can note, however, that upon this matter in another way. We can say that a certain value (endogamous marriage) ordinarily associated with Sphere 1 has been sacrificed to a principle of an opposite value which is associated with Sphere 3 (Sect), and Sphere 3 seems a perfectly handy handle on opposing and prohibitive moral arrows.

The preference for minimal lineage exogamy, for which there is actually an specific rule, does not appear really to be a matter of the lineage endogamy principle, where it is considered to fall evident, while, the following factors must be considered:

1. Most of the lineages are very small, and this greatly reduces the chances that an individual will or can select a lineage-mate as a spouse. Lineage endogamous does occur, though in small numbers. Such marriages are fairly evenly distributed among the lineages as a whole with the exception of a heavy concentration of them in the lineage which is by far the largest in the village.

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] only one exception to this rule in al-Mlisaali. In this case, the son was born while the family was living in Australia.

Special formal titles are addressed to no one except the priest, the mayor, the elected members, and the doctor. Otherwise, personal names and kinship terms are used. It is significant that when a villager addresses another who is definitely the senior, he never under any circumstances uses the Arabic equivalents of "Mr." or "Mrs." To do this would be a grave insult, for it would imply that the person addressed is considered to be a stranger and an outsider. "Paternal uncle" or "aunt" are the kinship terms most commonly used in such cases (which include the address of one's father- and mother-in-law), although the well-known teknonymous formula (for example, "Abu 'Abdullah" — "father of 'Abdullah") is often employed. (It can also be used in a joking sense, but there is never any confusion in this matter.)

Space does not allow any further elaboration on the intricacies of the system of kinship terms which is used in al-Mlisaali. It can be said here only that these terms — which are verbal symbols of status and role — encompass the entire pattern of reciprocal obligations, social distance, and social aversion which regulates interpersonal relations in the village. Over all, there is the abiding concept of everyone in the village being related. This is underlined here, perhaps, by the extensive use of the term *ibn*. The basic meaning of this word is a man who has married a member of one's immediate family, in other words, a sister's or a daughter's husband. But the term is extended to any man (of same age or younger) who is married to a member of one's lineage, and it is applied to an outsider who has married any village girl. Consequently, the outsider becomes an in-law of the entire community.

The lineage functions as units of identification by name (if necessary), as units for the economic support and aid of individual members on a reciprocal basis, and in some cases for the regulation of marriage. Marriage to a member of another lineage is preferred, provided the spouse is a member of the village. There are exceptions to this, but as a whole, the network of marriage ties — which become blood ties through women in the generations following the marriage — between the lineages is very complex. Thus the potential cohesiveness of each lineage is minimized for the benefit of village solidarity. There are, indeed, factions and cliques within the village, but its basic unity is never lost sight of.

The Arabs are often thought of as usually living their daily lives in large, extended family groups. This is not, and apparently never has been, true in al-Mlisaali. All the households, with one exception, consist of what sociologists call "nuclear" families. That is, they are composed, basically, of only the parents and the unmarried children. But the resemblance to the typical American family ends at this point, for though

POPULATION

MUNEIF is the locus of activity of a grand total of about 501 people. This population can be divided into four clearly distinguishable component groups as follows:

Core Group	323
Peripheral to Core	55
"Workers"	30 plus
Mawali	93
	501 plus

Numerically, all of the smaller or "subsidiary" groups are insignificant as compared to the Core. Of the three, the "Workers" (*ahiriyy*) are the most numerous, but they are present in the village, as their name suggests, only during part of the year. As far as the members of the Core Group are concerned, the smaller components of the population are socially, as well as economically, insignificant, and inquiries about them invariably elicited heard, unintentional responses and comments like, "What do you want to know about them for? They are not from here, they do not belong among us."

In their own eyes and in the eyes of the law, the members of the Core Group, 323 strong, *are* the village, whereas the three subsidiary component groups in the population are outsiders whose residence in the village is either periodic or more or less temporary. Hereafter, we will be concerned with the Core Group only, but, since they are of considerable interest, the Subsidiary Groups will be discussed in some detail in Appendix A.

THE CORE GROUP

Table 1 presents a considerable amount of data on the Core Group. We need not concern ourselves at this point with the very important question of residence status, which appears in numerical form in this table.

The essentials of the lineage system which is indicated in the table are as follows: The members of the Core Group consider themselves to be direct descendants of a man named Marqus Jurjis al-Khouri who, with his three sons, migrated to the site of the present village from Jabal Hawran, south of Damascus, after a few years' sojourn in Baalbek. The youngest members of the Core Group at present

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[redacted]

A21
W3
B79

large kin groups each of which consists of the descendants (unilineal genealogically) of one of the three sons of the founder. These kin groups are called Maximal Lineages in this study, and they are designated by the capital letters A, B, and C. Each Maximal Lineage is subdivided into a number of smaller kin groups which herein are called Minimal Lineages, designated by Roman numerals. Each Minimal Lineage consists of male and its Positive Descendants, each represented by a number in Arabic numerals. Maximal Lineages, Minimal Lineages, and Households are distinct social units, recognized as such by their members. This whole group is exclusively Greek Orthodox in religion.

In addition to the descendants of the founder of the village, the Core Group also includes eight households each of which is called in this study an Affiliate Family. The villagers themselves do not have any special term for them, and it should be emphasized that the eight families do not ordinarily act as a unit. The status of Affiliate Family was attained in every case by a man from another village or district first settling in the village and then marrying a member of the Core Group. The man himself always remains an outsider in the eyes of the Core Group, but his children have Core Group relatives through their mother. The heads of some of the present Affiliate Families are still in the position of recent newcomers. The head of AF1-1, however, belongs to the fourth generation of his family to live in the village. "We are from here, but it is a new family," was the way in which his status was described.

The Affiliate Families have been divided into three arbitrary classes in an attempt to indicate the differing degree to which they have been accepted as members of the in-group. This is the native's conceptualization, not that of the villagers, as far as he knows. Class 1 appears to have been fully accepted in every social sense but exclusively genealogical descent from the founder cannot be claimed. The distinction between Class 1 and Class 2 is rather subjective on the native's part and may not be valid. Class 3, however, is definitely accepted in status, and no important reasons for this is that the founders of the families in the village were not Greek Orthodox, and the religious affiliations of some of their children is other faiths.

It ought to add at this point that no one was able to demonstrate the descent of Maximal Lineage B20 either from the village founder or from the founder of Maximal Lineage C, although no members were questioned directly from the village founder. A genealogy of the lineage covers [illegible] generations, which is to the end of the eight of the other Maximal Lineages. It was generally agreed that a woman in one of the earliest generations of the lineage married a man of A-20, but it was quite obvious that a matter of inquiry and relevance. B20 belonged to C. It is entirely possible that lineage B20 was once in the position of the present Affiliate Families.

The structure of the Core Group will be considered in greater detail in the

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]					
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]					
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]					
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]					

KINSHIP STRUCTURE AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS

THE DIVERSE ORIGIN OF THE COMMUNITY

THE UPHEAVAL

Most of the residents of the village in Bridhol live a large number of settlement units of which has its own name. The map (Fig. 4) indicates the settlement units (*gaṛā*)—in the village proper. Most of these names are evidently very old, and those in the village proper were mentioned as follows: "big place," "overhead" (i.e., the road which skirts it to the north), "sidewise" (mostly here north), "ten attended" (mostly absent), "house place" (as many people are present in the village), "little road" (a secondary road, see Fig. 4, No. 11), "gamra," "centre of town" (*nabi*), "small grassy fields place," "place of small silver grass" (no longer so), and "priest's shelter" (absent). Considerations could not be obtained for a few others, but outside the village proper there are two sections of whose names no one could even guess the meaning. They are probably not of Indian origin. No particular name is given to many sections of the village proper especially in the central portion. The word *sāhi* has been applied in part of the central portion for at least fifty years but apparently not much earlier than that. This suggests that the present concentration of commercial establishments (see map, Fig. 3) is relatively recent, for in general each section the part of a village which the name are limited.

Those portions within the settlement which do not have specific names are generally referred to as *phāṛ*, which means the deep fields out which is usually devoted to the growing of vegetables. This is a generic with the five particular sub-types. Others in use in the village are *sāli* (*phāṛ*—land without trees), *sāhibi* (land with trees), and *mahi* (orchard). Of these, the last is of particular interest. *Bahi* really means "land held at the margin." In Bhaṭgāṛi, nearly all the land is held at the margin, and orchards are the most valuable property. *Sāhi* is encountered also some of the earlier names, but *sāhibi* and *mahi* are not, as far as could be determined.

On either side of the road leading to Sāhni (the old path which is superseded now called *sarāj ki mahiṭhan*—"road to the brickfield opening"), there are eight named sections. Similarly, along the path which leads to Sāhni via Mati Khoṛwa (*sarāj ki bāhari*—"road to the Pond-maker opening"), there are twelve. In all, then, thirty-two named sections were recorded, and there are unquestionably a good many more. The names, in general, refer to physical characteristics of the land in question or to past owners or associated events, or their meaning is obscure or unknown. As far as could be determined, the named sections have no social significance except that they make it possible to specify exactly different parts of the village. This is very helpful in a situation where the individual's landholdings are usually widely scattered.

The map (Fig. 4) also indicates the division of the village into two halves, the *pachpaṭṭi*, "the upper part," and the *sāhanā*, "the lower part." This division does, or at least did, have social significance. It was said that up to about eight years ago, the upper part was completely dominated by Khairwal Lodhas (i.e. the lower part by Khairwal Lodhas (i.e. [illegible] of the eastern area was

[illegible]

[illegible] (See the chapters on "Dwelling Structure and Dwellings Contained" and "The Patterns of Cultural Change")

BUILDINGS, HOUSES, AND HOUSE TYPES

The map (Fig. 11) indicates the location of the institutional buildings in the village proper. Most of the six major (map, different plan, elevation) are now [illegible] in their uses. Actually, building 2 was not open during the period of study, but building 2 is partitioned into halves in each of which there is an independent store. Building 12 is also partitioned, one half being devoted to a shop whose proprietor is also a teacher. The other half is open when the court orders, being the place of business of one of the two barbers. Building 11, an old temple, is occupied by the fifth story, upon only at times, which specialties in cloth. The sixth story, also one of the "general-store" type, is located in the house of its proprietor, further down the main road. The two schools are rather widely separated, but this is probably accidental since the location of the primary school is determined by the fact that it occupies the lower floor of the master's own home. Another the two laboratory are in the same are immediately adjacent to the homes of their respective owners, one of whom is the primary school master. Building 4 is the only one in the village which is entirely devoted to an alien grain. There are, however, two other grains in the village proper (one in the lower part of the one remaining occupied house in the [illegible] section, the other in the lower part of a house near the crossing point of the two [illegible] sections). There is a third grain establishment in the eastern end of the valley and a fourth at Kilim. Two of these grains are specialized for the collection of wool grain in a week from which [illegible], a kind of grain, is made. There is also a mill, operated by a Chinese-made gasoline engine, which is part of the store in building 6. The upper story, and part of the lower story, of building 4 is occupied by one of the different Families (see next chapter) of the village.

It has been noted that the long axis of most of the houses is parallel to the contours of the ridge, when these have wide terrace walls. This corresponds the gable terraces the houses are, in fact, the edge of wide terrace walls, and sometimes there are two or three feet higher than the walls which they support.

The great majority of the houses have two levels, in some cases there are [illegible] appurtenances. In many others, they are suggested, as that the wall of the lower level forms a very useful screen which is then with the floor of the upper level. There are invariably separate entrances to the upper and lower levels. The rooms a series of one or more [illegible] of massive wall-stone building from one level to another. Probably the reason for this is that stairways would take up a great deal of room which seems to [illegible]. Frequently, the plan of the ground is such that one can simply walk over the roof of a lower house or by a very short flight of steps. More frequently, however, one must climb over walls, often as

[illegible]

POPULATION

[illegible] is the focus of activity of a great deal of these [illegible] people. The [illegible] population can be divided into four clearly distinguishable component groups as follows:

Lue Cheng	[illegible]
Neighbours in Lue	[illegible]
"Whites"	[illegible] plus
Others	[illegible]
	[illegible] plus

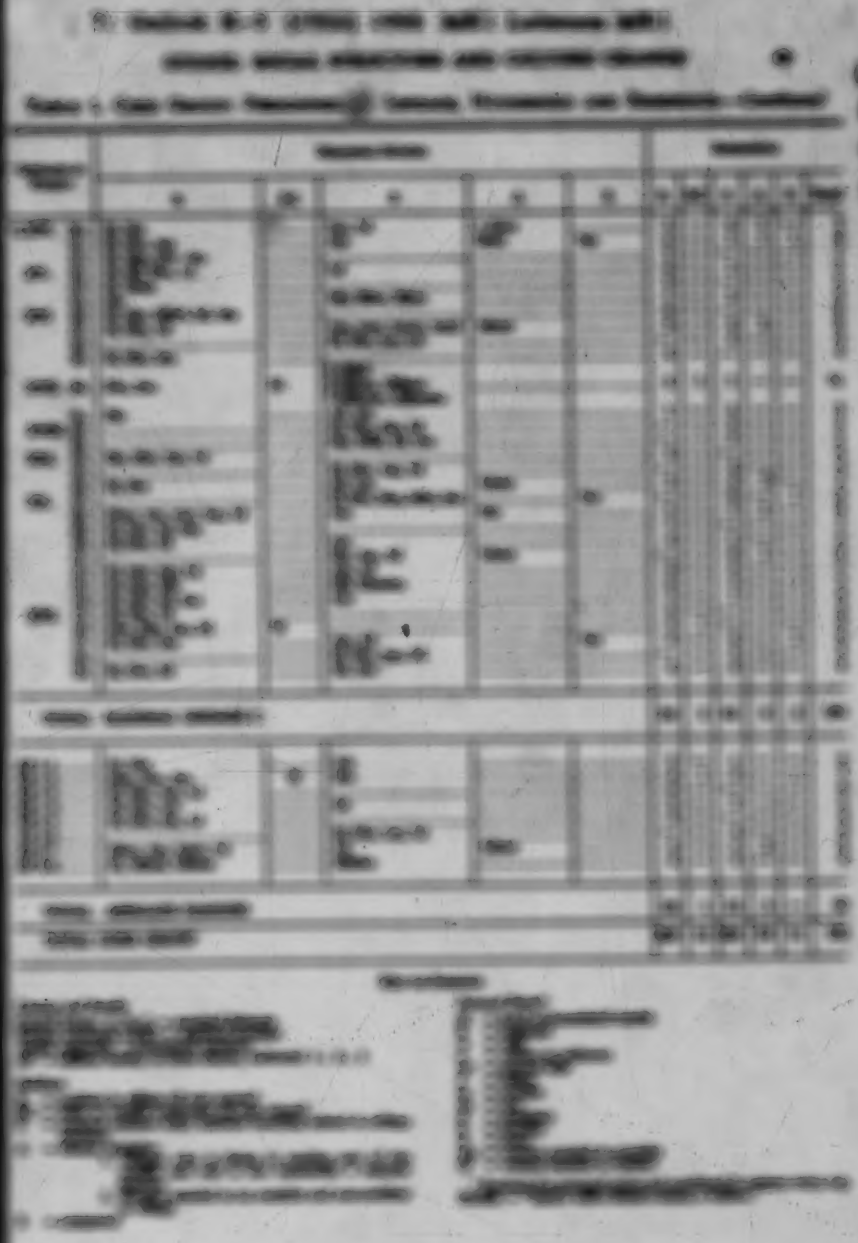
Theoretically, all of the males in "whites" groups are [illegible] compared to the Lue. Of the three, the "Whites" (Jiaoyu) are the most numerous, but they are present in the village in their many segments, with during part of the year. As for the members of the Lue Cheng are [illegible], the [illegible] components of the population are socially, as well as economically, long-[illegible], and [illegible] about their [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible] and [illegible]. Say, "What do you mean to learn about them for? They are not from here, they do not belong among us."

In [illegible] one can see in the eyes of the Lue, the members of the Lue Cheng, [illegible] live in the village, whereas the three secondary component groups in the population are considered [illegible] residents in the village in [illegible] as most of the [illegible]. Therefore, we will be concerned with the Lue Cheng only, but, since they are of considerable interest, the Neighbour Groups and the Whites in some detail in Appendix A.

THE LUE CHENG

Table 1, presents a considerable amount of data on the Lue Cheng. We shall not discuss questions in this point with the very important question of [illegible] these terms, which appears to [illegible] here in this note.

The [illegible] of the foreign names which is [illegible] in the table are as follows: The members of the Lue Cheng consider themselves to be direct descendants of a [illegible] named Mouan Jaola of Chiang Mai, with his three sons, migrated to the site of the present village from [illegible], south of Kengtung, after a [illegible] in Burma. The youngest members of the Lue Cheng in present



[illegible]

[redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Age-Group	Males	Females	Total	Age-Group	Males	Females	Total
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] agree to Table 1, it will be observed that the people of the village [illegible] are classified into early according to lineage and household but also according to residence, of which the latter are distinguished and hardly defined as the other could. This section will deal with all of these except the emigrant group, which will be discussed later in this chapter.

Unquestionably, the surrounding demographic fact shows of Mawali today is the large proportion of its citizens who are absent from it most of the year, living [illegible] and working in Sidon or Tripoli. This trend was prevalent [illegible] there, but the active phase of the latter is now largely over, living in the wake [illegible] the emigrations started just after by armed violence since 1975. Table 1 indicates the way in which each household is affected by the trend in the city. It will be observed that of the 47 households: (1) are wholly resident, (2) are wholly nonresident, 4 have family who commute while the main body of the household is resident, (4) are split, (3) like (4) split households, (2) have the land and others resident, 1 have the land and others is resident only.

From this and the population totals, it is clear that a majority of residents and others in the village all year around is still the predominant pattern. Of the total permanent only 10 per cent of the households are "nonresident" (the villagers sometimes refer to them as *mujtiyat*) only. The other trend is nevertheless, far more marked than it was in Shkeinabeh since 1951 when (1) 4 per cent of the total population held jobs as more or school away from the village more months of the year (Thomson, 1954, p. 67). Thomson refers to this as "temporary emigration," and says that it is a "unique phenomenon which has recently occurred in the village" due to the development of modern means of transportation. Khuri (1970, p. 177) says that in the al-Marj, a large village south and inland from Beirut, nearly all absent belong the modern. Patai (in a personal communication) records that low-altitude villages around [illegible] appeared to be largely deserted in proportion to 1911. Thomson (1910, p. 140) says that in general communications has increased the circulation of the population, especially in the direction of the city. We can safely say that urbanism has been an increasing tendency since the 1950's, but we cannot say how the situation in Mawali compares to that in other villages.

the 97 households which have been recorded for the Core Group. This is because some of the heads of households are over the age of emigration, and because a few of the households do not have formal male heads.

The 'M' and 'F' columns indicate the number of individuals who held, respectively, village and urban (or extra-village) jobs. By far the majority, it can

Table 1. Occupations, Economy, Adult (15-49)

Area	Sex		Occupation														Economy	
	M	F	Agriculture	Animal husbandry	Agriculture and animal husbandry	Trade	Trade and agriculture	Trade and animal husbandry	Trade, agriculture and animal husbandry	Artisan	Artisan and agriculture	Artisan and animal husbandry	Artisan, agriculture and animal husbandry	Service	Service and agriculture	Service and animal husbandry	M	F
15-19	30	30			1	27	0	0	1	1	1		2				25	34
20-24	35	30	0		1			0	1	7		6	9	4			3	28
25-29	25 (20)*	3	0	1	1			1	0	9		4	5	5			6	19
30-34	9 (2)	1	1						1	4		2	1				1	6
35-39	8 (2)	1	1		1				2	2	1		2	1			2	7
40-44	10 (11)	3	0	1	1				3	4	2	2	1				11	12
45-49	10 (11)	3	1		0				0	5	0	0	1	2			9	10
50-54	10 (11)			0	1					1				1			10	1
55-59	11 (10)		0	1	1					1				1			8	3
60-64	9 (3)				0				1	1				2			4	1
65-69	3 (2)													1			3	
Total	171 (152)	46	10	10	10	28	0	1	17	37	3	17	24	18			80	125

* Number in parentheses = heads of households.

In addition:
Economy, as "at home" (all female) = 126.
Occupations are recorded 2 cases, 1 female) = 4.

be readily seen, from the table, in terms of gainful employment, 152 persons work in urban jobs (representing 1/3, the number of those in boarding school and college, Case 101). Similarly, the total of 61 in village occupations can immediately be reduced to 17 by subtracting the 10 pupils in the village schools. In addition, most of these listed as unemployed are village residents. The 'M' and 'F' columns suggest quite strongly the tendency for younger people to predominate in urban jobs, older people in predominate in village jobs.

The "unemployed" figures are the most reliable in the table. In the few place

the distinction between "unemployed" and "retired" among the older men is not at all easy to make. It depends, essentially, on the attitudes of the men himself and his family. In the second place, among the younger men especially, the distinction between "village worker" and "unemployed" is not entirely clear. The "village workers" mostly are either hired farm hands or assistants to "village specialists." In most cases, it was not easy to tell, however, how steady their work was. In the third place, it is quite possible that some of those in the "city worker" class are actually unemployed most of the time.

The class of "farmer" (*fellah*) is very distinct. A farmer is a man who not only owns his own property, but works it for the support of himself and his family. Most of the farmers in Mounjid also tend the agricultural property of fellow villagers who are not farmers. This is done, apparently, largely on a cash basis. The standard fee for a day's plowing, for example, was reported to be ten Lebanese pounds (about two dollars and a half).

It was said, "Before (i.e., before emigration and city jobs), we were *all fellahin*." Now there are only ten farmers, and all of them except one are middle aged or elderly men. The exception is a young man of twenty-eight, a member of lineage XX, who evidently intends to make farming a career. He has made a realistic appraisal of the very difficult agricultural conditions in the village itself, and has acted accordingly with considerable initiative. Shortly after World War II he bought some unused land on the southern rim of Wadi Ba'labra, just outside the Quarn, close to the present terminus of the irrigation channel which brings water from the River Ibrahim (see Figs. 1 and 2). Considerable blasting with dynamite was necessary in the preparation of terraces, and earth had to be transported to the site. But with irrigation water he has already been able to develop a very impressive banana orchard which presumably has brought quick profits (cf. Khuri, 1960, p. 62), and he said that he plans to expand in the near future. It is significant that he had to go outside the village territory to accomplish his ends.

The nature of the "village specialist" class can better be understood when it is broken down into subcategories, with the number of persons involved in each, as follows:

Mayor	1	Fishermen	3
Taxi driver	1	Surveyor	1
Barber	2	Mason	2
Priest	1	Carpenter	3
Storekeeper	8	Teacher	4

Part-time jobs held by various men most of whom are included in the tabulation above are: storekeeper (the priest), two bakery owners (a teacher and a farmer), and a crop guard (*nejjar*, traditionally a very important position). Two men, still living, were once shoemakers, and another was a mukhtar part-time. In the population as a whole there are at least six former teachers and five former store-

The boarding school, as well as the day school, students include both boys and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The chief criterion in that case is a manual labour, and they were obviously all employed to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practising physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

Protestant preacher	1	Carpenter	1
Detective	1	Waiter	1
Barman	1	Hospital attendant	1
Soldier (sergeant)	1	Janitor	1
Tailor	2	Barmaid	1

The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus three village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in Israel. Parents and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of the girl to a doctor, a very prestigeful status.

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15–44

	Men		Women			Men		Women	
Age	Single	Married	Single	Married	Age	Single	Married	Single	Married
15–19	39	0	27	0	30–34	0	7	4	7
20–24	30	1	17	7	35–39	1	4	2	12
25–29	13	8	10	10	40–44	2	14	0	13

"There are so many of us here or there we have," it was said. Several evidences of the consequences of emigration have already been observed in the derelict houses and the fifty-odd extant houses in the village.

In terms of reduction of potential population, the following facts should be noted. (1) In Maternal Lineage B, now so small, there were, before emigration, six adolescent females. Four of these, referred to here as "deceased" lineages, have completely disappeared through emigration. There is one similar case in Maternal Lineage C. (2) Table 7 indicates the number of pensioners and long-standing

Table 7. Pensioners Remaining, Women Become or Known as Spinsters

Lineage	Men		Women	
	Alive	Dead	Alive	Dead
A	—	—	—	—
B	—	—	—	—
BB	1	—	0	—
BF	1	—	0	—
C	0	—	1	—
CC	1	—	1	—
CE	1	—	—	—
CEB	0	0	1	—
D	—	—	—	—
E	0	1	1	—
EE	1	—	0	—
EEE	1	—	0	1
EEEE	1	—	0	1
EEEEE	—	—	—	—
EEEEEE	—	—	—	—
EEEEEEE	1	0	—	—
EEEEEEEE	—	—	0	—
EEEEEEEEE	0	1	1	—
EEF	—	1	0	—
EEEF	—	—	—	—
Total	10	11	10	2

emigrants, eighty-two in all, who were recorded. These are merely a sample, selected because they were or are siblings of present heads of households, of the total number who emigrated. Of them thirty-eight departed between 1900 and 1914, sixteen between 1919 and 1939. We are in the village persuade that these people have not gone for good. In this respect, they are rather distinct from the eleven "emigrants" noted in Tables 1 and 2. The latter are nearly all young adults who have left recently (all for Australia). Of them it cannot be stated with certainty their emigration will be permanent or not.

As far as was learned, five of the present heads of households are returned emigrants, in addition to at least two women of substantial status. The heads of households appear to have re-entered the life of the village without introducing many changes in its culture.

It was not determined to what extent remittances from emigrants contribute to the present income of the village as a whole. Specific examples of it indicated that the process still continues, but various remarks suggested that it is on the decrease.

[illegible]

[illegible]

In a very few cases of mild incapacitation, individuals have had to be placed in public institutions for care. Otherwise, the village takes care of its own. Furthermore, in accordance with the traditional attitudes of self-sufficiency, a unit of the Lebanese Red Cross visits the village at regular intervals to provide medical care for those who need it, but have been unable or unwilling to go to a doctor in the city. There is a regular, and entirely traditional, mechanism for caring for families who get into financial straits. A close friend of the family, who has learned of the situation because of his closeness, goes to each household in the village saying, "There is a wrong in a family in need. I am going to give five cents (twenty, ten) each we are willing to give?" It is very bad form to ask how much others are giving, and a contribution which is placed under each contributor may be refused by the collector. The strict anonymity which accompanies this behavior suggests that even in such a tight-knit group as the village keeping up appearances is a conscious value. Other and foreign societies undoubtedly use others to this.

[illegible]

Everyone in the village except for a handful among the very old, are literate. A quite respectable number have received or are receiving college educations. The significance of education in the village will be discussed in the next chapter, here it is appropriate to consider only the training which education has no occupations.

Literacy itself is no entry to Lebanon. In fact, among the Christians, at least, one can safely say that it is the expected thing. Most literacy alone would raise one's aspirations only above that of manual laborers, in the city. For professional status or for governmental positions college education are prerequisite. Medicine and the law require additional training beyond college which no one in Mlaqat has recently undertaken. The number of positions open to ordinary college graduates which are in line with the individual's ambitions (befitting a learned and cultured person) are rather limited in Lebanon, and many such persons must be satisfied with whatever they can find. In consequence, a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction is to be found among those who have had advanced education.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

Mlaqat depends, and has always depended, upon crops which do not require rain or irrigation in the growing season. Its crops, the most important are olives, figs and grapes. Of these the major cash crop is olives. This has not always been true. Up to 1914 the major cash crop in the village, and in Lebanon as a whole, was the [illegible] cocoon, fed on mulberry leaves. Sericulture has not died out completely in Lebanon, and it is still fairly strong in the Kisserwan, Kura, Metn, and Shouf districts (Niven, 1948b, p. 140), but it has long since lost its economic

[illegible] textiles, and kind in a large glue jar bottle of soap, some common drink utensils, and thousand dusted (the performing Prince stone and hammer), nothing paper, pens, pencils, and ink, lamps, matts, mattresses, and mugs. Bedlights and lanterns—all of these as before are against the walls. We are grateful for so many that the stores provide the villagers with all their purchased food except [illegible] and with small items of everyday use. Conspicuously lacking are clothes, furniture, and all household utensils except the pottery drinking jars which are carried to some of the stores. All other larger items are brought directly from Seoul or Taejon.

One person said that he made it a practice to patronize all the stores to some [illegible] out to divide any of the proprietors. When someone else pointed to the matter that not known. Since the stores are so close together, patronization on the basis of proximity is not likely to be a factor in the determination of particular clientele.

[illegible] One would expect that the stores would be in keen competition, and, certainly, commercial competition is nothing new or foreign to Korea. But among the village stores there appeared to be little if any competition, and some evidence between proprietors was observed. One informant explained the situation in this way:

> Well, they are in competition, but you are [not] here to steward again at a bar the words the steward again.] There is a saying in Korea (Jokel "Korea regards it means "Every person for his himself." Well, you know, it really means everyone will receive his fair. For us, we helps the other because later the other will help the own. But it is more than mutual help, when it helps it, they say not more it, but they do it anyway because they do not want people to think that they are enemies or jealous of each other.

[illegible] The saying which was used by this informant is a positive expression, similar in connotation to the idea of the Gold passage in the Sermon on the Mount, of the kindness which is commonly attributed, with some justification, to the Arabs. We might elucidate to full meaning by paraphrasing it as follows: "You will get your just reward in whatever you are doing if you behave justly." In this case, behaving justly involves the kind of mutual help within an in-group (the village) which is essential to its solidarity. But also, in a wider sense, it is the writer's opinion that among the Arabs, competition for its own sake is not a generalized behavioral value, though they do come close to this in their social and cultural group [illegible]. Furthermore, none of the four proprietors concerned in this matter is dependent solely on his store for his income. Each is a landowner and maintains his property for agricultural purposes.

[illegible] Turning, now, to the function of the stores as meeting places for the men, we are reminded of the interesting notice, set forth by Kolen (1956, p. 70), that in the Mediterranean area generally, the center of personal and social life is the open, public place—streets, agora, coffee house, and open shop.

In Mangil, there is no coffee house and the stores to some extent take the

the two communities are "assimilation" and integration of each other. The so-called "Romanian" Protestants of Moldavia are quite free from these fears, and frequently are even free following this pattern. Orthodox Christians in Europe have developed cosmopolitan patterns following national lines.

The strength of the Middle East communities was maximized under the Ottoman Turks who established a system (the Millet system) whereby the Christian communities were set apart as basic to the administrative framework under ecclesiastical leaders in the supposedly theocratic rule of the Sultan who was also the Caliph of Islam. At first, the Muslims, understandably enough, looked on the Christian minorities and called them "Rums," after the Arabic name for the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Empire (Riley, 1914, p. 11). At present, the Lebanese Orthodox still call themselves Rums. However, this is often confused with "Rumi," the popular designation for the Maronites (because of their connection with the Rumi Catholic Church). Consequently, the Orthodox often refer to themselves as "Urthodoksiyy," a term which, like "Qaraishouni," does not sit well with Arabic-speaking Arabs.

Although it has no inherent hierarchy of parishes and bishops, the Orthodox Church on the local level is usually the most stable and viable unit of "indigenous organization." This is characteristic of the Jews and most Protestants, but it is in striking contrast to the authoritarian Roman Catholic organization. "Considered originally, all orthodox churches represent free communities. Within the bounds of the ecclesiastical-orthodox rules of doctrine, regulations and cult, every separate orthodox church is free as to inner life and management" (Zankov, 1930, p. 20).

What Zankov says of the Church in general is certainly true of the Arab members among whom local participation is a conspicuous trait. Tannous says that the church in the Arab village is identified with the village rather than with the outside hierarchy which, in its turn, has very little to do with the village. The priest is a village member, chosen by the villagers, and often his ordination is a bit less much as his own. He takes an active part in village life, working his own land in his own way. He is usually married (Tannous, 1946, p. 141). Zankov gives a similar picture of the orthodox priest in general, and he says that the "priest" service is no way like them to a higher order, in which they are changed to another kind of person, to men other kinds of beings who stand between the world of God and the world of men" (1930, p. 90). And again: "The priests have never been themselves an object of faith in the Orthodox Church" (ibid., p. 87).

Churches and Shrines. The church of Mar (Saint) Sabbas in Mayrūḥ is a long, low structure with a flat, concrete roof, and an open belfry (very typical in style of Lebanese village churches). The altar occupies the southeast wall. There are two doors in the west wall, one for men, the other for women. In each of the three long walls there is one very small window high up. The ceiling is a barrel vault, plastered, painted pale blue, and sprinkled with small gilt stars. An altar curtain,

[illegible]

The procession had formed at the house of the deceased. It opposed around the streets of the church but to a large group of women, all in black, one carrying a sizable arrangement of flowers and another on her back. The women were followed by the men, and, eventually, most (also a hundred and fifty were present. One person was later told by [illegible] "the whole village" was there. The effort required on the part of each to come from his own street to the crossroads was of passage in forming the community together.

The church was filled inside. The flowers were placed on the frames to the [illegible] of the church, and the priest greeted the mourners. Then was [illegible]. The whole crowd left the church again. There was an intense singing of the last [illegible], as is ordinarily done after a regular service.

As at the funeral, the chief male mourners lined up outside to receive condolences, while the female mourners, invited in black, withdrew to themselves. The greatest [illegible] of the deceased happened to coincide with [illegible] of the two [illegible] and that of the two wives. The newspaper contained at the first event, who had successfully become the guardian of the children, the brother of the deceased's wife, and the head of [illegible] of the two widowed lineages were closely [illegible], [illegible], as that of the deceased.

After this, everyone repaired to the house of the deceased where coffee was served and there was quite general conversation.

The working week of the primary and secondary funerals should be also two days. The fact that the other events outside the village to include the [illegible] events, which is the use of [illegible] is very clearly defined, is also significant. Here we might note an additional event which took place during the period of study. When a young man, an only son, died in one of the other villages of [illegible] during the winter, a large number of [illegible] residents of [illegible] were among those who crowded his funeral. Caldwell (1968, p. 30) says that even in [illegible] where there is considerable presence of religions [illegible] funerals serve to bring together people of different religions to an event of common concern, thus extending [illegible] tendencies.

Young and old alike, the Mandilla were unanimous in declaring that everyone was obligated to attend funerals, regardless of any difficulties which might be involved. Witness the following statement by a young adult: "When someone dies in the village, all of us must go. If a man goes only for the funeral, still it is very much [illegible] for him. But he goes—we go; everyone goes—because we must. I do not know why we do this, but we do it just the same."

[illegible]

[illegible]

In the area of ritual behavior which is of a private, personal nature, it is clear that there is considerable individual and family variation of practice in the village.

C.[illegible] A rather loose, the bulk of evening sociability take place in private homes. There are several rather fixed groups of friends in the village who constantly meet one with each other.

[illegible] These evening gatherings may involve merely gossip or small talk, but more often conversation is an addition to games. In one circle the most popular game is bridge, played according to Cantonese rules. Some years ago everyone received basic lessons with the book, "Before dan we had our own rules." The play is fast and decent and also rather noisy. Sometimes technical terms such as "pass" and "no trump" are intermingled with loudly emotional and sub-vocal. No money is ordinarily bet on these games. Poker is another popular card game, and there are many others.

Board games are traditional in the area, and the most popular are hodgepodge (*pao*) of which there are three versions, chess (*xiangqi*), the game of checkers (*tui mo*) (*duanzhuo*), and chess (*chinese*), which seems to be played less than the others because the games are so slow.

Word games are very popular also, and very frequently nothing is at stake but amusement or fame. For example, someone will write a poem or a letter in their accustomed forms in a circle. The others are then asked to make every one of what appears to be meaningless. The principle involved in such games as spoken words (e.g., the series of nonsensical letters resembling ambiguity in a set of nonsensical script letters in English), puns and decent grammatical solecisms.

Of more interest and, sometimes, more emotional involvement, are poetry games such as the one called *gobi*. In this, contestant A writes a poem or a of Classical Arabic poetry. Contestant B must then respond with a stanza which begins with the same letter that the first one ended with. A must then write lines which begin with the last letter of B's, and so it goes until one of the contestants either repeats something which has been given before or cannot think of anything. Set prompts verses, provided they rime and rhyme properly are legitimate. The writer once heard this game played at a night club of sorts but felt as it was without a break.

C.[illegible] In these small gatherings of close friends the two sexes commingle freely and equally.

NIGHT LIFE IN THE CITY

C.1.1 Those villagers who live and work away from Mowgli in the winter maintain very close contact with each other. For example, in Sai Sinim, the fast-growing western section of the city where the American University is located, there is a tight little group of six or seven nuclear families, all headed by young adults, who, it was said, visit together as a group almost nightly. Each takes its regular turn playing host to the others. One member said he thought that their separation from the village brought them closer together than they would be otherwise. The group is known as "Little Mowgli" to outside acquaintances, and it appears to have main-

KINSHIP STRUCTURE AND MARRIAGE PATTERNS

THE DYNAMIC ANALYSIS OF THE COMMUNITY

THE LINEAGE

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

the truth of this notion of a dichotomous social organization was seen in several factors, viz: (1) The even split in population between "A" on one hand and "B" and "C" on the other. (2) The indisputable fact that there is a conceptual division of the village into an upper half (dominated by "A") and a lower half (dominated by "C"). (3) The reports of all authorities that Arab kin groups tend to be endogamous and that Arab villages tend to be split into two factions (cf. Zenner, 1955, p. 452). (4) The apparent tendency for the present clique groups to fall into the lines laid by the supposed dichotomies. (So many exceptions to this were discovered, that this factor was discarded before the main theory was.)

On this theory, the present patterns of intra-village marriage were interpreted as a recent "breakdown" caused indirectly by acculturation. It was guessed that if the villagers felt that the integrity of the village as a unit was being seriously threatened by foreign influences, especially the lure of the city, there would be a tendency for the village as a unit to assume an even more important position *as such* in the villagers' eyes, so much so that maximal lineage lines would be greatly weakened. The relaxing of maximal lineage, locus of society, endogamy rules would be consistent with this tendency toward entrenchment.

This was a tempting and plausible theory. As time went on, however, it remained impossible to support its line of reasoning with behavioral evidence. Moreover, the theory was found to run afoul of two sets of objective evidence as follows:

1. During the period in which the postulated "breakdown" of lineage marriage barriers and concomitant solidification of village unity would have occurred (c. 1930 to the present), marriages to outsiders became a definite element in village life. (Previously they had been sporadic and had consisted entirely of village men marrying Orthodox women whom they had met in other districts while doing wage-labor there. These women were eventually brought into the village and entirely assimilated.) These marriages to outsiders are, at present, well distributed among the lineages, and with only a very few exceptions those who have contracted them have been persons of solid repute and status in the village. Marriage to an outsider is not, therefore, by and large, the behavior of persons whose social status is marginal, nor does it lower the status of such individuals. Attitudes toward it range from indifference ("I'll marry whomsoever I fall in love with. If she is not from the village, it does not matter."), to mild disapproval couched in practical terms ("It is unwise, it is taking a big chance."), to moderately strong disapproval ("The children of the girls who do it will be lost to the village, and we will not be able to see them often."). As far as could be observed, however, there is no violent objection to it, and at most, only token social pressures are brought against it. It is not a social offense. Consequently, it is difficult to rationalize away the conflict between preferred village endogamy and marriage to outsiders by suggesting that the hypothesized entrenchment in village unity (represented by the development of free marriage choice within the village as a whole in place of division society endogamy) was a violent reaction to the behavior of social mavericks.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME: Lebanon ME:

2. Data on marriages contracted between 1860 and 1900 indicate that the present patterns in intra-village marriage were in operation in full force from the beginning of that period, and presumably before it. In this period, according to the fragmentary figures at hand, "A" contracted thirty-one marriages. Thirteen of these were within "A" itself. Of the remaining eighteen, there were ten men who took two wives from "B" and eight from "C", and there were eight women, two of whom were taken by "B," six by "C." "B" contracted eleven marriages. Two of these were within "B"; three men took from outside, two from "A," one from "C." Eight "B" women were taken by "A" and "C." "C" contracted twenty-four marriages, nine within itself, fifteen outside. Six men took from "A," one from "B," and eight women were taken by "A." This is virtually the same pattern as that illustrated by the figures for present marriages.

It should be added that even if all the evidence fitted together properly, it would be difficult to conceive of so radical a change as a change in marriage patterns taking place in so short a time on so large a scale—unless there had already been so large a number of exceptions to the rule that its reality would be open to serious question anyway.

It is held, then, that the present patterns of intra-village marriage are not a product of recent acculturation; that they are, in fact, of long standing. Presumably they have been in effect ever since the very early days when the village had grown to be more than a single family group. Except for the very limited range of absolutely prohibited relatives, the marriage system in Mamil is one of free choice within the village. The apparently different patterns among the statistical lineages revealed in the figures are, in reality, functions of mathematical chance and therefore are not social or cultural patterns at all.

In Mamil, specific marriage prohibitions apply within any group of relatives which consists of a married pair, their children, the original pair's siblings and their children. In other words, they apply to all first cousins, to aunts and nephews, uncles and nieces (very often of the same age in Mamil), and, of course, to parents and children. Marriage is also forbidden between any person and his godparent's children, between whom a conventionalized siblingship is recognized.

The restriction on marriage between any kind of first cousin has been alluded to before. Inasmuch as it is an important aspect of the bilateral emphasis in the social organization, it requires considerable comment.

The extension of marriage prohibition to all first cousins is a Church rule. Presumably, it is of so long standing among the Orthodox Arabs as their Christianity is. Originally, however, it was imposed upon the pagan Arabs approximately at the same time as their conversion, and it apparently displaced the system current at the time, which Muhammad formalized and incorporated into Islam. The key to this latter system is the preferential marriage of patrilateral parallel first cousins which is necessarily lineage endogamy.

In a strongly patrilineal system, patrilateral parallel cousins are the closest

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955, ME1 Lebanon ME1

Women in general, however, can and do inherit property in their own right. For example, a widow, even if she has children, gets one-eighth of her husband's property, and if there are no children at all, she gets one-fourth. If there are daughters but no sons, the daughters inherit, in equal shares, a total of fourteen twenty-fourths of their father's property, while seven twenty-fourths go to his brother or brothers. There appears, nevertheless, to be a tendency for such heiresses to make over their inheritance to men of one status or another, or at least to relinquish all responsibility for it. For example, one house in the village was reported to be owned jointly by two men who were not close relatives at all. By marriage, however, they were 'akid, married to sisters, and these women, who had no brothers, had inherited the house from their father.

For purposes of inheritance, a man's property is theoretically divided into twenty-four equal parts, on which basis the shares of various heirs can automatically be computed. One can imagine, however, the difficulties and disagreements which arise in trying to divide what is mostly real property, rather than money, into twenty-four equal parts. These difficulties are one reason for the frequent postponement of the actual division of inheritance among brothers.

GODPARENTS

It has been mentioned that godparenthood establishes a ritual siblingship in the second generation. Ordinarily the *ekhtu* at the wedding becomes the godfather (*'arraab*) of the children, while the *ekhtni* becomes their godmother (*'arraabe*). Between the godchildren (masc., *fal'yaan*; fem., *fal'yaani*) and the children of their godparents marriage is forbidden, as between siblings, and sometimes they use sibling terms. However, in actual practice, this prohibition does not greatly widen the range of persons with whom marriage is forbidden because many of the brides and grooms select their own brothers or sisters to be *ekhtu* and *ekhtni*. Consequently, in these cases the children are first cousins. In this culture, the godparent complex is largely a means of reinforcing the solidarity of an already solid group of kinsmen. Most informants did not seem to take these ritual statuses, as such, very seriously.

VILLAGE ENDOGAMY AND EXOGAMY

We now turn to the important topic of village endogamy and exogamy. No one is remembered to have married outside the village or the Qursi (marriages within the Qursi are to be considered as locally endogamous) before about one hundred years ago. It has been mentioned before that most of the early cases were men who took wives from villages in which they were doing wage labor. These cases were apparently sporadic and had little or no effect on the social structure of the village since the wives were absorbed into it.

Table 11 indicates that village exogamy did not become a real trend until

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after World War I. It will be remembered that it has only been during this period that efficient long-distance communications and residence away from the village on a large scale (giving opportunity to meet outsiders) have developed. The table also shows how the tendency is steadily increasing, though of course the percentage for 1950–52 is not comparable to those for entire decades.

About half of these now married to outsiders are women, and in only a few cases have the husbands of such women settled in Munjid (thereby establishing affiliate families). In other words, the present trend to exogamy is removing a large number of women from the village, and the children of these women belong to their fathers' families and villages, not to Munjid. The marriage of women to out-

TABLE 11. MARRIAGES OF ALL TYPES, CONTRACTED 1860–1952

Date	Endogamous: Village	Endogamous: Quasi	Exogamous: Greek Orthodox	Exogamous: Other Christian	Exogamous: Muslim	Total Endog.	Total Exog.	% Exog.
1860–1869 *	5	—	—	—	—	5	—	0.0
1870–1879 *	7	3	—	—	—	10	—	0.0
1880–1889 *	17	4	—	—	—	21	—	0.0
1890–1899	23	3	1	—	—	24	1	4.0
1900–1909	9	4	1	—	—	13	1	7.0
1910–1919	7	0	—	1	—	7	1	12.5
1920–1929	25	6	2	1	—	29	3	9.0
1930–1939	22	3	8	4	—	25	12	33.0
1940–1949	14	3	3	3	3	17	11	39.0
1950–1952	1	1	—	2	—	2	2	71.0
Total	126	27	15	16	3	151	34	18.4

* Figures for these decades are fragmentary.

siders means a real loss to the village. One might, therefore, expect the villagers to prevent it. There is evidence that the phenomenon is regretted and some of the expressed opinions about it have already been noted. However, most of the husbands in these cases appear to be young men of reasonably good prospects who are working in the city, not in their natal villages. The parents of the girls seem to recognize that the chances are good that their daughters will be as well cared for by the outsiders as they would be by local husbands. Besides, if it came to an economic show-down, the parents in most cases would be unable to deliver any ultimatum to their self-supporting daughters. The whole trend is quite closely correlated with the current acculturative process, wherein the city with its material conveniences has a particular appeal to the young housewife. And a girl's marriage to an outsider *living in the city* is quite a different matter from her moving to his village where she would remain a social outsider for some years.

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There is a definite distance between marrying an Orthodox outsider and an outsider of different religion. The saying is: *Al-mar'a tabe' zawjha*, "The woman follows her husband." This means that in the case of mixed-religion marriages, the children will be raised in the religion of the father, a custom which is a major deterrent to such marriages. Such cases in Mansif constitute a minority of the outsider-marriages. They are all very recent. The first (which for a long time was the only one) occurred about 1914 when one of the village girls married a Maronite wage-laborer who was living in the village. He settled permanently, and one of the third class affiliate families was thus established. In general, the reaction to the marriage of village girls to men of other religions seemed somewhat sad but passively resigned.

However, on one point in relation to mixed marriages village opinion is very strong. If a village man wished to marry a girl of another religion (necessarily also of another village), it is assumed that the children would take the religion of the father. Suppose, however, that the girl's parents refused to agree to this? In such a case, village opinion is that the man should give up any idea of the marriage. If, however, he insisted on acquiescing to the girl's parents' demand, he would be strongly condemned and very likely ostracized, at least for a time. Such an action would be a violation of religious and community mores as well as of those relating to the proper relationship between man and wife. And it is certainly true that if a number of men could adopt this practice, the religious structure of the village would be seriously undermined.

CLIQUES

The existence of cliques in Mansif has been mentioned before, but it has also been mentioned that data on them is wholly inadequate. This much can be said: There are two clear-cut groups of close and constant companions, and during the course of the study, various members of each group made unflattering remarks about members of the other. It is possible that the whole village is split into factions with the two groups as nuclei, but only some inconclusive suggestions of this were encountered. Others who have had experience with Middle East villages generally agree that this type of factus-split is frequently encountered. (cf. Gibb & Bowen, 1950, p. 268). It is important to note that the members of each of the two groups do not belong to any one minimal lineage or maximal lineage.

SOCIAL CLASS

In Mansif there is or now, and apparently never has been, a particular family which owns a large proportion of the village, on whose land other villagers work as tenants. In some sets of the Middle East, this type of organization results in a rather clear two-class system.

In Mansif, as in many other Lebanese villages, the social structure is equali-

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tation. Though individuals are rated on a scale of values from excellent to worthless, such judgments do not seem to be applied to groups of people. Every person and every family are social equals because everyone is descended from the same man, the founder of the village. No one is a tenant on the land of anyone else, and it is important in this connection to recall a statement made earlier to the effect that villagers do not like to work for each other in normal tasks.

Families are to some extent distinguished from each other in terms of prosperity, but this seems to apply only to conjugal, or at most, to extended families. Numerous examples were given of families now well off which a few years ago had been poor, and vice versa. Notable prosperity or poverty both seem to be regarded as transitory situations mostly due to "luck." No patriline or lineage seems ever to have become entrenched for a long period either in poverty or in wealth.

The only groups which appear to be blanketed as socially inferior are some of the affiliate families whose founders came as outsiders to work as wage-laborers. (cf. Barth, 1954, p. 166.)

There are some suggestions that in time there may develop a distinction which could definitely be called a class distinction between villagers who are well-educated workers and those who remain in the village as manual laborers and farmers. The distinction would be the result of a wide divergence of interests and values.

CONCLUSION

A few important points which have been made in the course of this chapter should be isolated and fixed in mind before we proceed further.

1. Genealogically and conceptually, ...upil is a single superlineage, segmented into maximal and minimal lineages.

2. Village endogamy is the traditional pattern and, in general, is still the ideal. The fairly numerous exogamous marriages are concomitant with recent culture changes whose impetus is external to the village.

3. In terms of function, the maximal lineages appear to be vestigial institutions.

4. The minimal lineages are name groups, they define ordinarily the maximum range of inheritance privileges, and they probably serve as solidary units in times of crisis.

5. There is inconclusive evidence of a dual organization of the village both in the past and the present, but it cannot be satisfactorily correlated either with lineages or cliques.

6. Marriage choices are free within the village, except that the marriage of all first cousins, and closer relatives, is prohibited.

7. The specific marriage prohibition is an aspect of the fact that every individual is a member of a strong bilateral kindred of two, but usually not more than two, generations.

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6. This divergence from the otherwise strongly unilineal organization of the village is interpreted as a compromise between incompatible religious and structural principles, neither of which, owing to the nature of the culture, can be wholly sacrificed for the other.

9. *As a unit of residence*, at least, the conjugal family is far more important than the extended family.

A recent paper by Meyer Fortes (1953) provides some additional theoretical perspective to some of these points. Fortes' argument is based largely on his own and other British anthropologists' work in certain African cultures whose principle of genealogical segmentation of lineages in general appears very similar to that in Munjid.

The following quotation throws some light on the situation in Munjid:

> A society made up of corporate lineages is in danger of splitting into rival lineage factions. How is this counteracted in the interests of wider political unity? One way is to extend the lineage framework to the widest range within which sanctions exist for preventing conflicts and disputes from ending in feud or warfare.
>
> Another way . . . is for the common interest of the political community to be asserted periodically, as against the private interests of the component lineages, through religious institutions and sanctions. (Fortes, 1953, p. 38.)

The genealogical structure of Munjid as a whole would appear to be just such an extension of the lineage framework. We do not know for sure whether universal descent from the founder is a historical fact or a fiction. It is, in either case, taken seriously by the villagers, and the emphasis on village endogamy, the de-emphasis on lineages as units of marriage regulation, and certain usages of kinship terminology lend support to Fortes' generalization as applied to Munjid. Furthermore, we have seen in the chapter "Socio-Religious Behavior" that periodic rituals clearly serve the function of uniting the village as a whole.

Again, Fortes generalizes from his African material to say that the bilateral family is a focal element even in unilineal systems, being a tie through sibling filiation between ego and his closest relatives who are not members of his descent group (Fortes, 1953, p. 33). This generalization appears to be closely supported in Munjid.

Lastly, Fortes states (*ibid.*, p. 31) that the maximum depth of lineages seems to be about fourteen generations, which is very close to the depth of Munjid's Core Group as a whole, but that five or six generations is more common, and these figures are not far from those for the average minimal lineage in Munjid.

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[illegible] personality traits of a large number of Arabs. A few of these statements seem to be germane to this discussion.

Tannous (1944, p. 326) lists a number of Arab cultural themes two of which, in particular, are constantly reflected in individual personalities. One of these is hospitality, and the other is the predilection for the personal touch in human relationships.

Bonne (1948, p. 255), quoting from Hewelin, characterizes the Syrians as spontaneous, impulsive, versatile, endowed with excellent memories and capacities for assimilation, but somewhat less endowed with initiative and perseverance.

Kohn (1956, p. 75) characterizes the Middle East villager as a "hard worker, cautious and suspicious, but with great natural intelligence." He also remarks on the "personal element" which, he says, coupled with "the tendency of likes and dislikes to outweigh rational and practical considerations, often leads to nepotism and to the granting of personal favors which interfere with the quality of administrative service" (*ibid.*, p. 83). He also notes quickness in comprehension, the gift of oratory, and deftness in the handling of other people (*ibid.*, pp. 83–84).

Thoumin (1956, p. 29) writes: "Neither Christianity nor Islam could ever modify the Syrian mentality, its mysticism (ascetic and voluptuous by turns), its passion for talk, and the pride of the individual in preserving a different faith from that of his neighbor" [author's translation.]

IN-GROUPS

The matter of in-groups in the culture of Munjid is one of central importance. A large amount of material has been given on it already, more will be said in Part Two; here the situation will be summarized very briefly.

There are three criteria for the formation of in-groups—three standards, as it were, around which the passions of loyalty and identification cluster. They are kinship, locality, and religion. These three criteria have led to the formation of four units of social structure. Kinship is the basis of the family and the lineage; locality is the primary basis of the village; religion is the primary basis of al-Qumi. To some degree the village is also a religious unit, and al-Qumi is also a local unit from the point of view of all its inhabitants.

Family, lineage, village, and Qumi—for any one individual these four form a series of in-groups of ever increasing inclusiveness from his family outwards. We should ordinarily be inclined to assume that the cohesiveness and solidarity of these units would vary inversely as their size and inclusiveness. In one respect, at least, this generalization does not appear to hold true for Munjid, for there are strong suggestions that to the average Munjidi, the village as a whole is more meaningful as a unit than his particular minimal lineage, and this is unquestionably true as far as the maximal lineage is concerned. In this connection, it must be

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remembered that genealogically and conceptually (the villagers' concept), Mumsil is a single kinship unit.[1]

This structure of in-groups is traditional, and it appears to have maintained its vitality in the face of great culture change, to which a limited amount of local exogamy seems to be the only major concession. When, however, we turn to the other areas of behavior which are reviewed in this chapter, we find that none of them can be discussed at all without reference to the problems of acculturation.

MONEY

The villagers' need for, and great concern about, money is very clear indeed. This is entirely understandable since the expense of education and manufactured products, alone, require much of it.

Money as it is known in the Western world is very ancient in the Middle East, in fact it apparently originated there. However, before about seventy-five years ago its use in most villages was limited, since for most needs barter and mutual help in a regime of local self-sufficiency were ordinarily enough to motivate exchange of goods and services.

Money began to come in large quantities into villages like Mumsil from emigrants in America. At the same time, Lebanon began to receive foreign manufactured articles which could only be obtained through payment of cash. Today, money is the only means of exchange in the village, and prices are an incessant topic of conversation among the villagers. This is, of course, due in part to the fact that the country has suffered severe inflationary trends during the past ten years, in part, according to Murray, to "a natural speculative proclivity on the part of most of the people" (1947, p. 15).

However, there are some indications that this recent emphasis on money as a thing in itself has set up disturbing conflicts in many people. For example, it is often heard that the Western powers are obviously bent upon buying the friendship of the Arabs, but that true friends cannot be bought. Such an attitude might either be a projection of attitudes and behavior prevalent among the speakers themselves, or it might be an expression of sincere and objective distaste for one of the unpleasant consequences of overemphasis on money. In any case, a conflict in values relating to money is consciously recognized.

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

"In Mumsil you will find many people who live in poor houses but have much education. This is because we would rather, if we must choose, use our money for a fine education than for a fine house." This was one of the first remarks that was made to the writer about the culture of the village, and, as time went on,

[1] For additional perspectives on the structure of the village see Gulick (1955, pp. 370-71).

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VILLAGE LIFE VERSUS CITY LIFE

It should be apparent by now that the village as an institution is a significant focus of loyalty and identification for everyone in it regardless of age. This unity of sentiment is not, however, matched by unity of opinion as to which is better, living in the village or living in the city. On this three different points of view were expressed: (1) regret at the passing of the "good old days," coupled with complete resignation to the present situation; (2) regret at the passing of the "good old days" coupled with the desire to revitalize village life, by bringing in irrigation; (3) outspoken preference for the material advantages and comforts of city life, without, however, much spiritual satisfaction in it. By adhering to any one of these views, the average Maraqiā necessarily finds himself afflicted with nostalgia, frustration, or both.

Illustrative of the first point of view is the following quotation from the remarks of a middle-aged resident. The occasion was a moment when the investigator had stopped to ask about an enormous mound of small stones, one of many in the village.

> Our grandfathers worked very hard. They rak the stones from the ground and put them here, so they could plant. Now people do not work hard. Our grandfathers worked hard, and they lived well. Now w are poor. They were not rich, but they were strong and well.

The second point of view was expressed by another middle-aged man as follows:

> Most of these young people now don't want to rak the way their grandfathers did. They want to go to Beirut and make a few ay piastres. And when they get a job there, what happens? It costs so much to live there that they are not any better off than they would be here.
>
> I would like to see these young people sett down here on the land again. Most people here don't want to make a lot of money. All they really want is enough to make enough so they will not be hungry and without clothes. That is why we used to bring water to the village. Not many can live o the land here now because the land is so poor, because it needs water.

One can read into this statement the problem which many of the young people face: educational emphasis leading away from village life and its satisfactions over and beyond the problem of adequate financial return.

The third point of view was revealed, in significantly ambivalent form, by a young adult who had received the highest type o education. He once remarked: "I think those of us who live in Beirut appreciate the ways of the village more than those who live in the village all the time." But e immediately added that there was very little to do in the village, and for a person of his interests and ambitions, this was certainly the truth. He went on to voice th concern of many young fathers

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who worked in the city over where they would send their children to school, back in the village or in the city.

Another young adult was completely explicit in his expression of preference for the material and mechanical conveniences of city life which are not available in the village. The scorn for manual labor on the part of Western-educated Arabs has been noted by other students, and is clearly in evidence. In Beirut, for example, Arabs of the most modest means employ a housemaid if they possibly can. This "effendi-complex" is symbolized by many men by a practice whose resemblance in both form and meaning to a proverbial Chinese one is really quite striking—the nails of the little fingers are allowed to grow conspicuously long. This practice is not followed by everyone, but it is very common.

NATIONALISM AND XENOPHOBIA

The rise of nationalism in the Middle East, especially since 1918, is a much written upon topic, full details of which cannot and need not be given here. But we are concerned with the way in which the rise of nationalism has affected the Lebanese village in general, Mazrîl in particular. Tannous sums the matter up in the following words:

> Perh. ps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. *National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon* [our italics]. *At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities* [our italics]. (Tannous, 1940, p. 162.)

The penetration of nationalistic sentiments into villages such as Mazrîl would, of course, have been impossible without modern techniques of communication, particularly the press and radio. Rapid surface transportation also has drastically reduced the number and extent of isolated communities. And nationalism itself is a consequence of, and a reaction to, the culture contact situation. (Cf. Schreiger, 1952a, p. 31.)

As has been pointed out, the public school curriculum includes regular exhortations in the interests of patriotism, national pride and unity. Small national flags are frequently seen displayed in such unconventional places as automobiles and buses. The national emblem (a cedar tree with triangular foliage and a thick, short trunk) is often seen, in Mazrîl and elsewhere, stenciled on walls. It is by no means true, however, that national loyalty has replaced local loyalties in the manner, for example, of modern Japanese villages (cf. Embree, 1950, p. 302). In terms of the in-group analysis in this chapter, the nation has become, for the individual villager, the fifth in the series of in-groups which engage his feelings of loyalty and identification.

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THE PATTERNS OF CULTURE CHANGE*

THE PAST

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LEBANESE VILLAGE

TANNOUS has described the social life of the traditional Middle East (including Lebanese) village as revolving around three major themes each ... which organizes action and focalizes emotions and values. These themes are the land (Tannous, 1944, p. 310 ff.), kinship (*ibid.*, p. 317 ff.), and religion (*ibid.*, p. 319 ff.).

Under "land" Tannous subsumes subsistence techniques, which are mainly agricultural techniques, and in general the actions, attitudes, and values of rural economic life. The major point is that the traditional peasant, who draws his entire subsistence from the land, feels toward it a rather intense personal devotion and sense of identification. In Lebanon, where individual private ownership is common, and based in large degree on inheritance from ancestors, these feelings are particularly intense.

In regard to kinship (we have previously discussed its importance as an organizing mechanism), the following quotation from Tannous, describing the social unit called minimal lineage in the present study, is a good summary:

> It consists of all those who claim descent from the same paternal ancestor. The number of joint families that make up a kinship group varies from village to village according to the age of the community and the occurrence of disruptive factors that may split the group at a certain stage in its development or retard its growth. Its influence is felt by the individual in a variety of situations. From infancy, the child learns that he should address every member of the unit as "brother," or "uncle," or "aunt," or "grandfather," or "grandmother." As mentioned above, it is expected of a young man to marry within rather than outside the kinship group. [Tannous is generalizing on *all* Middle East villages, and most of them, of course, unlike Mungil, are Muslim.] In times of serious conflicts or feuds within the village, kinship loyalty asserts itself and is binding upon every member. (Tannous, 1944, p. 319.)

Of religion, Tannous says that it is a way of life in the traditional village, that it permeates life completely. In this connection, he writes about the peasant and his religion: "He may not know much about its dogmas or subscribe to their

* The main points which are treated in this chapter have been published elsewhere (Gulick, 1954) in somewhat different form.

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later, but he conforms loyally to the community folkways and mores which have been inspired mainly by the rules of the church." (Touma, 1946, p. 540.) We can safely assume that prior to about seventy-five years ago at most, Mtoufi and the Mtoufites conformed to all these traditional patterns. Many of them still continue in force.

One purpose now is to sort out the old and the new in the present culture as it has been described in Part One, to indicate the differential effects of change on the three major themes of village life as they have been outlined by Touma, and, in the two following chapters, to put these differential effects into theoretical perspective.

Before we move upon this three-part analysis, we must say something about the origins of the village and the sequence of events in its development.

THE FOUNDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF AL-MUHAIT

Of the founding of the village we have only the rather vague beliefs of the present villagers for information, namely, that the founder was an emigrant from Syria, and that there were apparently no other inhabitants in the present territory of the village-to-be when he arrived. We have seen that a maximum of twelve generations lie between, according to the genealogy, descendant from the founder. If we allow thirty years for each generation, we set the founder's birth date at approximately 1590, and deduce that he must have come to the village site sometime during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. This reasoning is based on many arbitrary assumptions, and it would be absurd to insist on too detailed a reconstruction as far as dates are concerned.

However, there are two related sets of evidence at hand which lend credence to the notion that the village was founded sometime in the early part of the seventeenth century. Février (1950, p. 274), in discussing the origins of the town of Ras al-Matn, which is somewhat north of and inland from Beirut, says that the ancestors of several of the Orthodox families there came from Damascus in the seventeenth century to escape the religious persecution in Syria. From 1590 to 1635, Lebanon was ruled efficiently and justly by a Druze Amir, Fakhr ad-Din II, and during this period, which is considered one of the golden ages in Lebanese history, Hitti (1950, p. 623) says, "According to Volney, Christian families migrated to Lebanon 'daily' from Syria to escape Turkish rule." It is reasonable to assume that Mansour Jurjis al-Khouri and his family were among this throng.

Why did they settle in al-Qurnil? This no one knows. It may be that they had been preceded there by relatives. At the present time there are four large, prominent Orthodox families in Beirut all of which "return to" a common ancestor named Sarkis who supposedly came from Mtoufi or its site. It is thought that Sarkis must have been either a brother or a cousin of Mansour Jurjis. Whatever the real circumstances were, there is a plausible explanation for the settlement of

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[Munsif]

a particularly unfavored district in the physical sense—more favored districts had already been occupied by others.

We have seen that the village territory was subsequently divided into three equal parts, each of which came in time to be dominated by a particular lineage, each descended from a son of the founder. The main house cluster was said to have been first located somewhat below the church, in a ravine. This location made the community completely invisible from the coastal highway, and this was described by one informant as a necessary defensive measure. He added that he had heard that in the old days, when men went down to Jiblī to work their fields, they went in armed groups to protect themselves against marauding bands of Muslims. This was presumably during the century and more of virtual anarchy which followed the reign of Fakhr ad-Din II. As the village grew in population, the house cluster was extended up and along the crest of the ridge, lineage A occupying the upper part, lineage C the lower part. Lineage B members lived mostly at 'Arqā, surrounding the shrine of Mar Mikhā'il, and only very recently moved entirely into the eastern and upper portions of the main house cluster.

We have seen that at present the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects the clustering of the houses by maximal lineage. Some of the exceptions to this patterning, especially in the highest part of the village, are due to very recent purchases of land and new construction. Those in the center, however, were explained by one informant as follows: "Maybe a hundred years ago many people were very poor. They sold their land to people in 'Amshīt. Then later some others bought it again. We don't know who they all were. People went to America to make money and then they came back."

There is at hand what might well be external evidence of this episode. Churchill (1855, vol. I, pp. 72–73), writes of the spectacular rise of one Michael Tushey, a Maronite from 'Amshīt, "Making his native village of Amshīt the centre of his operations, he conceived a system which soon brought him into intimate relations with the entire neighbouring population—that of making advances of money on the silk crops. . . . Tushey has become an extensive landed proprietor, and as a landlord his character is unimpeachable."

Until about seventy-five years ago, Munsif was a very nearly self-sufficient and self-contained community. We can assume that a good proportion of its wheat always had to be imported. As a matter of fact, Jiblī used to serve as a point of entry for imported goods which were brought to it by boat, this mode of transportation being cheaper, safer, and easier than overland transport. It was also, apparently, a regular practice for a number of men to do seasonal wage labor in other districts. One specialty of this type, which was hazardous but profitable, was sponge-diving.

But these activities do not seem to have essentially lessened the village's cultural isolation. It was common in those days, according to one informant, to en-

[294] counter adults who had been to Beirut or Tripoli not more ten once or twice in their entire lives. As another informant said, "Everyone was [in]"—meaning, in effect, that everyone was either a farmer or had some part-time or full-time specialty which was directly concerned with rural subsistence. One person guessed that at any given time no more than ten men, and no women, in th village could read and write.

[213] [43] As the population of the village increased and the generations passed, the three original lineages became segmented into sub-lineages.This was evidently a gradual process; the three original lineages did not all become completely subdivided at the same time. Eventually, the three original lineges lost nearly all their significance as in-groups since this function had been take over by the new, smaller lineages. It has been noted before that while the new of the original lineage now identified as Minimal Lineage A is no longer used by any of the minimal lineages derived from it, the names of Minimal Lineges B and C are preserved as names of two minimal lineages. It may be that more accurate view of this matter, of which the villagers were aware but could at explain, is as follows: The kin group now identifiable as A became completely subdivided into smaller lineages, and its name was thus eliminated. B and C, however, were never completely subdivided, possibly because of their smaller size.Thus, although several new lineages did develop from or split off from the origini B and C, remnants of these latter continued on, retaining the original name. Tis interpretation, if valid, might explain why Minimal Lineages XII and XVI, with bear the names of B and C, show a greater diversity of patrilines than their three minimal lineages. In the view of the Munsifin in 1952, however, lineage XII and XVI are regarded in no different light from the other 'ayil.

[77] At some time around 1880 the outside world began to [illegible] upon the circumscribed life of the village, in not one way, but several ays. First,American Protestant missionaries brought mass education, with its prospects of prestigeful and possibly lucrative employment, within reach of everyone i the village. Then, America became known as the land where one could go for a few years to work, make more money than one could possibly earn in the village and then return to the village to live an easier, more comfortable life. Emigration, at first and for a [167] long time conceived of only as a temporary expedient, began about 1890. And, finally, Western manufactured articles began to be imported.

[178] [43] By 1914 profound changes had been wrought in the village. Many of its members had gone to America, some of them never to return. A decline in the price of silk had led many to replace their mulberries with olive, but the financial loss in this respect was overbalanced by the financial gain of money made in America, or sent from America. While the houses of the emigrants stood empty and began to fall into ruins, more and more new houses, wit tile roofs glowing proudly in the sun, were being built. Native villagers had taken over the school founded by the missionaries, and others had established their own. Literacy and

knowledge of English were becoming commonplace. The village school had become a primary agent of culture change in marked contrast to the situation recently observed in Tangier (cf. Schorger, 1953b, p. 254). With widened business and increased financial means, a demand for Western material goods, particularly household furnishings and clothes, was created and satisfied, as far as possible, by the villagers.

The first World War brought an abrupt and temporarily devastating halt to this process of change. Lebanon, though a province of the Turkish Empire, was blockaded by the Turks because of the well-known Allied sympathies of many of its people. During the blockade, both emigration and emigrants' remittances were stopped and many segments of the rural population, including Murqūṣ, were reduced to near starvation. (See Hourani, 1946, especially pp. 33–40, for a general review of this period.)

When the war ended, the Murqūṣīs could neither turn back the clock nor could they quite pick up where they had been forced to leave off in 1914. Silk production never regained its former pre-eminence. Emigration resumed, but in 1924 emigration to the United States was virtually ended. Emigration to other parts of the world correspondingly increased, but never on the same scale as it had been to the United States.

Meanwhile, the French had assumed the League of Nations Mandate over Lebanon (and Syria) and had embarked upon a program of modernization of the country, a policy which was exactly the opposite of their attempts in Morocco at preventing acculturation (cf. Coon, 1940, p. 431). The French established in Lebanon a constitutional form of government which strongly resembled their own, and it included a public school system also modeled on their own. One of the chief purposes of these activities was to disseminate specifically French culture. This was not particularly appreciated by many of the sect groups in the country.

The French were responsible, in another line of endeavor, for the building of a system of paved highways, and the beginning of a network of telephone lines, of airports, and of rural electrification in a few districts. The establishment of rapid communication and transportation systems created a profound change in the entire country. In Murqūṣ, as in many other villages where economic problems had become acute, the change consisted of the beginning of an intensified drift of villagers to the cities to earn their livelihood. Life in the cities tended to make the villagers more aware than before of foreign artifacts and values and to elevate their notions of what constituted an adequate standard of living (see Rosen, 1940, especially pp. 271–72). For the first time, villagers now had the opportunity of meeting and interacting with outsiders on a large scale, and village exogamy, a rarity before, began to become rather frequent (see Patai, 1947, especially p. 13, for an examination of the types of change which have occurred in Palestine, including Lebanon).

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 MX1 Lebanon MX1

The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types, economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the importation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

3. The drift of villagers *en masse* to the city for employment—in part in consequence of factors 1 and 2.

4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

The intellectual factors in the economic change in Mazgil were brought about by the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In this connection, three consequences must be noted:

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village and urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied *both* with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well-recognized by a...ny. Malinowski (1945, pp. 47–48) has remarked on its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Weulersse (1946, p. 268) refers to educational as enticing people for village life. Keen (1946, p. 43) speaks of a prevailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Kabyleses and Batni say:

> Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The cultural backwardness, the contrast of enormous wealth and extreme poverty, the gossip hatreds, superstition, the apathy of peasant millions and evangelists alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West form small native "middle-class" groups taking progress, but either powerless, unwilling, or thwarted in their attempts to change a millennia-entrenched system. (1945, pp. 489–90.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts in values among the Mazgilis, as among other Middle Easterners. The various changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of traditional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Mazgilis are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a means of sub-

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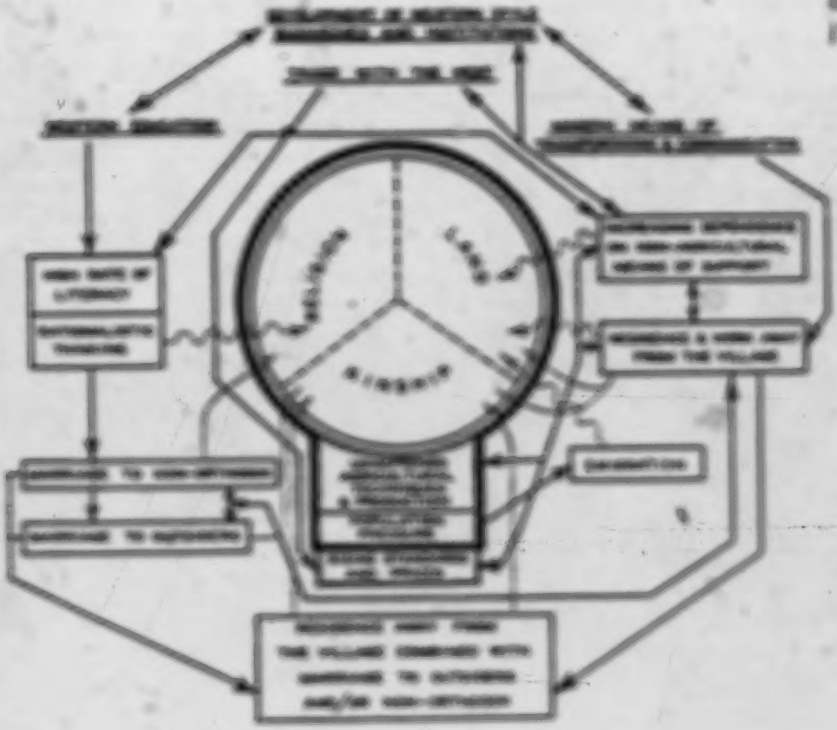
PATTERNS OF ACCULTURATION IN AL-MUNSIF



LEGEND

Fig. 7

distance. We have also seen that the villagers' opinions vary considerably on the question of the desirability of village life—which is necessarily centered around agriculture—as a "way of life," in the abstract sense. Some people, mostly older people, cling to the belief that it is desirable. Many more are undecided, and their expressed attitudes and behavior tend to be inconsistent with each other, as a result. Still others, mostly young people on whom the future of the village depends, seem to be convinced that village life is not the ideal way of life, but they are experiencing considerable difficulty in finding a satisfactory substitute.

Despite these qualifications, it is safe to say that in Mansūf the principle of devotion to the land has been very seriously undermined.

Religion. It is necessary to distinguish two aspects of religion as it affects the Lebanese village. One aspect is that of religion as a system of theology which gives rationale to ritual behavior. The other aspect is that of religion as a focus of group loyalty. In the traditional culture both aspects are strong, and to some extent they interpenetrate each other.

What appears to have happened in Mansūf is that religion as a system of belief has been weakened. We have seen that rituals per se tend to be viewed rather casually by many, and religious techniques for the prevention and cure of disease have largely, though not entirely, given way to modern medical practices. One certainly cannot say that religion permeates every aspect of daily life, as it should according to Tannous's view of traditional patterns.

Several writers on the Middle East have remarked on a growing tendency towards secularism there. What they seem to mean is secularization of the type indicated above, secularization which is primarily due to the influence of science in education. Among these writers, Fisher has made the following statement which seems to confuse the two aspects of religion: "Religious feeling, once the mainspring of most forms of cultural and political activity is now in eclipse; instead, a spirit of materialist nationalism is taking its place, not always with advantage" (1950, p. 7).

The truth, in the present writer's view, is that religion retains its potency in the political (i.e., group loyalty) sphere, both in Lebanon in general, and certainly without any question in Mansūf. We have seen that the Mansūfīn closely identify their village and their district as Orthodox, that periodic rituals serve in the most obvious fashion to unite the village, and we have seen that actions which threaten religious solidarity elicit strong punitive responses.

The mild attitude toward Protestants is not inconsistent with these patterns. The few villagers who have become Protestants have done violence to religion only in the theological sphere which is not a matter of serious concern to the average villager, but they have scrupulously carried out all their other obligations as members of the in-group. Another point worth mentioning is that there has never been a direct association in the villager's minds of Protestantism and progress (i.e., disruptive change). (Cf. Bodkin, 1950, p. 90.)

9: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

We can say, in summary, that the traditional theme of religion has in one aspect been weakened by acculturation, but that in another aspect it retains its traditional vigor.

Kinship. In the values surrounding kin groups, and by logical extension, the entire village group, *there have been almost no changes whatever.* In saying this, we arrive at the denouement of this work. The family and the lineage maintain their function of serving as a link between the individual and the village as a whole, which is, itself, a kin group toward which feelings of utmost loyalty and unity are directed.

The only suggestion of a weakening of the village as an in-group is the recent and increasing tendency toward village exogamy mostly on the part of women. This seems to be accompanied, however, by no diminution of feelings of village loyalty on the part of most of these women. Potentially, this tendency is a threat to the strength of the village because the children of these marriages will have no more than a sentimental attachment to it through their mothers. What effects this will have, or whether any counter-effects will be developed—these matters lie in the future.

Thus, that aspect of religion which has remained the most vigorous is precisely that aspect which, along with kinship, serves to define and identify loyalty groups. The remainder of this work will be devoted to an analysis of the question of why these in-groups, exemplified in multiple fashion by the village of [redacted], have maintained their strength in a period of momentous cultural change.

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SOME THEORETICAL PROPOSITIONS

IN-GROUPS IN THE MIDDLE EAST

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WE have seen that Musqit has preserved its integrity as a social unit at the same time that other aspects of its traditional culture have been greatly altered in the process of acculturation. Before we develop a theoretical approach to this rather striking example of persistence, we must put the village in cultural perspective. We must see it not as a single, unique group of people, but as just one example of numberless units of the same general sort which constitute an essential part of Middle East culture.

Of all these units in the Middle East the same basic fact holds true: each one is an in-group. An in-group is a well-defined unit of people which has a very high degree of esprit de corps. This esprit is maintained by the constant operation within the unit of behavior and values which can generally be described as altruistic. But toward persons or groups who do not belong to it, any particular in-group (or individual member thereof), entertains essentially negative attitudes which range from reserve to hateful hostility. Murdock (1949, p. 83) thinks that this characteristic out-group behavior is due to the fact that since the frustrations of daily life cannot be relieved by aggressive actions directly within the group without destroying esprit de corps, they are therefore relieved by aggressive actions outward, resulting in intergroup antagonisms. The writer believes that this generalization is valid—though it is not very encouraging to anyone who tries to maintain a sanguine view of "human nature."[1]

ME 571 L 571

One might expect that an in-group might be effective as such *only if* it is small, and *if* it is the sole focus of loyalty and identification of its members. Perhaps the in-group is *most* effective under such conditions, but, as the Middle East plainly demonstrates, they are not essential to the operation of the in-group principle. As we shall see, the average Middle Easterner belongs to not one, but to a multiplicity of in-groups.

Lest the reader gain the notion that the importance of in-groups in the Middle East is a chimera, a figment of the obsessed mind of a social structuralist, he is invited to peruse the following quotations. First, for historical perspective, it appears likely that the final victory, in the Hellenistic Period, of non-endogro-

[1] For a lucid discussion of the types of in-group frustrations, and their possible genesis, which have been observed in another Middle East village, see Antoun (1954, especially chap. 6).

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morphic assimilation among the Jews was in part due to their solidification as an ethnic in-group after the Babylonian exile. (Witness, for example, the statement: "Then I cleansed them from everything foreign. . . ." Nehemiah 13:30). Moving forward in date, we are told that in the Arabian centers at the time of Mohammed, ME 671 L 671

> The group-bond was stronger than the bond of citizenship, and feuds between group and group often divided a town against itself (Robertson Smith, 1903, p. 2).

And at a later period, we find that the Ottoman Empire

> was composed of a large number of groups, local, tribal, linguistic and religious. On the whole, these groups formed closed communities. Each was a "world," sufficient to its members and meeting their ultimate loyalty. The worlds touched but did not mingle with each other; each looked at the rest with suspicion and even hatred. Almost all were stagnant, unchanging and limited. (Hourani, 1947, p. 22.)

And the following brings us to the present situation, of which it emphasizes the regional aspect: ME 671 621 L 671 621

> And so there grew up in the Arab world as we know it: an association of peoples, who are vividly conscious of a network of traditions, interests, feelings and sympathies that unite them, but who live in communities each with its separate social, economic, and political structure, its local loyalties, its attention to particular interests.
>
> But we must not think of these communities as being Egyptian, Syrian, Iraqi, and so on, to begin with. They were primarily much smaller and more local, for example, Baghdad and Mosul, Damascus and Aleppo, Upper Egyptian, Middle Egyptian, Cairene, Delta—with a host of other regional communities and often deeply marked subdivisions as well. (Gibb, 1947b, p. 71.)

The political aspect of the situation is stressed in the following: ME 571 579

> The population of almost all 36 political units (in the Middle East) is splintered into a number of minority and tribal groups many with an intense internal loyalty. It is a region of nation against nation, and within one nation, group against group, and cross-cutting nations cooperating groups with stronger loyalties to themselves than to their nation. The national divisions are similar to those in the Balkans and Ireland. The group conflicts are similar but usually more intense than those in the United States between old Americans and immigrants, Catholics and Protestants, Gentiles and Jews, labor and management, Negroes and whites. And the groups with loyalty cross-cutting national ties are similar though less effective than world Communism. (Richardson and Reid, 1949, p. 480.)

Fisher views the situation from an ecological point of view. He points out (1947, p. 419) that there are three basic ecological groups in the Middle East—nomads, villagers, and city dwellers. The nomads detest the settled people but depend upon them for some of their food. The villagers hate the town and city dwellers because they look upon them as exploiters; yet the city is necessary to ME 621 579 L 621 579

Middle East (4)
7: Gullick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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the village because it provides manufactured goods, and the village supplies the city with food. Fisher concludes:

> From these three elements, closely integrated by material and cultural ties, has arisen the present complex pattern of society in the Middle East; and it is on this basis that one can postulate a unity for the region as a whole. As a tapestry or painting owes its special character to an intermingling of diverse color masses, so the Middle East can be conceived as a unity based on a number of distinctive yet related ways of life. (*Ibid.*, p. 438.)

A recent paper by Patai (1955) deals with important aspects of this same topic.

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Coon brings a functional approach to bear on the situation, to which he gives a name, the "mosaic system." His specific view is that the mosaic system is based on an ethnic division of labor:

> . . . the ideal was to emphasize not the uniformity of the citizens of a country as a whole but a uniformity within each special segment, and the greatest possible contrast between segments. The members of each ethnic unit feel the need to identify themselves by some configuration of symbols. If by virtue of their history they possess some racial peculiarity, this they will enhance by special haircuts and the like; in any case they will wear distinctive garments and behave in a distinctive fashion. Working through the house you have no trouble identifying everyone you meet, once you have learned the sets of symbols. These people want to be identified. If you know who they are, you will know what to expect of them and how to deal with them, and human relations will operate smoothly in a crowded space. . . . Obviously the mosaic system is best suited for a civilization in which trades require a maximum of skill, taught from father to son, and a minimum of organizational complexity. (Coon, 1951, pp. 3, 131.)

Coon's interest is primarily in how the mosaic system is made to work in face-to-face contact situations. Such situations, when they involve members of different elements in the mosaic, are generally economic, that is, trade relationships. Economic, or subsistence, needs necessarily override temporarily in any given interaction the divisive pull of intergroup hatred and suspicion. They do, that is, if they are successful and complete transactions. Since most Middle East cities owe their very existence to the fact that they are long-standing trading centers, where members of every element in the mosaic have interacted more or less peaceably, it is clear that group enmities can be, and have been for a long time, overridden successfully. But they have not been obliterated; indeed, they maintain their vigor. The fact of the matter seems to be that they can be "forgotten," as it were, only on an individual basis, and temporarily, in the interest of a transitory need, of which successful trade is a prominent example.

David Aberle has come near the point at issue, viewing it as the problem of the "integration of sub-systems with diverse values, within the total social system" (1950, p. 496). In this connection, he points to the coexistence of Catholics,

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SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CULTURE CHANGE

THE PLACE OF MUNJIF IN THE CONCEPT OF SPHERES

MUNJIF as a village is a particular segment of Sphere 3 (Local Group). We have seen that endogamy tends to be characteristic of the less inclusive spheres and segments, in particular. We have also seen, however, that a certain number of Munjifin have *always* married out within the village itself but within the immediately surrounding district, al-Qurni. Must this be considered a violation of the principle of local endogamy in the traditional culture of the village?

Until recently, the tendency among most anthropologists has been to consider endogamy primarily as marriage within a certain defined kin group (*cf.* Lowie, 1948, p. 9). Munjif, as we have seen, is a defined kin group, and therefore, from this point of view, any marriage outside it must be exogamous. Al-Qurni, considered as a unit, is not a single kin group, for although innumerable matrilateral ties extend between the villages, each village has its own, exclusive patrilines. However, Lévi-Strauss (1949, pp. 56–60) has made a very useful distinction between what he calls "true" endogamy and "functional" endogamy. The former is the one which concerns us here: "True endogamy is only the refusal to recognize the possibility of marriage outside the human community, the latter being subject to very diverse definitions, according to the philosophy of the group considered." (Lévi-Strauss, 1949, p. 57; our translation.) He goes on to say that the "human community" may be a whole tribe outside which everyone is considered to be inhuman, or it may simply be the community as defined by them, in which the persons concerned live (*ibid.*, p. 58). It is this second alternative which applies to the entire Qurni as a unit, in the minds of the members of its several villages. Unquestionably, each village is a stronger and more cohesive unit in itself than is al-Qurni as a unit. However, it was made quite clear to the writer by various Munjifin that although members of other Qurni villages were, strictly speaking, outsiders to Munjif itself, they were emphatically not strangers (*ghariib*). In this instance, the distinction between technical outsiders and strangers is a significant one. Between the various Qurni villages there are not only many matrilateral kin ties, but there are close friendships and frequent visiting. Al-Qurni is very small—its entire extent is visible from its physical center, Munjif, which is also the predominant village in it. As a nucleated, conceptually unified district, al-Qurni is something more than an agglomeration of local units (Sphere 3). It is, in itself, a local unit of a sort, though admittedly more diffuse than a single village. In addition to this, al-Qurni

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is also a discrete example of Sphere 5 (Sect Group)—it is a Greek Orthodox 621
milieu in a Maronite area.

Consequently, for the purposes of this study, in the light of Lévi-Strauss's definition of "true endogamy," and in view of the special nature of al-Qurni, the marriages of Munşifin to members of other Qurni villages are considered to be locally endogamous. Let it be remembered, also, that such marriages, though traditional, have always been in the minority, for most Munşifin have always married each other.

The culture of *Munşif* therefore conforms to the sphere scheme in these two respects: (1) It *is* an endogamous local group (Sphere 3), within a, shall we say, secondary endogamous local group, al-Qurni, which surrounds it and of which it is the cultural center. (2) Al-Qurni, a district of very restricted size, is a distinct sect group (Sphere 5).

When we turn to the internal segmentation of *Munşif*, we find that it is, 621
according to the expectation of the theory, subdivided into lineages (in two orders 613
of magnitude of which only one—the minimal lineage—retains functional signifi- 582
cance at the present time), and that the lineages are subdivided into families (whether primarily nuclear or extended cannot definitely be decided from the data at hand). However, we find that lineage *exogamy*, rather than endogamy, is preferred, and that marriage within the degree of relatives who ordinarily constitute extended families is explicitly against the Church rules of marriage. In other words, Spheres 1 and 2 are present, but they do not conform to expectation in that they are not ideally endogamous.

The extended family exogamy rule in *Munşif* has already been discussed in such detail that further lengthy discussion at this point is not necessary. Suffice it to repeat only that it is viewed as the product of an earlier acculturation, the contact between pagan Arabs and Christianity, during which process the pagan Arab ideal of marriage to the closest possible relative (cf. Spencer, 1952, p. 487) gave way to the Christian rule against it. We can now, however, look upon this matter in another way. We can *say* that a certain value (endogamous marriage) ordinarily associated with Sphere 1 has been sacrificed in the interests of an opposite value which is associated with Sphere 5 (Sect); and *Munşif*'s Sphere 5 status is particularly keenly felt because an opposing sect presses so closely around it.

The preference for minimal lineage exogamy, for which there is actually no specific rule, does not appear really to be a violation of the lineage endogamy principle, when it is considered in full context. In this, the following factors must be considered:

1. Most of the lineages are very small, and this greatly reduces the chances that an individual will or can select a lineage-mate as a spouse. Lineage endogamy *does* occur, though in small numbers. Such marriages are fairly evenly distributed among the lineages as a whole with the exception of a heavy concentration of them in the lineage which is by far the largest in the village.

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2. Probably more significant, however, is the fact that the lack of preference for lineage endogamy is but one point of evidence for the general tendency in the village toward de-emphasis of the individual minimal lineages as formal institutions. The other points of evidence on this matter are: (a) a minimum of lineage *mushʿa* (communal) landholdings; (b) clique-groups cross-cutting lineage lines; (c) rarity, and perhaps absence, of lineage feuds; (d) lack of apparent interest in lineage names; (e) marriage prohibition crosscuts lineage lines in Sphere 1; (f) emphasis on bilateral connections in Sphere 1.

This de-emphasis of individual minimal lineages does not indicate that there is a weakness in the adherence of the Munsifin to lineage (Sphere 2) values. Rather, it is a consequence of the fact that these values have been applied to the Core Group (i.e. the village) as a whole, and that this unit is, for the most part, a relatively stronger focus of identification than individual lineages are.

We have seen that structurally (whether by reason of actual development or of fictionalized conceptualization) the village is a single super-lineage, and that behavior in regard to it conforms to this structural status, even in small details. (1) It is ideally, and still, for the most part, actually, endogamous. (2) When exogamous marriages do occur, outsider husbands are referred to by the term essentially reserved for a man who takes a wife from ego's lineage. (3) Individuals who are uncertain of all the maximal and minimal lineage affiliations are very certain of the over-all common descent. (4) Feuds are not only rare (as they must be within a *lineage*), but the villagers are proud of the fact. In terms of the concept of spheres, Munsif as a whole can be looked upon as an expanded segment of Sphere 2 (Lineage).

STABILITY AND CHANGE. CONCLUSION

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During the course of this work, we have seen that acculturation has wrought severely disruptive changes in the village economy and significant changes in "material culture." In addition, it has created disconcerting conflicts in certain values, conflicts which remain unresolved. Yet it has had very little effect on the values and behavior associated with the community itself as an institution and as an in-group.

In seeking an explanation of this phenomenon of cultural persistence we have not chosen simply to dismiss it as an example of the "negative response" (Hallowell, 1945, p. 180) which is frequently encountered in culture contact situations. Rather, starting with the assumption that no particular cultural trait as such necessarily shows a peculiar resistance to change (Ogburn, 1930, p. 156), we have proceeded to the assumption that pre-existing *configurations* of traits may indeed prove to be barriers to change (Herskovits, 1945, p. 154).

We have presented a conceptual scheme of the basic social structure of the Middle East, an elaborate structure of in-groups within in-groups. This is a con-

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[Hunsaf]

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: THE SUBSIDIARY GROUPS

621 THE group called *Peripheral to the Core* is rather heterogeneous, and it is not internally unified. It includes three house servants, one of whom is a Druze, another a Maronite, while the religion of the third was not ascertained. Each of the bakeries in the village has a professional baker and both of these men are included in the Peripheral Group. One is a Maronite from Jbeyl, and he is the brother of the husband of a member of one of the Affiliate Families of the Core Group. The other is a Sunni Muslim who has his wife and one small child with him in the village.

These members of the Peripheral Group are outsiders to the village in terms of religion and local origin. There is only one affinal tie with the Core Group, and it is with a family whose Core Group status is marginal.

The remaining seven members of the Peripheral Group consist of a single nuclear family, parents and five children. This group is Greek Orthodox in religion, and it came from Syria about five years previous to the study. The father does agricultural wage labor. Between this family and the Core Group there is no religious barrier, but it is not a part of the Core Group because of its immediate outside origin and because it has no kinship or marriage connections with the Core Group. Its very presence in the village was discovered only after the period of study had been under way for some time, and explanations were supplied by Core Group informants only in response to questions put by the investigator.

621 221 233 563 The *Winterers* are all Maronites (Lebanese Roman Catholics). They are sheep and goat herders who regularly drive their flocks down to Munşif every October from the two high villages of which they are members, which are buried in snow all winter. They return to the high slopes in April. They are all united by their religion, and each village group is particularly cohesive because it is a village group and because of kinship and marriage ties. From the village of Jaaj there are three residence units: (1) a nuclear family consisting of father, mother, one son, and two daughters; (2) an adult, single man and his mother; (3) a brother of this single man, his wife, five sons and three daughters. From the village Ḥrajil there are, first of all, two independent nuclear families. One of these (parents, one son, and two daughters) lives in the village proper; the other (parents and several children) lives at ʾarqbi. Also from Ḥrajil is a family which is headed by two adult brothers and is known, as a group, by the name of their father. One brother lives in the village proper with his wife and, sometimes, two sons and their wives. The other brother lives at Ḥilwi with his wife and several children. It was stated that the members of this family are *shirkiyyi* (partners), that is to say, the property of the brothers is not divided and they pool their resources.

621 563 The *Mawali* (designation of the Lebanese Shiʿa Muslims) consist of three house-

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[Munsif]

holds and in order to describe the relationships between them, capital letters will be used to designate individuals. From the village of Fidar (south of Jbeyl on the main highway) there are two households: (1) A, his wife, and his mother B; (2) C, his wife D, and three children. From the village of Hjoula (northward and inland from Beirut) there is one household consisting of E, his wife, an unmarried daughter, a son F, and F's wife G.

B, now a widow, was married twice. By her first husband she bore C. By her second husband she bore A and G. At one time, B's second husband was married to another woman, and from this union there came D who is C's wife. In other words, C's mother was once the wife of his wife's (D's) father. C is the half-brother of A and G who are full siblings. D is a half-sister of A and G, and by stretching things a little one might be able to say that she is a step-sister of her husband (C).

This information came to light as the result of a Core Group informant's comment that C and his wife were brother and sister. After the explanation had been made, the informant said, "Well, they *call* each other brother and sister sometimes." The relationship clearly evoked humor, but it is possible that lurking beneath the humor was a feeling that the connection was a little too close for comfort in the eyes of the Christians.

The presence and various activities in Munsif of the Peripheral Group, the Wintrers, and the Mitwali are, with one exception, concrete evidence of the *ethnic division of labor* which, in Coon's view (1951), accounts for so many of the salient characteristics of Middle East culture. With this view the present writer is in essential agreement, and a full discussion of its theoretical significance for this study is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations."

In this instance, the ethnic distinctions are primarily religious in nature. This conforms with the general pattern of the phenomenon, but there are lacking in Munsif most of the visible cultural differentiations, such as costume, which are often so conspicuous elsewhere. One reason for the homogeneity of appearance in Munsif is the fact that nearly everyone concerned is from the same rather small region, Northern Lebanon, although several different communities are represented.

It has been noted that there are really two classes of people in the Peripheral Group. One of these, the Greek Orthodox nuclear family from Syria, represents the kind of internal migration which is of common occurrence in the region. Long ago, a similar group by a similar action established the community itself. With respect to the Core Group, the Orthodox family in the Peripheral Group really does not exemplify Coon's ethnic division of labor. The remainder of the Peripheral Group do, however. They differ among themselves, and with respect to the Core Group, in the important matter of religion. Also, they are outsiders to the local group. In terms of the structural theory which is presented in the chapter "Some Theoretical Considerations," each is a representative of a more widely distributed segment of Sphere 4 (Sect Group) within another, locally established, Sphere 4 segment which is itself an enclave in the area of another segment of Sphere 4. Functionally, all these members of the Peripheral Group serve the Core Group as hired hands in capacities which are generally regarded as menial. It was quite evident that members of the Core Group would be very unwilling to serve each other in such capacities.

What is true of members of the Peripheral Group as individuals is essentially true

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

of the Winterers and the Mtawli as groups. The Winterers are transhumants, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thoumin, 1936, pp. 134–35). According to Core Group informants, they, or other Maronites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily in their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. However, the Core Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The flocks furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mtawli are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mtawli as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a prearranged sum to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this sum is agreed upon with a view to the Core Group members' getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mtawli, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the bakeries or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or launderesses. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of superiority-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degrees of numerical superiority and local establishment which obtain in the particular area. In other words, as has been suggested above, Munsif is simply one localized example of the operation of Coon's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way colored by group avoidance or any such concepts as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in *all* social relationships in the village is equalitarian, combined, to be sure, with the various barriers which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of *itinerants:* (1) Tinkers and scissors grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the bedlam of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright; others seek, perhaps sincerely, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawaar (Gypsies). One group of them was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular head-dress, their faces tattooed, marching up the road with

621 In the period between 1700 and 1720, the village community of Bishmizzen, North Lebanon, began its existence. Three family groups, belonging to different kinship groups, from various parts of the country, made the start. A church was built, and around it, as a physical and a societal center, the physical structure and social organization of the village developed. By 1750, three or four other family groups joined the vil-

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* University of Minnesota.

• 63 lage. These with the other family groups multiplied in time into distinct kinship groups, similar in structure and behavior to those from which they originally came. By intermarriage, by living together in close physical proximity and by working together on the land members of the various kinship groups developed a village community consciousness.

Between 1850 and 1890 the village achieved a harmonious, smoothly functioning form of social organization. Its local government was simple

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but adequate for its needs and problems. Relationship with the central government was remote and did not go much beyond the payment of taxes and tithes. Loyalty to the kinship group struck a harmonious balance with loyalty to the village community. The church was one and the same for all.[1] Its authority was recognized and respected. The priest was always a member of the community and was elected by the people. Economic life was a mixture of private ownership of land requiring individual effort on the one hand and co-operation in various agricultural activities on the other. Education was simple, adapted to the needs of the community, and the teacher was a farmer, a member of the group. It was a type of education that emanated from and catered to the needs of community life.

After 1890, new factors, which were to a large extent beyond the expectation and control of the people, began to operate within the community, leading to a marked disruption in its harmonious organization. The most important among these factors or forces were the Protestant missions of the U. S., the silk factory, the educational movement, emigration and the new political-national spirit of the Arab World. The present article will deal with one of these—the emigration movement.

Why Did They Emigrate?

Disturbance of the land-population balance: Since the village began its

[1] The Greek Orthodox Church predominates in Bishmizzeen and the whole of the Kura district.

existence, some two hundred and fifty years ago, the amount of its landed property has remained practically the same. In fact, there has been some decrease in the land area, due to the sale of some plots to outsiders. The early families, who established the village, got hold of the land and made use of it to the extent demanded by their needs. They were few in number and their needs were very simple. Consequently, during the first one hundred and fifty years or so, the balance of the land-population relationship was weighted heavily on the land side—a much greater supply than there was demand. This gave the village people (consciously or unconsciously) a strong impetus to increase their numbers. At the same time, it was realized that one more child on the farm was a decided economic asset, and not a liability. The growing child cost less to be brought up than he or she could produce. No taxation, school fees, medical expenses, etc., to speak of, were involved. The people went on multiplying and increasing, and concomitantly, dividing and subdividing the land without being in the least concerned with the point to which the process was leading them.

The village population went on increasing, until about 1890. A balance was then struck—between the capacity of the village land and the number of people. The land could not support any more people, and there was a vague consciousness of a growing problem—what will the rising generation do? Meantime, the village

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166 The second type, or temporary emigration, refers to a unique phenomenon which has recently occurred in the village. With the development of modern means of communication, a relatively large number of people (89 men and 73 women, or about 13.5 per cent of the total population) now migrate to other parts of the country (chiefly Tripoli and Beirut) where they engage in business, hold jobs or go to schools for nine months of the year, and come back to live in Bishmizzeen during the summer.

Illustrative Extracts from Personal Letters

621 186 In the course of his study in the village, the writer was fortunate in being able to examine about 100 letters written by emigrants to their people back home. Usually, the village people destroy such letters, and the writer had not expected to find any left in the village. The letters studied cover almost the whole of the emigration period, 1890-1939. The items they contain give first hand information of what was happening to the emigrants and to the village organization under the influence of emigration. The following are illustrative extracts from these letters:

1. From M. E. Deeb to a distant relative, M. Y. Elias; on the way to Argentina, dated June 7th, 1897.

" . . . When we reached Kaferhata (village on way to Beirut) we stopped at the spring. There we met K. Milky, his sons and M. Habib, who were leaving for America too. . . . At Beirut, we were betrayed by these

p67(B)

621 friends. . . . We were made to pay
186 seven gold pounds and a half for the ticket, while they paid five or six each. Never mind! Providence will reward them with what they deserve. . . . Please let us know about the health of your children and their mother, and about our son Deeb and his mother. Also, let us know how was the olive crop and how was the
[578] wall case settled. . . ." (Stone walls are used as fences between pieces of land property, and have often been the cause of minor disputes in the village).

2. Same as above; dated March 14th, 1899.

" . . . As regards L. Milky, he has sent me two letters so far, asking for the amount I owe him. I wonder what has happened to the man! Is he in such a great need, or is he afraid that I shall not pay him back the amount? Please do your best to settle the affair, and I shall send you the money soon. . . . Business is bad in this country at present, and I have opened a new store which needs all of my cash money. . . . Dear brother, please tell me about the house and our land property, also let me know what happened to the fig tree which I planted near the fence wall. . . ."

3. From M. Sarkis to his mother; Cleveland, Ohio, Nov. 29th, 1900.

" . . . Tell me how much it has cost you to plant the new orchard, and I shall send you the amount. . . . Is it true that my brother wants to sell his share of the land? If so, let me know how much is the amount, and I shall send it to you; then you will

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62h 186 transfer his share to my name. . . . Tell me the truth about the whole situation and stop writing each time differently. . . ."

4. From above mother to her son; Dated Dec. 1st, 1902.

" . . . May God grant you health and happiness, with your two sisters, of whom I think day and night. So far I have received from you 16 pounds, then 14 pounds and lately 6 pounds. . . . Tell your sister Deebeh that her children are doing very well. I have sent her a small bunch of the hair of each child. My only request from you, my son, is to take care of your two sisters and be generous in sending us enough money; May God bless you. We have bought for you the olive orchard. If you have an extra amount now, send it, and we shall buy more land for you. . . ."

5. From M. E. Deeb to M. Y. Elias, Santiago, Argentina; dated July 25th, 1903.

" . . . The anxiety you express about your son Selim has disturbed me a great deal. . . . Please be sure that he is working with me in the store as a son and not as a servant, as you say you were told by some of our people. Those are people of gossip and jealousy, who want to sow the seeds of dispute between us. . . . In the name of the love and friendship between us, I assure you that I love your son Selim more than my own children. . . . The coming long years will prove this to you, and God will reveal the truth. . . ."

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6. From Y. M. Elias to his father:

D:Tammam C,3-4 (no date) 1947
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Santiago, Argentina; dated Oct. 22nd, 1904. 624 186

"... I have previously written you that my aunt wants me to marry her daughter, Miriana. I see that this is a good match. She is nice and well educated, and I don't believe there is any better girl back in our village. But your consent is my primary concern, and I beg of you not to deny me this request, for Miriana is a gem..." [582]

7. From three sons to their father, N. B. Nejjar, back home; Burraga, Australia, dated Dec. 23rd, 1906. 624 186 573

"... Two weeks ago, we sent you a check for 50 pounds.... Our dear father, we have to remark about the way you write to us, and that it should not be so. Your letters contain many statements in which you address us and praise us in such a way, as if we were the masters and you the follower. There is no need for this at all, and our financial success should not change the relationship between us. We are your sons and shall always be obedient to you and do all we can to serve you.... Write us as father and master, who orders his servants to do their duty towards him...."

8. From M. Sarkis to his relative I. T. Elias; Cleveland, Ohio; dated March 20th, 1913.

"... Please forgive the manner in which I wrote you last, doubting your honesty in handling money I sent you for my mother and the family. It was all the fault of my sister who sent me false news and made me write to you as I did. I know now that she was after her selfish

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621 / 181 / 593

friends. May God never bless such a sister. . . ."

621 / 196 / 578

9. From H. to his relative, I. T. Elias; Penna., August 6th, 1914.

". . . I have sent you a telegram to foreclose the land property of N. (a fellow emigrant). He has refused to pay me what he owes me or to give me a mortgage on his land in the village. Then he resorted to a mean and immoral trick. He instigated his wife to bring a case against me in the courts, accusing me of assaulting her. He did that with the hope of getting much money out of me. . . . Don't pay much attention to the newspapers cuttings (referring to the case) that I understand some of our jealous and mean people here have sent to the village. In this country, all things, little and big, are written up in papers, and nobody pays much attention to them. . . . Later, N. discontinued the prosecution of the case and came over with some of my friends and begged my pardon. . . ."

621 / 184 / 593 / 422

10. From S. M. Huleihel (middle aged woman) to her relative, I. T. Elias, U. S. A., April 3rd, 1919.

". . . The news of my son's death has broken my heart and my life. I don't know what to think or say. He was my only child. I brought him up until he was married, and then prevented him from sailing to America, as I did not want to expose him to any danger. I sailed away in his place, and have been laboring for years to gather some money, on which his children could grow up comfortably. . . . He is gone now, and his child is the only one left for me. Please pay

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attention to the child and his mother; give them all they need, until I come back. . . ."

11. From M. Y. Elias to his wife; Argentina, Feb. 2nd, 1920.

" . . . Within two months, our son Selim will leave for home, so as to get married in the village and bring back all of you with him. Come with him to this country which is our new home and which gives us honey and milk. . . . Bring with you the following: (1) three fig seedlings (2) two grapevine seedlings 3) one red and one white hawthorne seedling (4) hindbane seeds (5) some "Arak" (local drink) (6) some olive oil. . . . Forget all about our property in the village. Let our relatives take care of it. Upon your arrival here, you will see that we own as much land as the whole village of Bishmizzeen. . . ." (Subsequently, the whole family left, father, mother, three sons and three daughters.)

12. From S. Nejjar to her relative; Izano, Argentina, March 7th, 1923.

" . . . I shall send you enough money to buy back all the pieces of land that used to belong to my late husband. You know I am not making of this a business affair for profit. I am doing this only because I want to keep alive the memory of my husband and ancestors who used to own that land. I want our son to inherit the land. . . ."

The Village Organization Is Shaken And New Adjustments Are Attempted

Analysis of the above mentioned tables, cases and letter extracts seem

to lead to the following general conclusions concerning the influence of emigration upon the social organization of the village:

1. *Social control breaks down:* The influence of emigration, as a convenient escape from social control, has been discussed above. It is mentioned again, with a view to emphasizing its significance. At first, social control with its inevitable individual frustrations—was a factor in the enhancement of the emigration movement. However, once that step was taken, emigration began to react upon the social organization of the village and became a strong factor in the breakdown of its social control. The church and the kinship patterns of behavior were no longer adequate for the control of the elements in the new situation. A state of disorganization was the result.

2. *Rise of the village post office as an institution:* Prior to the emigration movement, no regular post office existed in the village, and the people were not conscious of that institution in any significant manner. There was no need for it, as very few letters were received every month or so. With the advent of emigration, the situation was completely changed. Letters exchanged between the village and abroad became very frequent and highly significant. Through those letters, the ties between the emigrants and the folks at home were preserved and the flow of cash money into the village took place. Two concepts became highly significant in the people's vocabulary, as a result of

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B. Tammuz 5, 5-6 (no date) 1942
MI: Lebanon MI:

that flow of correspondence, "Maktoob" (letter) and "Maktoob Mo'awwaker" (registered letter). A check was always contained in the registered letter, and it became the symbol of joy and festivities for the family group.

Once or twice a week, the mail came to the village. Many hours before the arrival of the mail, people would assemble in the barber shop of Uncle Deeb (for he became the uncle of everybody) who was responsible for the distribution of the mail. For hours, before and after mail distribution, people would loiter there, exchanging the news of their emigrants and having a social time. Usually, Uncle Deeb preferred to put the registered letters aside and then give them in person to the families concerned. That was his reward—to be a messenger of joy to the people. As he went around, he spread the news of the registered letters far and wide, until everybody began to talk about them.

3. *Cash money becomes a supreme value in village life:* Through the silk industry, foreign missions and contact with the city, cash money, as a highly desirable article of value, was introduced into the village organization. In order to obtain more of this new value, emigrants were lured abroad. Through hard or easy work, straight or crooked means, they got hold of the precious cash and sent it back to their people. Without any exception, every single one of those letters mentioned above, referred to cash money that had been sent, was

169 sent or would be sent to the folks at
376 home. Sending the money home had
259 a double significance to the emigrants.
178 It gave them the satisfaction of living up to the obligation to the kinship group and it built for them prestige in the home village. At the same time, prestige and the satisfaction of luxurious needs were the reward of those who received the checks. They could buy new things with the money, lend it for interest or acquire more land with it.

In a word, emigration was the last step with which the village plunged into the Western economic system and became highly "money conscious." Some fifteen years ago, one of the upstart leaders in Bishmizzeen was reminded of the fact that the business he was conducting in Tripoli and Beirut was not considered as honest by the village folks. His answer was "Once I have a substantial amount of cash in my pocket, the people will forget all about the means by which I got the cash."

169 4. *Emigrants fail to return to the*
626 *village:* At first, emigrants left the village, with a view to earning a certain amount of cash within a few years, and then returning to live in the village. The kinship and the communities ties were still strong, and the early emigrants considered the village as their true home. Some of those early emigrants, about 21, succeeded in carrying through the original intention—they came back and settled down permanently. The majority of those who returned, about 98, could not stay in the village more

P91 (B)

than a few months, a year or a few years, before emigrating again. Their business ties and the new ways of living they had adopted forced them to emigrate again. They began to realize that they had become partly strangers to their original culture.

The great majority of the emigrants, 372, never came back. These may be divided roughly into two classes—those who failed to come back because of their financial failure abroad, and those who emigrated fairly recently after the community ties began to break down. The latter did not feel especially attracted toward the village.

[371] Of those who came back to visit, a great many of them did so with a view to getting married to village girls, before settling permanently abroad.

5. *The village woman attains economic independence:* Cases 10 and 12 of the above quoted letter extracts are clear illustrations of the new tendency. Among the 191 women, who have emigrated, about one-half took that step independently. Some of them were single, some were widows and some left their husbands and children at home. Prior to emigration, village culture assigned to woman a status subordinate to that of man. It seems that farm economy demanded that type of subordination. Emigration by women severely tested that established pattern of behavior. Through emigration, the village woman was suddenly thrown on her own resources. She moved from a status of subordination to one of dominance. She became the economic

R 72 (A)

/67 head of the family, and her cash gave
• 6.24 her prestige.
563 In this respect, the silk industry, the education movement, and emigration were equally influential. They brought about what may be called the "emancipation" of woman. However, it must be clearly stated that that emancipation brought in its wake a great deal of cultural conflict and social disorganization. Until now, people in the village are still confused about how to define a situation in which a woman is involved. Should they define it in terms of the old pattern of behavior, or in terms of the new economic prestige attained by woman? Can S. M. Jeha ask his wife (who earned the money in America and who holds the property in her name) to do something for him, or must he obey her orders? Should the children of C. W. Deek look up to their father as the head of the family, or to their mother who sends them the cash from abroad?

563 6. *The parent-child status relation-*
564 *ship is broken down:* Not only did
/77 the man-woman status relationship undergo a change but also that of the parent and child. Most of those who emigrated were young men, who had always played the role of dependents, subject to the authority of the parent or grandparent. Emigration put these young people on their own, when they had to face new situations as independent individuals. At the same time, they earned that coveted cash and sent it home. The symbol of economic prestige began to shift from the land to cash. With that, a curve-

p.72(B)

595 sponding shift in the parent-child
Gf status relationship took place. Again,
178 confusion in behavior was the inevitable result.

In case 3 above, the young emigrant sends his mother much money; but at the same time he scolds her and orders her to tell him the truth about her financial situation.

In case 6, we see the young man still living up to the old standards by consulting his father about the girl he intends to marry. However, some twenty years later, that same young man deserted and completely neglected his parents and kinship group.

Case 7 is another illuminating illustration. The three young men are bewildered by the new status assumed by their father! They urge him to continue playing the role of the family head and master, while he insists on giving that to them, because of their financial prestige!

621 7. *Other indications of disorgani-*
178 *zation:* Case 1 shows how the cooperative background of the five or six emigrants was shattered by the elements of the new situation. Some of them were able to get tickets at the rate of five pounds a ticket, while the others had to pay seven and a half for a ticket. The latter felt betrayed by and estranged from their companions.

Case 2 shows how the emigrant became indignant over the fact that a friend at home wrote the emigrant insisting that he should pay back his debt. The emigrant cannot reconcile this attitude with his conception of village friendship.

p. 73(4)

• 621 178 Case 5 clearly shows the conflict between the role of a village friend or a kinship member and that of a profit-seeking man. The older emigrant is torn between the two roles. Should he share his business with the son of his friend and relative as they used to share back home, or should he keep the boy in the store as a simple worker? At home, the son's father is bewildered, and his faith in people and life is shaken.

Case 8 shows the confusion and conflict in the behavior of the emigrant. His sister had instigated him against their relative, accusing him of mishandling the money that had been sent by the brother. The emigrant writes a scolding letter to the relative, then sends an apology, turning his wrath against his sister.

Case 9 shows the conflict between two cultures, the culture of the new country and the one imported by the emigrants. N. borrows money from H. and fails to pay it back. H. strikes back according to the pattern of the new culture—debts must be paid. He sends a telegram to a relative of both urging foreclosure of N's land. (The reader may imagine the influence of such a telegram descending upon the little quiet village of Bishmizzeen.) N. strikes back by accusing H. of assaulting his (N's) wife and taking the case to the court, demanding financial indemnity. That was the most extreme departure from the village mores. It meant that N. was selling his wife's honor for money.

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621
198 This and several similar scandals engaged the attention and gossip of the village for years. They went far in shaking the foundations of the village patterns of behavior.

P.74 (A)

I

621 361 IN ITS population of 1,200 people and general social organization, Bishmizeen is typical of the Lebanon village communities. It is situated in the foothills of the Lebanon mountains, fifty miles to the north of Beirut and twelve miles to the south of Tripoli, the two seaports of the 114 country. The writer was born and grew up in this village. He is the product of its native Arab culture, as influenced and modified by the invading American culture. The present article is based upon personal experience—his own, with an Arab-American background, and that of his people, who have lived in the same village for eight generations.

795 621 With respect to the religious situation in the village previous to the appearance of mission activity, it is sufficient to emphasize a few salient facts. In the first place, there were in the village three religious sects—a large majority of Greek Orthodox (about 1000 people), a small minority of Moslems (about 150 people), and three Maronite households, which will be neglected in the discussion. Secondly, the relationship between the two religious sects had always been such as could be characterized as harmonious and stable. Each 795 sect took it for granted that there had always 621 been and there will always be two sects in the 771 village—Moslems and Greek Orthodox. Consequently, there had never been any attempt on the part of one sect to interfere with the religious practices of the other or to undertake any proselyting campaign. Thirdly, religion in the village had always been an integral part of the whole village life. It was not a matter of dogma, or

795 method of worship, cut apart and separated from
• 621 the practices of daily living. It was rather a way
791 of life. The church grew up with the village, influencing it and at the same time being influenced by the other aspects of village life. Thus, to cast doubt upon the church meant casting doubt upon village life altogether.

II

797 Early in the second half of the 19th century,
621 three religious missions appeared on the quiet horizon of the Lebanon area—the Protestant (mainly American), the Catholic (mainly French), and the Greek Orthodox (Russian). There were other missions too—Italian, German, English, and Scandinavian. However, the influence of these did not reach Bishmizzeen and they need not be discussed here.

797 The American Presbyterian mission has always been the most influential Protestant mission in the country. They began their work early in the second half of the 19th century. Beirut was their first base, whence they reached out to the surrounding Lebanon villages. Later, they established a second base in the town of Tripoli, from which they began to work in the neighboring villages of the
797 Kura district, including Bishmizzeen. About
621 1890, they succeeded in establishing a simple
872 elementary school at Bishmizzeen. A native Protestant teacher (man) was put in charge. A simple square room was found, whose owner was willing to rent it for the purpose. Tuition was free and parents were encouraged to send their children to the new school.

It seems that, at first, the people of the village

797 defined the new situation in a positive and favor-
621 able manner. They did not have to pay anything
872 extra for this new type of education. The mothers found it convenient that some one should take care of their children when they were not needed for farm work. At the same time, the rising silk trade created a demand for individuals able to write and use simple arithmetic. Some of the parents began to realize that it was necessary for their children to learn how to calculate, read, and write accurately. Further, during that period, the silk trade had begun to bring the village people in contact with the outside—Tripoli and Beirut—where there were learned people who held high positions in life. As a consequence of that contact, there was growing in the village a vague consciousness of the worthwhileness of learning and knowledge. The Arabic word "Ilm," the equivalent for knowledge, was beginning to assert itself in the village vocabulary. In a word, the stage was set for the establishment of a regular school, and the villagers seemed willing to cooperate.

797 But that initial definition of the situation did not
798 last very long. A new element appeared, a very significant element, which made the villagers more wary of what was taking place. It was observed that a new type of religion was being taught at the school—aside from "innocent" arithmetic, reading, and writing—and that every Sunday the "foreign" missionary would come to the school and preach the Gospel in a new fasion to the students and others who gathered around. The people were not ready to tolerate this new element. It meant a direct attack upon the authority of the church, and this meant nothing less than undermining the integrity of village life as a whole. At the same time, the Russian mission did not like the idea of the Protestant mission working in the Greek Orthodox villages of the Kura district. Through the native Bishop of the district, they encouraged the villagers to do something about it. The instructions were "Do everything but don't touch the person of the missionary."

One Sunday, when the missionary came to the village to do his weekly preaching, the village leaders had already prepared a group of youths for action. At the appointed hour, the youths moved to the mission school and began shouting and making deafening noise by beating on empty cans, while the missionary and the teacher conducted the meeting inside. In a short while the mob became

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797 more menacing, and the two men had to leave the
798 village. The following Sunday, the mob attacked the school and threw the benches into the street. The school was closed, within one year of its beginning. ("... One Sunday, our service (in Bishmizeen) was broken up by a mob of boys, throwing stones at doors and windows and beating tins and shouting. It appeared, however, that persons of most influence were on our side, and the government has issued an order to the people to respect our rights...." From the 1898 Mission Report, Beirut, Lebanon.)

797 However, the incident left its mark upon the
• 621 village. Among the people there were some who
872 looked into the future and felt the urgent need of education for their children. The mission school offered them the opportunity, and they were determined to grasp it. For the time being, they kept quiet.

Within the following two years, the desire for a school in the village grew very strong. A delegation of elders was sent to Tripoli to interview the Bishop about the matter. They requested him to establish a school in Bishmizeen. The Bishop was reluctant about that. He advised them to send their children to the Russian mission school in the neighboring village of Amyoon. Their feeling of community pride was aroused. They felt it was an insult that they should send their children to another village for education. Certainly, their community was important enough to deserve a school. The Bishop resorted to another argument, which proved to be very tactless. He reminded the elders of the fact that the more sophisticated Bishmizeen people were enough of a trouble for him without being educated in a regular school, and that school education would make them much more difficult to handle. The elders retorted by threatening to resort to the American mission and invite them to reopen the school. The Bishop reminded them of the danger such a move would involve for the religious beliefs of their children. One of the elders replied by saying, "Your Holiness, we don't mean that our children should change their faith; we want them to be educated as your Holiness was at a mission school. Your Holiness did not change your faith, and our children need not change theirs." (... Three schools have been begun in this district (Kura).... The poor old Greek Orthodox Bishop of Tripoli is at his wits end to know how to keep

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797 hold of his people in these villages...." From
•621 an undated Mission report.)
872 With that, the elders parted, went to the mission center and requested them to reopen the school in Bishmizeen, promising to pay for the education of their children. The head of the mission reminded them of what they had done with the school two years previously. One of the elders retorted by reminding the missionary of what Christ said about forgiving one's brother seven times seventy! A new native teacher was appointed by the mission, and the school was reopened in Bishmizeen.

797 The above story was dwelt upon with a view to
798 bringing forth several significant points. The
621 first of these is to emphasize the fact that the hostile reaction of Bishmizeen to the mission did not take any serious violent character. In other places, the mission suffered serious persecution. This may be explained by two factors, a local one and a general one. Locally, the Bishmizeen people had always been accustomed to live side by side with another religious group, the Moslem minority. They had learned how to tolerate the existence of another sect. Consequently, the appearance of a third sect, although shocking, was not as much so as it was in the case of other religious groups in complete isolation. The second factor derives from the general character of the Greek Orthodox church. It must be remembered that the Greek Orthodox or Eastern church has always been considered heretic by the Catholic church, due to the split which occurred in the early days of the Christian church. Since then, the Greek Orthodox sect have considered themselves as more "progressive." Further, the Greek Orthodox in Lebanon have always mixed with the Moslems of the country, much more so than the Maronites who secluded themselves on the mountain heights. Consequently one would expect the Greek Orthodox group of Bishmizeen to be more open and tolerant toward the new message of the Presbyterian Mission.

621 The second point to be emphasized refers to the
794 manner in which the village elders argued with the Bishop and finally used a threat. That was unprecedented behavior, on the part of a lay village group toward high church authorities. As far as could be ascertained, that was the first incident of its kind in the village, possibly the first in the whole district. It is indeed hard to evaluate the significance of such a move. One may see in

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621 it the beginning of a movement that may be
794 termed "progressive." On the other hand, one can see the dangers it implied for village solidarity.

621 A third significant point to observe is that a new
578 type of conflict arose in the village, as a result of the school incident. It was conflict between two new groups—those who wanted to have a Protestant school in the village and those who opposed the idea. It was a division that cut across the family and church groups. It was also conflict between a traditional value and a new one—between the need for the preservation of church integrity and the need for education. All of this tended to shake the village organization; all of it demanded new adjustments on the part of the people.

III

871 After the first Mission teacher left the village,
179 his students, and the village people in general, were
191 set afire by the desire for further education
621 Other mission teachers came to the village and gave additional impetus to that desire. At the same time the first emigrants began to return to the village and tell the people about the wonders of education in that "marvellous country of America." English was the language through which they could attain some status with the American people and reap some of the gold in that country. They wanted their children to learn English and get an American type of education. The Syrian Protestant College at Beirut was beginning to flourish, and the road was now open for a village boy to become a doctor or a college teacher. All of this meant more cash income, and cash was becoming more and more the significant symbol of comfort and new forms of prestige. Village boys and girls began to come back from Tripoli with American high school certificates in their hands. They were "fully" educated and they could share in the establishment and running of an independent village school.

871 All of these factors combined to bring about the
621 fruition of the village school idea. In 1904, under
575 the leadership of the Mission's early students and some influential emigrants who had returned to the village, a fully representative society, the first in the history of the village, was formed and given the name of "Raja-el-Watan"—the hope of the country—the country here meaning nothing more than the village. The sole aim of the society was to establish and run a school for the whole village community.

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871 From the beginning the village people agreed to the idea of having their girls get the same education as boys, and in the same school house. The move was a departure from the commonly held belief of the area that the girl should be kept at home. However, Bishmizeen had been prepared for that. The American girls' school at Tripoli was the first strong influence. A few of the progressive leaders sent their girls to the Tripoli school. When these returned they were anxious to give the same chance 562 to all village girls. Aside from that, the two 871 sexes in Bishmizeen had always mixed freely—as groups, not as individuals. To have both sexes at the same school was not altogether outside the scope of the village tradition. At the same time returned emigrants had their influence, too. Also it must be noted that the silk factory had already paved the way for the mixing of the two sexes in one institution. If the villagers had accepted that, it was not so difficult for them to see their girls and boys studying together under the supervision of men and women teachers. Consequently, the idea was accepted, and the coeducational school began to function smoothly and normally.

621 Within a few years the school became the focus 871 of village life. It seems that the mere physical 517 existence of the school building—a building that belonged to the community as a whole—made it possible for various new community activities to take place. The school society began to find it more logical and more convenient to hold its meetings in the school building. General village meetings, also began to take place there. From this, the next step was to hold receptions at the school and invite people from neighboring villages. At first only village talent was used at these receptions; then talent from the city, in the form of lecturers, poets and singers, was brought in. This added to the impetus of the educational movement in the village. The villagers became proud of their school and highly conscious of their community—Bishmizeen, the village of education.

536 One more vital activity began to take place at 517 the school, involving the whole of the village community and other villages, too. That was the [177] acting of plays. Several factors contributed to the creation of this activity—returned emigrants, contact with the educational circles of Tripoli and Beirut, and the early mission school teachers. The desire had been there for some time, but it could not be satisfied, due to the lack of a suitable building. Shortly after the school building was

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536 517 erected, play acting materialised. At first only young men acted. A year or two later, girls began to act, too. The village could not go beyond that and allow boys and girls to act together. That involved kissing and embracing between boys and girls on the stage, and the village held to the idea that such a kiss or an intimate embrace must be reserved to married couples!

834 562 536 578 It is essential that we should dwell briefly on the attitude of the village people towards acting by girls. The villagers had a strong taboo against acting by girls. Acting involved the parading of the girl on the stage in front of the crowd including young men and strangers. Remarks might be made about the girl, causing trouble between her family and those who made the remarks. Such parading had the further implication that the parents were eager to present their girl for marriage. That went against the custom which demanded that the girl should wait at home until her suitor came for her. The strongest objection was due to the fact that the people had always associated regular actresses with "bad morals." Gradually, due to the influence of leading families who were willing to begin with their girls, all of the above objections were broken down, until acting by the girls became a matter of course.

536 621 Within a few years acting became one more established village festival, involving the whole community. They had been accustomed to religious village festivals, and it was natural to fit the play in with the previous pattern and make of it one more such festival. Without any exception, everybody—actors, workers, church authorities and leaders—offered his or her services free, for the community welfare. Over a period of two months, preparation for the play would engage the attention of the village with everybody waiting for the occasion with thrilled anticipation. The preparation involved the various activities of casting, renting the equipment from Tripoli, constructing the stage, evening rehearsals, energetic arguments to persuade a certain girl to accept a certain role and her parents to permit her to act, and the distribution of invitations to the neighboring villages. Two or three days before the play, the village children would enlist as volunteers who would go from house to house in the village and gather all available chairs to seat the guests. The children's reward was the enjoyment of the activity itself and free admission during one evening. The play would be presented for three or four nights.

536 621 On each occasion, a huge crowd, from Bishmizzeen and neighboring villages would attend. An admission was charged, but no regular fee was assigned. Each paid what his "generosity" allowed. That was one more example of how the village fitted a new item of behavior into its established folkways. The income of the play was used for the school.

From the above description, it can be readily observed how play acting, centering in the village school, helped to bring about active village cooperation, a heightened consciousness of community identity, and an active inter-village association.

536 621 186 However, one must not neglect to mention a highly significant point, one more indication of what was going to happen to the village in its newly chosen trend. Not a single one of the plays that have been acted in the village had any relationship to village and farm life. The language used was always the higher literary form of Arabic, which had little connection with the local forms of expression. The theme of the play was either copied from Western novels or referred to old Biblical or historical events. Keeping in mind the tremendous influence of the play, by playing upon the emotions of the village people and creating in them a dynamic for new modes of behavior, one can realize to what extent it was influential in carrying the people away from the village. It widened the horizon of village life, as did the school, emigration, and the silk industry; but the horizon was widened to an extent that was conducive to the destruction of the community integrity.

IV

871 179 When the modern educational movement began in the country some fifty years ago, several educational systems appeared in the field and competed with each other in their effort to influence the people. These systems had a variety of cultural backgrounds—English, Russian, German, Italian, French, American, Turkish, and native. None of these systems had a purely educational character. Their educational message was combined either with religous, or political aims, or both.

In the course of time, each of these systems came to concentrate its influence upon one area of the country or one section of the population. In the case of Bishmizzeen, as was indicated above, the American Protestant system has been the most

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871 In all, there are some 212 people (105 men and
177 107 women) who have had one or more years of
654 education at high schools and colleges outside the village. Of these, 66 percent have been educated by the American system, 27 percent by the native system, and 7 percent by the French system. These figures ought to indicate, in a concise and clear manner, the great extent to which American culture, behind the Protestant system of education, has been influencial in the life of Bishmizzeen. The extent of this influence becomes still more impressive, when we remember that these educated men and women represent the "cream" of the village population and have become, in the majority of cases, the recognized leaders of the community, (remembering that 24 of them completed college and 72 completed high school). Their leadership was inspired by a foreign culture that had no ties with village life, and they led the village according to the influence of that culture.

871 Behind each educated man and woman is a story
177 of supreme effort and sacrifice on the part of his
554 family group. It meant, in many cases, that the
178 family group had to sell their land in order to provide for the higher education of their boy or girl. Taking such a drastic step was symbolic of their decision to sever their ties with the old way of living and look towards the new course taken by their children. Through their educated children, the old folk identified themselves with the new patterns of the invading American culture.

● 621 A strong combination of factors—the rising silk
178 industry, money as a coveted value, play acting,
871 and emigration to America, got hold of the village

621
178
871

community and forced it to turn its face toward the outside and embark upon a new course. One more such alienating factor has been the school curriculum. In Bishmizeen, the children studied English, French, Literary Arabic, Geography, History—to the end of the list, even algebra! Not a single one of these subjects was related to the immediate needs of village life. The school curriculum prepared the child for a life that was vastly different from his village life. Later at high school and college, the curriculum finished up the process of alienation begun in the village school.

A glance at the following figures will give us an impressive picture of what has happened to the 212 educated members of the little community. Of them, 31 are still going through the process, following new paths of education. Only 30 live in the village and work on farms, and these are not satisfied with their lot. An additional 27 live in the village but do not work on the farm. There are 59 who belong to the village in a nominal way. Their work is established in Tripoli and Beirut, and they come back to the village for a few weeks during the summer. The remaining 65 (one-third) have left the village for good; they are migrants living mostly in foreign countries.

Perhaps that old village priest had a vision of what was going to happen to the village in the far future, when he prevented the writer's grandfather from sending his son to school in Beirut. "Don't send the boy there," he warned, "for he will never go back to the farm." Most of the educated village youths never did, and many a farm is now deserted.

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16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

in the genealogy, but there is no disagreement on their ultimate origin in the same man, often referred to as "our forefather." On the basis of the number of generations accounted for in the chart, it appears that the founder was probably born sometime late in the 16th century. Historical material is available which gives a clue to the reason for the founding of the village and at the same time supports the estimate of the date suggested by the genealogy. The reign of the Amir Fakhr al-Din II (1590–1635) is known to have been a period in which many Syrian Christians sought refuge in Lebanon to escape Turkish persecution. It is reasonable to suppose that the founder of al-Munsif, a Greek Orthodox Christian, was one of these. The probable date of the establishment of the village suggests, further, the reason for the selection of a site which is far from ideal for agricultural purposes: the better-favored areas in Lebanon had already been occupied by other groups.

Once established, what manner of village was al-Munsif? Everything that can be learned about "the old days" indicates that it must have been typical of the traditional pattern of village life in the Middle East, which in turn fits the criteria of the "folk community," as understood by sociologists in general.[1] Life in al-Munsif, then, prior to the last quarter of the 19th century when the great cultural changes began, was focused on four major themes:

1. *Devotion to the Land.* Agriculture was the economic base of the community, the occupation of all its members except for a few specialists who also were often part-time farmers.

2. *Religious orientation.* Religious attitudes permeated all aspects of life; religious behavior was integrated with economic and family behavior. The religious affiliation of the village was sharply defined.

3. *Predominance of kinship statuses* in the patterning and regulation of interpersonal affairs, for example in mutual aid arrangements. The kinship group was a focus of intense loyalty for its members, so much so that members of the same lineage were often preferred in marriage.

4. *External localism* of knowledge, interests, and loyalties. This was reflected in the prevalence of inter-village feuds and in the clear preference for the marriage of an individual to a member of his or her own village rather than to an outsider. (Village endogamy.)

In the case of al-Munsif, there were a few variations on this normal structure. On the economic side, first, a certain amount of fishing has always been done right from the village itself. Second, the necessity of importing wheat has always made some money income imperative. It was therefore common for village men to do wage labor in other communities in slack seasons. Sponge diving was one such seasonal occupation, profitable but

[1] For [illegible], "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," *American Journal of Sociology* vol. 48 (1942), pp. 450–59; "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution* 1948 (1949), pp. 494–99.

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boundaries. The principal source of this cash income used to be the silkworm cocoon, supplemented by wage labor. Third, in regard to kinship groups, there appears always to have been a tendency to minimize (in comparison to other villages) the distinctiveness of the various lineages. Since, however, all village members recognized the same common ancestor, and were therefore all related, this tendency does not necessarily indicate that the principle of kinship grouping, in itself, was unimportant in the village.

Finally, extreme localism was to some degree modified in al-Mansūf. Some of the seasonal wage laborers brought back brides from the communities in which they worked — a violation of the principle of village endogamy. However, these cases were rare, and in every one the outsider was at least a coreligionary of her husband. Al-Mansūf also had, and still has, a sort of second line of defense, or buffer, between it and the outside world. This is the group of villages, seven of them including al-Mansūf, which has been alluded to earlier. This cluster of villages has a name which is used by its inhabitants, symbolizing its unity. Visiting has always been common among the villages, and ties of friendship are many. Furthermore, there has always been a certain amount of intermarriage among the villages. Each case of this was, technically speaking, a violation of village endogamy, but it was a very different matter, in the villagers' eyes, from marrying "a stranger." The unity of the seven villages can be ascribed largely to the fact that the same sect affiliation — Greek Orthodox — is predominant in all of them while the surrounding region is predominantly Maronite. But all these modifications do not detract very much from the picture of the al-Mansūf of former times as being a typical "folk" community: predominantly agricultural, inward-oriented, conservative and self-contained in its system of values.

III

The changes which have occurred in al-Mansūf began about 1880. By 1914 all the trends were apparently set which have since gathered momentum and wrought considerable modifications in the traditional patterns of life in the village.

In the latter part of the 19th century, there were factors come to bear on the culture of Lebanon which had profound effects. These can be analyzed specifically in the case of al-Mansūf, but were certainly felt in many other Lebanese villages.

1. Factory-made articles from Europe began to be imported, with two consequences: first, the lessening in importance (and eventual extinction) of village handicrafts; and second, a newly developed demand for European articles, such as furniture, obtainable only on payment of cash. Thus, an already tight economic balance in the village threatened to become an extremely serious squeeze. Doubtless the situation would have become really

desperate had it not been for the other two new cultural factors which affected village life:

2. The introduction into Lebanon of Western-style educational institutions and curricula. The two main types were American Protestant and French Catholic. It was the former which exerted the stronger influence on el-Mismiē. Mission schools were established in the village before the turn of the century, and many village children were sent to the American schools in Tripoli. By 1914, some villagers were themselves teaching school in el-Mismiē. Protestantism itself was for the most part resisted, but the quest for secular education — in both Arabic and English — became a major concern in the village. The enthusiasm with which the villagers approached education can be accounted for in several ways. First, the literate individual has always been a person of high prestige in the Arab world. The villagers therefore recognized the fine opportunity for the improvement of personal status which was opened by the new schools. Second, they recognized that through education they would have a better chance of obtaining lucrative jobs and of thus averting the economic disaster which threatened them. Third, the American-sponsored curricula were, in part, a useful introduction to certain aspects of the culture of the West; and this brings us to the third major factor:

3. Emigration, primarily to the United States but also, to a lesser extent, to South America. It is very significant, from the cultural point of view, that the prime motive of the emigrants was not to leave their homeland forever in order to make a new life in a new country, but rather to stay temporarily in America in order to make a fortune and then return to the village to resume the old life under conditions of greater financial security. As it turned out, the majority of emigrants never did return. But the number who did, and the number of those who came and went several times before making up their minds, is often overlooked in general accounts of the emigration phenomenon. Remittances from America helped greatly to make the two decades before 1914 a prosperous time for el-Mismiē. It was during this period that the very handsome houses with red tile roofs (imported from France) were built. During this period, also, some of those who did not emigrate took up nonagricultural jobs, such as school teaching, away from the village.

World War I brought a sudden halt to these developments. Owing to the Turkish blockade of Lebanon, emigration became impossible and the flow of remittances was reduced to a trickle. Toward the end of the war there was famine in el-Mismiē, and it was reported that 100 persons died as a result of it. After the war, emigration and remittances were resumed. But the large-scale exodus to the United States was effectively ended by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, which allowed only a very small quota for the Levant. Emigration to other areas continued but also on a smaller

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scale. The drastic decline in the market price of silk led to greatly reduced production with a consequently increased interest in other occupations. Meanwhile, the road-building program of the French Mandatory regime, coupled with the introduction of motor vehicles, reduced the physical isolation of the village, and the interest of villagers in nonagricultural occupations away from the village was greatly augmented.

IV

Consideration can now be given to the effects of these processes of change on the traditional culture as they were observed in 1952. To anticipate for a moment, it is important to keep in mind the fact that the effects of change have not been uniform throughout the entire village culture, some aspects of which have been more altered than others. In other words, there now are striking cultural disparities in the village, whereas before there was a high degree of consistency. The result is conflict in the minds and souls of the villagers. In what follows, we shall expand, in turn, upon the four basic criteria which were used in describing the traditional culture. The problem of conflict will be considered at the end, under the heading of Localism.

Economics. The most far-reaching changes in al-Munsif, without any question, have been in the area of economic behavior. To comprehend this change, attention must be paid to age distribution and residence pattern. The population of the village in 1952 totalled 523: 258 males and 265 females. A relatively weak representation of persons in their 30's (born during and just after World War I) is to be noted. Formerly all members of the village regularly lived in it. In 1952 only 54.6 percent (286) of the people lived in it all year round, while 35.9 percent (188) regularly lived away (in Beirut or Tripoli for the most part), returning to al-Munsif only during the summer and for various special occasions. Of the remainder, 10 persons commuted on a daily or weekly basis between the village and the city, and 16, though still considered to be members of the village, visited it only on rather rare occasions. This group of 26 comprised 17 women who had married complete outsiders and 9 other persons who lived and worked in other parts of the Middle East, mostly in Iraq.

The residence factor can also be looked at in terms of households. There were 87 independent households in al-Munsif. In 22 of them all members were resident in the village all year round. In 16, no members were resident all year round; they returned as groups only in the summer. In 8 cases, the heads commuted on a daily or weekly basis while their wives and children lived in the village. In the remaining 41 cases, the personnel of each household was split; in general the head and his wife remained in the village while most of the children lived regularly in the city. In other words, a majority of the people, heavily weighted by the older age groups and those

who hold formal authority, are still predominantly village-centered. However, the number of those living away most of the time is increasing, and it includes most of the younger heads of households. In the future, then, it appears probable that the number and proportion of those living away will increase. Yet, of the large number who live away most of the time, few if any have broken completely and decisively with their village. This is a very important point, and more will be said about it later.

There are two reasons for the prevalence of residence away from the village: (1) education at a higher level than that provided by the two schools (one public, one private) in the village; and (2) urban occupations, qualification for most of which depends on at least a primary education. Education and nonagricultural jobs thus go hand in hand, and the basic motivation rests in the very understandable desire to make a better living than that which farming in the area is likely to provide.

The people of al-Mansūf are very proud of their educational status, which they have attained by diligent efforts and considerable sacrifice over a period of several decades. Nearly 100 percent literacy prevails, and in many cases it is bilingual. Forty-eight persons between the ages of 15 and 29 (43 of them between 15 and 19) were still receiving their education in 1952 — in the village schools, in boarding schools, and at the college level. Most of them are boys, but 11 girls are included. The majority of the college students attend the American University of Beirūt, and there are several graduates of that institution in the population.

The segment of the population between the ages of 15 and 69 can be looked upon as the potential working force of the village. Thus, 335 people are involved, of which 171 are males and 164 are females. To arrive at the number of people who are gainfully employed outside the home, we must subtract the 48 students, the 120 females who were either housewives or girls "at home," and the 19 men who were clearly unemployed at the time of the study. The actual working force, in terms of earning capacity, therefore amounted to 148 people (115 men and 33 women).

Of these wage earners, 49 were working in the village and 99 away from it. Economically, then, the urban trend appears to be even more pronounced than the population by residence figures, alone, suggests. It must be kept in mind, however, that the majority of heads of households, whatever their primary occupation, are also landowners and derive some income from the produce of their land even though most of them do not do the farm labor themselves.

The village occupations include 10 full-time farmers (mostly middle-aged men) who operate their own farms and also perform various tasks — such as plowing — for other landowners who are not farmers. Services of this kind are paid for in cash. There are 14 other men who work as hired hands for the farmers or for non-operator landowners. Then there are

• 621 463 178 Dif 621 463 178 621 778 171 621 778 171 Dif

[illegible] specialists as follows: surgeon, 1; priest, 1; rural deliver, 1; butcher, 1; storekeeper, 1; fisherman, 1; surveyor, 1; miner, 1; carpenter, 1; tanner 2. There are 4 small stores in the village. There are also two industries which are important social centers for the women. One of these is owned by the rural deliver, the other by one of the tanners.

The city occupations include a variety of white-collar jobs [illegible] and the following specialties: Protestant preacher, 1; detective, 1; foreman, 1; salesman, 1; teller, 1; seamstress, 3; waiter, 3; hospital attendant, 4; janitor, 1; surveyor, 1; merchant, 2; teacher, 17; medical nurse, 14. One man in the village had been a practicing physician but has now retired. The prevalence of school teaching is notable, and it will be remembered that the pattern for this specialty was established early in the process of culture change. Over two-thirds of the working women are nurses (including student nurses). It was explained that nursing is a respected occupation and that since the women work in the shelter of a large institution, it is a safer position for them than many other city jobs are.

The factors of change in the economics of the village can be summarized as: (1) a drastic reduction in the number and proportion of agricultural workers; (2) a rapid and extensive development of non-village and novel occupations, of which there is a considerable variety; and (3) women working outside and away from home for the first time in the history of the village. The variety of the women's occupations is much more restricted than the men's. The majority of the women are under 30 years of age and appear to consider their jobs as preludes to marriage rather than as life-long careers.

Religion. Religion does not appear still to permeate the everyday life of the villagers. In those activities and problem areas which have been, generally speaking, strongly affected by modern rationalism and technology—in the prevention and cure of disease, for example,—rationalistic procedures seem to take precedence over rituals.

In addition to the village church, there are three saints' shrines in Akbanalli. Associated with each structure is a system of ritual lore of which the priest is the custodian, and the produce of which contributes to his support. Each shrine is at some distance from the others and from the village proper, so that it is impossible to get to a shrine without deliberate intent and effort. Traditionally, the shrines are used primarily for the purpose of special prayers, offerings, and vows on behalf of those who are sick. It might be supposed that as the rationalistic treatment of disease increases, the intensity of the use of shrines would decrease. This is a subtle matter and really conclusive evidence as it could not be obtained. However, it was clear that the opinions of the villagers regarding the meaningfulness of the shrines are varied and conflicting. One remark was that the saints could not

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no of any help. Then there was the flat statement that the shrines were no longer used at all. The most interesting comment was that many people still believed in the efficacy of the shrines but that they would probably deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Actually, there was clear evidence that candles and olive oil [illegible] tion of the people was not ascertained. In any case there is no doubt that there are now fundamental differences among the villagers on a matter which would not have been the subject of any disagreement 35 years ago.

In other aspects of life, religion plays a vigorous role. There are three types of occasion — weddings, and especially funerals and Easter — when all the villagers who are living away are strongly obligated to return to the village for the ceremonies. There is absolutely no question about this matter, in theory or in practice. The ritual ceremonies all have, of course, the same latent function, which is the intensification of group loyalty and solidarity sentiments. It can be argued that the prime motives behind these events which account for their vigor are not, strictly speaking, religious. Be that as it may, religious behavior is an integral part of the observances.

Kinship Organization. It appears that the kinship organization at al-Munsif has been the least affected by change of all the major aspects of the culture. It is often very difficult for modern Americans, in whose own culture kinship groups are of minimum importance, to comprehend the fact that in most other parts of the world kinship is one of the strongest elements in social organization. When we speak of the kinship organization of an Arab village, such as al-Munsif, we are not referring to a genealogical abstraction; we are referring, in fact, to the social organization itself. For the social organization — a pattern of interrelated statuses and roles — is *defined* in terms of kinship.

The unity of al-Munsif is enhanced by the fact that the villagers believe themselves all to be descended from a common ancestor who was the founder of the village. Whatever other differences there may develop among them, they continue to maintain this conception of themselves as a group. The founder had three sons among whom he divided equally the land of the community. For some time, the descendants of each of the three sons held land only in the areas originally apportioned. Each group, or lineage, also sponsored and developed one of the saint's shrines located in its territory. Eventually, the three original lineages were divided into what is now a total of 21 lineages. The name of each lineage is that of the man who is recognized as having been the common ancestor of all the members, but among the villagers themselves these lineage (or "family") names are rarely used. Their chief use is in filling out government and other official forms. A person is ordinarily designated by his own and his father's names only. Traditionally, the father's name is never given to any of his sons, and there is

only one exception to this rule in al-Mumif. In this case, the son was born while the family was living in Australia.

Special formal titles are addressed to no one except the priest, the mayor, the school teachers, and the doctor. Otherwise, personal names and kinship terms are used. It is significant that when a villager addresses another who is definitely his senior, he never makes any distinction over the Arabic equivalents of "Mr." or "Mrs." To do this would be a grave insult, for it would imply that the person addressed is considered to be a stranger and an outsider. "Paternal uncle" or "aunt" are the kinship terms most commonly used in such cases (which include the address of one's father- and mother-in-law), although the well-known teknonymous formula (for example, "Abu 'Abdallah" — "father of 'Abdallah") is often employed. (It can also be used in a joking sense, but there is never any confusion in this matter.)

Space does not allow any further elaboration on the intricacies of the system of kinship terms which is used in al-Mumif. It can be said here only that these terms — which are verbal symbols of status and role — encompass the entire pattern of reciprocal obligations, social distance, and social awareness which regulates interpersonal relations in the village. Over all, there is the abiding concept of everyone in the village being related. This is symbolized best, perhaps, by the extensive use of the term *zihr*. The basic meaning of this word is a man who has married a member of one's immediate family; in other words, a sister's or a daughter's husband. But the term is extended to any man (of same age or younger) who is married to a member of one's lineage, and it is applied to an outsider who has married any village girl. Conceptually, the outsider becomes an in-law of the entire community.

The lineages function as units of identification by name (if necessary), as units for the automatic support and aid of individual members on a reciprocal basis, and to some extent for the regulation of marriage. Marriage to a member of another lineage is preferred, provided the spouse is a member of the village. There are exceptions to this, but as a whole, the network of marriage ties — which become blood ties through women in the generations following the marriage — between the lineages is very complex. Thus the potential exclusiveness of each lineage is minimized for the benefit of village solidarity. There are, indeed, factions and cliques within the village, but its basic unity is never lost sight of.

The Arabs are often thought of as actually living their daily lives in large, extended family groups. This is not, and apparently never has been, true in al-Mumif. All the households, with one exception, consist of what sociologists call "nuclear" families. That is, they are composed, basically, of only the parents and the immature or unmarried children. But the resemblance to the typical American family ends at this point, for though

16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

the households are of minimum size, the strong and effective bonds of kinship are by no means limited to these units. For example, adult brothers maintain very close bonds throughout their lives, and this is often extended to first cousins, especially those on the father's side.

Unified in history, in religion, and in kinship, the people of al-Munsif maintain a basically equalitarian society. Although there are individual differences in fortune and capability, there is nothing to suggest a class system. It was made quite clear, for example, that no one would ask or expect a fellow villager to serve him steadily in any work considered menial. Nevertheless, there is work of this sort which is done in the village. Those who do it live in al-Munsif, but they are not of it. Between them and the members of the village there are no kinship ties, either by blood or marriage, and they belong to different religions from that of the village.

These additional inhabitants of the village come to a total of about 58 persons. Thirteen of them consist of house servants and the stokers at each of the bakeries. The remainder fall into two groups. The first of these amounts to over 30 people (6 households). These people are all Maronites and they come to al-Munsif in the winter only, with their flocks of sheep, goats, and cattle, from two villages which are snowbound at that season. Besides caring for their flocks, the men do wage labor in al-Munsif and the women often do laundry. They live either in houses which are vacant in the winter or in the lower levels of occupied houses. The second group totals 13 persons in 3 households. They are very closely related to each other, and are Mitwali (Lebanese Shi'is). This group has been in al-Munsif only about 12 years, and there was no one like them before that. The men are charcoal burners and use the scrub oak which grows in the village territory. The women do laundry and other chores for the village members.

The presence of these subsidiary groups in the village is a good example of the characteristic Middle East ethnic division of labor at work, emphasized by Carleton Coon.[9] The ethnic distinction in this case is on the basis of religion and place of origin.

Localism. It should now be clear that in some respects the traditionally extreme localism of al-Munsif has been greatly lessened, while in other respects it remains strong. Herein lies the essence of the conflict which culture change has brought to al-Munsif.

On the one hand, modern education and urban jobs (almost all of them related to institutions introduced through Western influence) have drawn a significant proportion of the villagers away from the village and village life in terms of economic activities, general interests, intellectual horizons, and ambitions. This trend is clearly recognized by many of the older people who can remember when conditions were different. A good many of them

[9] Carleton S. Coon, *Caravan: The Story of the Middle East* (New York, 1951).

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seem to be fatalistically resigned to it. Others make contemptuous comparisons between their forefathers, whom they picture as stalwart, hard-working yeomen, and the young people of today, who, they say, have gone soft. Still others believe that if only agriculture could be revitalized in the village, so as to be reasonably profitable, many of the present city workers would gladly return. This would require bringing irrigation water into the village in long-distance conduits.

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On the other hand, the power of the village as a focus of local, religious, and kinship identity and solidarity, and hence of psychological and social security, continues to be forceful. This is revealed among the city dwellers in their strongly felt obligation to return to the village for important ceremonies and in their tendency to cling together in their social activities while in the city, almost as if they were a colony in an alien land.

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The only apparent break in the strong social structure of the village is the increasing number of marriages to outsiders. Before 1920 such marriages were rare, and the outsiders, being women, were incorporated into the village. However, between 1920 and 1952, 30 percent (31) of the 104 marriages contracted were to outsiders. Seventeen of these, as mentioned before, involved village girls. Their children are lost to the village so far as membership is concerned. Thirteen of the 31 marriages were to coreligionaries, but 15 were to members of other Christian sects and 3 were to Muslims. So far, however, these external marriages do not appear to have had a deleterious effect on the concept of village unity.

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In general, group problems still appear to be conceived as family problems or village problems. And yet these people now work in and are dependent upon a larger society: the city and its institutions, and the nation. And these wider social groups have their problems which affect all.

The villager who lives and works in the city, in particular, is caught in a network of conflicting forces. His personal status and his strongest sense of belonging are still rooted in the village, but because of his education—and the more education he has, the more this is likely to be true—he has become unfitted, in terms of his interests and ambitions, to participate fully in village life. As it were, while his heart is in the village, his head and his hands are in the city. Out of economic necessity, he seeks his fortune in the city. But here, current conditions often prevent his finding work which is, in his eyes, suitable for a person of his educational status. Consequently, he is likely to be unable to participate in urban or extra-village social groups to an extent which is emotionally satisfying to him. Hence there is a tendency toward generalized dissatisfaction and cynicism.

In resolving this problem, it would be unwise to think in terms of the elimination or rejection of the bonds of village and kinship groups, for these are still fundamental factors in the morals, values, and emotional satisfactions of the people. Rather, the city dwellers need to identify them-

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selves with other groups *in addition* to the traditional ones, groups which are concerned with the application of sober study and rational action to problems of general concern. Perhaps the temptation of reacting in terms of emotionally charged scapegoats could thereby be lessened and a more satisfying urban life achieved.

Al-Mansif is just one Lebanese village out of many hundreds. It is probably unusual in the high educational level of its members, but in other respects it is not significantly different. It is well known that a very large number of urban dwellers in Lebanon (and elsewhere in the Middle East) were not born and bred in the city but in small villages. Superficially, the people who are encountered in offices, shops, and classrooms often appear to be thoroughly oriented in the heavily Westernized life of the city. It is usually apprehended, however, that there is a good deal more that lies beneath the surface and is related to the more traditional ways of life. It is not sufficient to dismiss this matter by making vague statements about East meeting West and Old meeting New. Rather, the situation must be studied and described in specific detail in a number of different cases. This paper presents some of the conclusions of one such case study. There are others, but there should be many more, by a variety of researchers, for only on that basis can a really effective understanding be reached.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

THE VILLAGE IN THE NATIONAL LIFE OF LEBANON

Afif I. Tannous

369 THE MIDDLE EAST reveals itself most fundamentally through a study of its rural society. There is indeed no other road to an authentic understanding of this part of the world. Agriculture is the mainstay of its economy; it also holds the greatest promise for widespread economic development. Of even greater importance, however, is the human factor: between 70 and 80 percent of the people of the Middle East are rural, depending upon agriculture for a living. By sheer numbers, if nothing else, these masses of the population would constitute the substance of national character. But more than that, they have a distinctive culture of their own which has determined the wide base upon which national life must develop. That this basic stratum of Middle East society is inarticulate and has been ignored for long centuries does not alter its fundamental significance.

369 The rural society of the Middle East consists of two major segments — the pastoral tribe and the agricultural village — which supplement and merge into each other, economically, biologically, and culturally. In some countries of the area, for example Saudi Arabia, Syria, Iraq, and Iran, the nomadic or semi-settled tribe plays a significant role.[1] In others, such as

113 [1] Afif I. Tannous, "The Arab Tribal Community in a Nationalist State," *Middle East Journal*, I (1947), 3-17.

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114 [v] Afif I. Tannous, Lecturer at The Middle East Institute on the cultural organization of the Arab peoples, is regional specialist in charge of the Middle East Section, Office of Foreign Agricultural Relations, Department of Agriculture. The discussion here presented is developed from a chapter by the author in the *Report* of the United States — Lebanon Agricultural Mission, of which he was a member.

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

Egypt, Turkey, and Lebanon, it is the agricultural village that is paramount. The Lebanese, it is true, are generally known abroad as a trading people, whose ships have sailed throughout the Mediterranean world since ancient times. But this urban, merchant community has always been backed by the rural community of the Mountain.

In few other countries do we find the village-community type of human settlement so firmly established and so influential in the development of national life as in Lebanon. The village has existed continuously there since ancient times. Despite great upheavals, the farmer of Lebanon has patiently and persistently cultivated the soil, produced his crops, and raised his livestock. He has found in the rugged mountains a refuge from persecution and oppression. He has adapted himself efficiently to the difficult terrain, blasting the rocks and terracing the steep slopes in order to make room for his trees, vines, and grains. Over many centuries of adjustment to his peculiar physical and societal environment, he has succeeded in developing a clearly defined and firmly established way of life. He stands at present as the main pillar of national life in the mountains of Lebanon, the embodiment of a long and rich cultural heritage.

In appraising the significance of the village community in the life of present-day Lebanon, one can readily point out three major contributions. The first of these is biological: the replenishment and revitalization of the population in general, and of the urban population in particular. A study of the development of Lebanon over the past half century reveals clearly that rural areas have been mainly responsible for the building up of the flourishing urban or partly urban centers of Sidon, Beirut, Tripoli, and Zahleh. They have maintained a high birth rate, true to the trend prevailing in all rural areas of the Middle East. Due to a healthful climate and relatively high standards of sanitation, infant mortality has been lower in Lebanon than in the other countries of the Middle East. The result has been a constant stream of vigorous emigrants leaving the villages for urban centers.

Some fifty years ago this population overflow produced such pressure on the limited land and technological resources of

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

fessions, although they flourish in urban centers, have either had a direct rural upbringing or are but one generation removed from it.

II

Nearly all farmers of Lebanon live in villages, not on isolated farmsteads. This is the prevailing pattern of the Middle East and of most the Old World. In some parts of Europe and in most of the United States farmers live in relative isolation, each on his own land. These two different patterns have contributed to marked differences in the way of life among farming folk.

The typical Lebanese farming settlement consists, in the first place, of the village proper. This is a conglomeration of dwellings concentrated in a relatively small area. The houses, ranging in number from about 100 to 500, stand close to one another. Sometimes there is room between them for small gardens or orchards. Usually the center of this nucleated structure is the church or the mosque. In the adjoining open space, the *saha*, the people assemble to celebrate, exchange news, or hold a market. Dwellings stretch from this center in various directions. Usually, sections of the village are differentiated along kinship-group lines. Another important center is the well, or spring, in the village proper or just outside it. Agricultural land, consisting mainly of orchards, vineyards, and open fields, extends in all directions from the central group of dwellings. During the greater part of the year, the farmers and their animals take a daily trip, going to the fields early in the morning and returning to the village at sunset.

The outstanding feature of this type of close settlement is that it provides the individual with a situation that is highly socializing. People know one another intimately. In many important situations they act as a group, yet leave room for individual initiative. A genuine feeling of neighborliness, or *jirak*, prevails. The Arabic term is significant, properly meaning "help" or "cooperation." A child growing up in such a milieu must learn from his early days how to rub elbows with people and get along with them. He must develop the art of adjustment not only to his age group but also to his elders and those younger than himself.

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He soon develops a keen consciousness of belonging to the community. Through such consciousness his personality is expanded. The attainment of his life's objectives is tempered by a firmly established sense of responsibility as a member of the group.

It is in such surroundings that a spirit of true democracy is nurtured and developed. Viewed from this angle, the village community of Lebanon assumes a new national significance.

From the economic viewpoint, this type of physical structure has resulted in the development of a widespread problem of fragmented holdings. The Lebanese farmer frequently owns property that consists of some 10, 15, or 20 small plots, scattered in all directions from the village where he lives. Agriculturally, this type of landholding is inefficient. The farmer wastes much time and energy in walking from plot to plot. Furthermore, he cannot develop a satisfactory over-all plan of management for his land. A national plan for the consolidation of holdings, launched on a voluntary co-operative basis, thus is in order. Consolidation alone, however, would be only a temporary solution, for the prevailing system of dividing the land among the heirs and the practice of selling a small portion of a plot upon need would in time cause the fragmented holdings to reappear. Other complicating factors, some social and some religious, require that the problem be given more detailed study and analysis before a satisfactory solution can be devised.

The Lebanese farmer manifests a deep-rooted attachment to his land. It is his main source of living, and before him it supported a long line of his ancestors. It is an integral part of his being; he speaks of it with religious fervor. The various plots he owns carry personalized names, referring to certain qualities, incidents in village history, ancestors, or patron saints. By virtue of owning them and being a good farmer he is given status in the community and plays a role in its affairs. To sell out and migrate to another locality is abhorrent to him, a threat to his whole existence. When he is forced to emigrate abroad, he does so with the fervent hope that some day he will return to his village community, to the land that ties him in an organic manner to a long line of ancestors. If he is forced to mortgage or sell some of his land upon departure, his first concern is to remit money to pay

17: Tannous S. G. S. for 1947-48; 1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

are numerous and varied. A large number of these are related to the religious life of the community. In addition to the regular weekly holiday and other general holidays of the Christians or Moslems, there are several community festivals held in honor of particular patron saints. Each of these festivals is an occasion for people of several villages to get together and celebrate, sometimes for two or three days at a time. They visit, trade, compete in games, compose folk poetry, participate in religious chanting or group singing, and dance the well-known folk dance, the *dabki*.

In a similar manner the people celebrate the harvesting of some of their crops. Also in the *sahra* they have a well-developed recreational institution: an evening get-together at one of the homes to visit, play games, or listen to a story being read or told. At the time of a wedding or a funeral, practically the whole community, old and young, halts its routine activities and participates in the affair. Here again the group manifests its solidarity and takes a new hold on life by expanding its happiness in the first case, and by lightening the burden of its sorrows in the second.

The village community of Lebanon is thus essentially a co-operative unit: in its family organization, in its traditions of neighborliness, in its religious institutions and social life, in its educational efforts. Co-operation, in one degree or another, is also involved in many agricultural activities such as the threshing of grain, the sharing of draft animals, and the assigning of water rights.

One can readily see in this a promising and secure foundation on which to establish a successful organization of agricultural co-operatives according to modern principles and techniques. In fact, a beginning has already been made along this line. In 1944 the Lebanese Government passed a decree providing for the establishment of a co-operative council, whose function is to guide and supervise the projected movement. The decree also covers various essential details of organization, obligations and rights of members, audit and inspection, and voting procedure.

The successful co-operative experiment of Abadiyeh village, in the mountains above Beirut, provides a striking demonstration of the manner in which such a developmental scheme can

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 ME1 Lebanon ME1

be successfully grafted upon the traditional community spirit and yield fruit. This society was started by a rural leader of the country, a native of the village, under the auspices of the American University of Beirut and the Near East Foundation of New York. It has been functioning continuously and successfully for more than ten years, a modern co-operative enterprise flourishing on the foundations of the traditional mutual aid of the village community.

Emphasis has been made upon two great needs in Lebanese agriculture — extension of credit at reasonable rates for productive purposes, and efficient marketing of produce. In both respects the Abadiyeh people have been amply rewarded. Over 300 of them belong to the society, representing, as heads of families, the great majority of the total population. The bulk of the surplus of grapes, the major crop of the village, amounting to over 1,000 tons, is marketed through the co-operative. With efficient packing and guaranteed grading, it brings higher prices in Beirut markets than others less carefully prepared. Loans to members have steadily increased. The farmers have been educated to borrow only for productive purposes, at a low rate of interest, and to pay back on time. They have also learned how to apply some of the profits to public services. Three or four other villages have already followed the example of Abadiyeh.

If given the encouragement and guidance that is initially necessary, the co-operative will find an unusually fertile soil for rapid growth in the rural society of Lebanon. Not only the problems of credit and marketing, but also those of increased crop production, livestock improvement, and procurement of supplies could be solved to a large extent by this form of organization. More important still, the co-operative society could develop ultimately into the integrating and dynamic center of village life.

III

Some fifty years ago, significant changes began to take place in the life of the Lebanese rural community. The main factors involved have been large-scale emigration to foreign countries; rapid development of elementary and higher education, mostly under the influence of Western agencies; expanded trade and

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

other business activities with the West; modern technology and means of communication; and, finally, the rise of political consciousness, culminating recently in national emancipation.

Each of these factors for change has been potent, introducing far-reaching influences in the life of the people. The educational movement has brought a rate of literacy, estimated at 70 percent, which is unequalled in any other rural area of the Middle East. The rate is even higher for the more advanced mountain region considered separately from the coastal and urban areas of Lebanon. Here we find a school in practically every village, catering to the needs of both boys and girls. From the elementary schools, village youth has flowed in increasing numbers to high schools and colleges. As a result, the horizon of the village has been widened intellectually and economically, causing the farming folk to question their way of life and to seek greater opportunities in the outside world.

As mentioned before, Lebanese emigrants, mostly from the rural areas, left in relatively large numbers to the Americas and other parts of the world. Practically every farm-family unit has one or more of its members residing abroad. Through correspondence, the press, and literature, through clubs and societies, through visits back home, and by means of the substantial sums of money sent to their families, these emigrants have contributed heavily to the widening of the village horizon and to the changing of its pattern.

Perhaps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities.

The village community of Lebanon is now going through a stage of rapid transition and difficult adjustment. Its traditional organization, with its institutional pillars of family, land, and religion, is being severely challenged. New ways of doing things

17: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

and new forms of human relationships are competing, and in many cases conflicting with the old folkways and mores. In some villages one can witness indications of severe disorganization. This state of affairs might be considered as an index of health and growth. It might, on the other hand, result in much disruption and cultural loss. Only tentative and partial experiments have been made to date in working out a progressive pattern for village life, as in the co-operative movement described above. This is a serious matter for Lebanon to consider, for its future development depends to a large extent upon the success with which its village communities adjust to the changing times without abandoning the fundamental role they have played in shaping Lebanon's national character.

held only by Christians : the fourth by many of the Maronites, the fifth by those who have been moved by the nationalist sentiment without trying to make it a substitute for religious belief.

Probably the majority of French missionaries and officials in the last generation have professed the third or fourth views : that is to say, they have regarded Arabism as primarily an Islamic movement in which the Christians can have no place, and thus they have tried to make Lebanon into a place where the Christians can at least be safe and can perhaps even build up a national life of their own. Their attitude is determined partly by religious belief, partly by a sense of France's historic obligations and partly by a certain conception of French interests. As for the third party to the question, the Arab nationalists in Syria and the other Arab countries, they believe that Lebanon is a part of the Arab world and are afraid of its being used as a centre for foreign intrigues against them ; but the more reasonable and responsible of them recognize the peculiar traditions and needs of Lebanon and are prepared to make special provision for them.

8

The problem of the Shi'is is in some ways similar to that of the Christians and Druzes of the Mountain, since it arises from distinct religious loyalties complicated by a separate tradition and memories of persecution. But there is also another complicating factor : the backwardness of the Shi'is in social organization and their low standard of living. Their first need is for a reformed social organization and improved economic conditions. Once this need has been satisfied, it is possible that their outlook and feeling will be near enough to that of the Sunnis to make special treatment unnecessary.

There is one community which possesses a special relation to all the rest. The Armenians, whether Gregorians, Catholics or Protestants, have two characteristics which distinguish them from the remainder of the population of Lebanon. First, they are not Arabic-speaking, but have their own language, culture and national consciousness. Secondly, they are mainly of recent settlement there. The majority established themselves in and around Beirut in consequence of the measures taken against them by the Turkish authorities

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APPENDIX II

THE JIBMAIL RURAL WELFARE CENTER, LEBANON

by E. Basile Alter*

The Welfare Center is located in the village of Jibmail, Akkar, Lebanon, which has around nine hundred people, all of whom depend on agriculture for their livelihood. This village is the geographical center for an ecological area of some twenty thousand people. The village reconstruction program began in 1955, though our Presbyterian Mission had an academic school there before that time. Here is the only controlled experimental demonstration center of the kind in Lebanon.

When this reconstruction project began, Jibmail, like most other villages of the Near East was designed to half-crops, half-health, half-education learning, half-happiness, and half-living. Since we were convinced that all of these factors must be treated as a unit, the programme dealt with the following: fundamental education for teen-age boys and girls, as well as adults, control of diseases of man, animals and plants, improvement of agriculture and live stock, control of water and soil conservation and irrigation, rural industries to make use of leisure time; and the development of moral, social and spiritual values within the indigenous religious cultures.

We have been experimenting for several years with a strategy which would reach the whole village through centering individuals, family units, the village and the ecological area in their "grass-roots" environment. This technique is the same as that which would be used to meet the economy of a rural family which had run down land, poor crops - hence poor food, inferior animals and trees, poor health; and consequently poor members in the family unit. In the Near East the village resembles a large family, consequently there must be a unit approach, rather than the departmental approach, as is used in the extension systems of the West. After there is considerable development the departmental approach may apply equally well to the Near East.

Over a period of years we have accumulated considerable data on this unit approach. Our Centre is constantly being requested by individuals, government and others to share this data, especially in the Arabic language. We feel that it would be a real service to the whole Near East to provide some printed material.

We have the following assets:

1. Personnel and leadership. Mrs. Alter and I have had special training and experience in rural education and rural reconstruction. We have developed a staff of able Lebanese who understand our philosophy and co-operate as colleagues. We are in process of developing a Lebanese Board of Directors to take over more and more of the administration.

2. We have two schools, for boys and girls, which are co-operating closely with the Fundamental Education of UNESCO. These schools have a student body and graduates through whom we may continue experimentation and demonstration.

* Mr. Basile Alter is an American in charge of the Jibmail Centre. He is assisted in the management of the Centre by Mr. Nasir Shouny, a Lebanese.

The Law of 1930 provides that any community of fifty persons or more should have an elected mukhtar and council. In villages of 50–500 persons, the council has two members; 500–1000, four members; 1000–2000, six members (Holden, 1950, p. 34). Since World War II, Mamdi's council was increased from two to four members. The present incumbents are Isma'ı̄l Sa'ı̄d, A.VII; A.VIII; A.IX; and C.XV.

The mayor presides at meetings of the council with which he is supposed to [illegible] deliberate on all organizational and administrative matters. Council members [illegible] countersign deeds of sale, identity cards, and bills of assessment. The mayor is responsible for the finances and general health of the village. He is responsible to the central government, or district government, for maintenance of the peace and for the collection of taxes. He is empowered to serve summonses. Mayor and council serve without salary (Holden, 1950, pp. 29–31). During the period of study, the mayor in his official capacity was in daily evidence since he accompanied the surveyor who was making a cadastral survey of all land-holdings in the village. The surveyor measured and recorded boundaries, and the mayor confirmed them after consultation with the parties concerned.

Otherwise, it was quite evident that the village government machinery has little cause to be active most of the time. There is no village constable, and the government gendarmerie do not regularly patrol it. If some criminal act were committed in the village, the mayor would be expected by the government to call in the police. However, as one man said, "We are very peaceful here, not like some villages. The judges say that if all villages were like Mamdi, they would have no work."

THE USE OF TITLES

The priest is addressed and referred to as *khouri* (priest) by everyone including his family, though his children occasionally address him as *baba* (daddy). *Abouna* (our father), usually known, is also very frequently used in addressing the priest. The feminine form of *khouri*, *khouriyyeh*, is similarly used in reference and address to the priest's wife. The priest and his wife refer to and address each other in public by their titles.

The mayor is always referred to and addressed as *mukhtar*, at least by persons outside his immediate family, and his wife is sometimes called *mukhtarah*.

The retired physician was called *al-dukhtur* or *Dukhtur Mikhā'il*. Once again, his wife was often called *dukhturah*. "*Dukhtur*" is of course borrowed from Latin-European and as a general thing it is preferred to *hakīm* (the traditional equivalent of "physician") which is never used in address, anyway, while *tabīb* and *tawwāja* in dialogue references to doctors. For example, once when the priest was called out on duty in the evening he remarked humorously, "*Al-khouri mithl hakīm.*" ("The priest is like a doctor.")

Physical Description of Area

[illegible] The coastal plain in the Kumasi area is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea on the west and the Lebanon range on the east. The climate is Mediterranean with dry summers, mostly all of the rain falling between October and May. The soil is chiefly a heavy clay. Much of the coastal area is suitable for irrigation. While some of the land is rocky and in the United States would not be used for farm land, nearly all land capable of cultivation has been brought under the plow. The steeper slopes are protected from undue erosion by rock wall terraces. The climate is favorable to the growth of vegetable and subtropical crops. Citrus fruits, bananas, vegetables, and cereal crops are typical of abundance.

[illegible] The major markets for the products of the five villages are Beirut and Sidon. All of the project and control villages are linked to the Tyre-Sidon-Beirut main coastal road by gravel surfaced roads except for Qunduriyeh and Sidkeiyeh, which are connected by unimproved dirt roads. Tyre is the market town from two miles from the main road. The traffic on this road is heavy and trucks and buses are frequently available for taking produce to Sidon or Beirut. These towns are 18 and 42 miles respectively distant from Tyre. Sidon, the most important village

Village Government

[illegible] The five villages included in the Kumasi Rural Improvement Project have a similar form of local government. Each village has a mukhtar (mayor) who is elected in a more or less democratic manner. In each village there is also a board of aldermen or village elders. This board is also elected in effect and it consists of three men or six members. The mukhtar is generally the largest landowner or supervisor and one of the wealthiest men in the village. The aldermen as well are among the more well-to-do villagers. However, the makeup of wealth is relative. Often the buildings owned by local villagers may be large in comparison with others in their own community, but small indeed when compared to the size of buildings in the village controlled by persons living outside the village. The common bond does not mean representation by the poor in this area whether by the rich supervisors or not known.

A number of the villages are wholly dependent upon one or several large non-resident land-owners, who own much of the agricultural land farmed by the village's. In these cases, the mukhtar acts only after consultation with these large landowners. 491 622

The mukhtar and the board of eldermen are elected for a period of four years. In case of the death or resignation of the mukhtar, the administrative officer of the Nahia district (the qaimmaqam) is authorized to appoint one of the eldermen to fill the vacant position. A new election must be held within two months after the vacancy occurs. 622 623

The powers and obligations of the mukhtar include: acting as the representative of the government in the village; registering the newly born and deceased; supervising the land tax; issuing the holders of land, such, where land registration has not been completed, issuing certificates showing title to land for purposes of sale or mortgage. It is interesting to note, in conformance with Lebanese law, that when the police come to arrest a villager they are not permitted to enter a house unless accompanied by the mukhtar. 622 694

Table I has been prepared for the convenience of technicians working in the area. It shows the names of the mukhtars in the five selected villages as of September, 1952, and the number of persons on the board of eldermen. 622 623

These small villages have no income from taxes or property. What improvements the villagers have been able to achieve are through mutual cooperation. This cooperation is reflected in their sharing the village drinking fluor (water). In answer to the question, "What improvements have been financed either in cash or in kind, by your village during the past five years?" none was reported. In the control area, the villagers in El-Ghuwiyah and El-'Akkarmiyah contributed the maintenance of school buildings, and in En-Nagariyah volunteer village labor helped to build a new road from the dirt rd to the Saida-Beirut highway. 496

Where there are over two thousand inhabitants and a village income of over L.L. 2,000 annual income, a municipality can be formed. The municipality takes care of locally financed projects such as street construction, water supply works, lighting, sanitation and sponsorship of public schools. Only in the control village of El-Ghuwiyah does a municipality operate. As none of the five villages under discussion has the legal minimum of two thousand population, there are no municipalities in the demonstration area. 632

[illegible]

[illegible]

622
623

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]			
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]			
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

III. ADMINISTRATION OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES

4.37 Until 1938 the administration of unincorporated towns and villages of the Lebanon was carried on under the provisions of the Ottoman Vilayet Law of November 8, 1864, and January 21, 1871.[1] On January 13, 1938, a new code was promulgated under the title *Loi des Mouhtars*,[2] which forms the present basis of village organization and administration.

Under this law every community of at least fifty inhabitants is administered by a mouhtar and a council of elders.[3] Under the law of 1938, as under the Turkish regime, these officials were elected but by Décret-Loi No. 3 of February 9, 1940, provision is made for their appointment by the Minister of the Interior upon the nomination of the administrator of the district.[4]

Composition of Council of Elders

4.38 [June] The councils are composed of from two to six members under the presidency of the mouhtar. There are two members in villages of less than 300 inhabitants, four in villages having from 300 to 1500, six in towns of more than 1500.[5] In towns of more than 2500, the quarters are organized separately with their own mouhtar and council. New quarters may be constituted only by decree of the Minister of the Interior.[6]

Tenure of Office

4.39 4.40 The mouhtar and councillors hold office for a period of four years and are eligible for reelection or reappointment.[7] The councillors must be registered voters in accordance with the provisions of the national electoral law[8] and domiciled in the village or quarter which they represent. They must be at least twenty-five years of age and able to read and write. If there are no literate eligible

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1 Young, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 39-40.
2 Loi No. 60, Oct. 27, 1938, p. 1.
3 Loi des Mouhtars, loc. cit., Art. 1.
4 Loi No. 3, Feb. 9, 1940. The electoral provisions under the 1938 law were the same as for the election of municipal councils; appointment was by selection of candidates was required.
5 Loi des Mouhtars, loc. cit., Art. 4.
6 Loi des Mouhtars, loc. cit., Art. 5.
7 Ibid., Art. 7.
8 Supra, p. 3.

persons in the village, the literacy qualification may be waived for the councillors, but the mukhtār must then be selected from a neighbouring village.[1]

The mukhtār must be appointed from the dominant sect and the seats on the council are allocated among the different sects by the same procedure followed in the organization of municipal councils.[2]

No one may hold the office of mukhtār or councillor in more than one locality at the same time. Father and son, father and son-in-law, brothers, or brothers-in-law may not all simultaneously in the same council nor in councils of different quarters of the same town.[3]

Powers of Council

The council deliberates with the mukhtār on all questions of general organization and administration. They must countersign with the mukhtār: (1) all certificates of sale or transfer of real estate;[4] (2) certificates of identity of buyers and sellers attesting their compliance with the requisite legal conditions and their freedom from competition; (3) certificates concerning the holders of land held without title. They act as an assessment commission for the repartition of the harmat tithe among the inhabitants.[5]

Powers of Mukhtār

The mukhtār presides over the council of elders. He has general powers with regard to public security, finances, land registration, agriculture, health and hygiene, justice, and education.[6]

In matters of general administration and public security he is responsible for the publication of the laws and regulations. He issues official certificates of identity and good character and attests the fulfillment of the requirements and freedom from judicial process. He must keep the central government informed of local incidents which might lead to a disturbance of the public peace and security.[7]

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1. Loi des Mukhtārs, loc. cit., Art. 6.
2. Ibid., loc. cit. and Expos., p. 4.
3. Ibid., Art. 11.
4. Ibid., Art. 28.
5. Ibid., Art. 29.
6. Ibid., Art. 30.
7. Ibid., Art. 31.

4.32
4.37 In matters of finance, the mukhtár must give the tax-collectors any assistance needed in locating taxpayers or in seizing their property in case of default.[1] Under the reorganization of the tax system in 1930 the mukhtárs may be called upon to collect the taxes themselves. In fact this new function was one of the reasons advanced for having these officials appointed by the central government instead of elected. When entrusted with the collection of taxes, the mukhtár is entitled to a commission of two and one-half per cent of the amount collected, provided they secure over 90 per cent of the amount due according to their tax lists. If more than 75 per cent of the amount due is collected, they receive an additional commission of 1 per cent. Failure to collect 30 per cent of the amount due makes them liable to dismissal from office without right of re-appointment for a period of five years.[2]

The mukhtár is responsible for posting the allocation of the harvest tithe determined by the council.[3]

4.33 In matters of land registration the mukhtár is responsible for certifying to the Land Transfer Office any cases arising within their jurisdiction.[4]

The mukhtár must assist the judicial authorities in carrying out duly authorized raids or seizures. He is responsible for serving any court summons or warrants to persons within his jurisdiction. Authority is entrusted to the mukhtár to assess the damages to crops or communal forests when the amount does not exceed five gold pounds. Such assessments serve as the basis for judgement.[5]

The mukhtár is responsible for the execution of all instructions emanating from the Department of Agriculture. He must furnish any information or reports required by that Department.[6]

The mukhtár must notify the government of any cases of contagious disease, of the existence of places of debauchery, and of any cases of accidents from poisoned food. In times of epidemics he is empowered to take the necessary precautions for stemming the epidemic until the central authorities assume control.[7]

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1 Loi des Moukhtars, loc. cit., Art. 35.
2 Loi No. 10, March 17, 1930, Jour. Off., No. 9, 1930.
3 Loi des Moukhtars, loc. cit., Art. 36.
4 Ibid., Art. 37.
5 Ibid., Art. 38.
6 Ibid., Art. 39.
7 Ibid., Art. 40.

He is responsible for persuading the inhabitants to enroll their children in the schools. He supervises the protection of antiquities and must notify the proper authorities of any cases of vandalism or theft perpetrated thereon.[1]

Miscellaneous Provisions

The mukhtar and councilors serve without pay. However, the former is authorized to charge a fixed fee for his services in issuing the various certificates required for his office. This fee is set by the central government. Although he retains the money, he must keep strict account of all such receipts on forms prescribed by the Ministry of Finance. He is forbidden to accept any recompense other than the authorized fee.[2]

A mukhtar may not absent himself from his village for more than ten days without prior authorization from the administrator. During his absence, he is replaced by the senior member of the council of elders.[3]

In case of any fault committed by either a mukhtar or a council member in their official capacities an investigation is made by the administrator who reports thereon to the Minister of the Interior. The latter may institute judicial action against the accused, who may not be reinstated in office unless acquitted and absolved.[4]

No preliminary authorization is required by third parties for the institution of judicial suit against a mukhtar or councilman for an offense committed outside of his official capacity.[5]

With regard to all other matters of local administration and control the towns and villages are under the authority of the Minister of the Interior acting through the administrators and kaimmakams with the advice and assistance of the various administrative councils.[6]

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1 Loi des Moukhtars, loc. cit., Art. 27.
2 Ibid., Art. 25.
3 Ibid., Art. 24.
4 Ibid., Art. 23.
5 Ibid., Art. 26.
6 Decree-Law No. 6, June 6th, No. 2, 1939

7: Gulick E-S (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

572 Since 1946, public school students have had the option of taking French or English (*ibid.*, p. 426), and in Munşif English is the universal choice.

The national school follows more or less the same pattern, at the same and also more advanced levels, but of course the master is free to choose his own texts and to present his courses as he chooses. The one in Munşif is very much concerned with having up-to-date books (American and English), and holds his pupils and students up to strict hygienic standards. The school has a modern toilet, and the drinking water is filtered.

THE "SPORT CLUB"

575 The building which houses the government school is also the center of the 845 Sport Club which was founded by the young people of the village about 1950.

[529] The building has a large central room in which there is a stage and four or five tables for playing cards and other games. There are four side-rooms, one of which has a shelf of books and pamphlets and is the headquarters of the club. The other three are schoolrooms, equipped with small wooden desks for the students and blackboards. The large room is used as an everyday meeting place for the [532] adolescents and young adults. It is also used for the annual play. So far, it appears that though the club itself is new, it has formed already existing activities, such as the plays and volleyball games, but has not initiated any new kinds of activity. It is active as a unit only in the summer when there are many older students and young adults in the village on vacation, and if causes may be adduced, it can be said that the primary cause of the club's coming into existence is the need of idle vacationers to organize their activities. There was no need for this before the beginning of the recent changes in the culture.

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

632 The village government consists of a mayor (*mukhtar*) and a four-man 623 council of elders (*'aḍa' shāvarṭyad*). All five men serve concurrently for a term of four years. They are elected by the men of the village who have attained the age of twenty-one. The present mayor (CXXI) has held the office for about twelve years. The tenure of his predecessor (LXII), who was his father-in-law, extended back to about 1900.

[631] The present municipal statutes of Lebanon define three types of community. Beirut is in a class by itself. There follow one hundred and twenty "incorporated" towns. The remainder, about 1300, of which Munşif is one, are classed as "unincorporated" villages. The unincorporated villages are governed according to the *Loi des Moukhtars* of 1930 (Rondot, 1951, p. 1). Before 1930, the unincorporated villages were governed under the provisions of the Ottoman Vilayet Law of 1864 which, at the local level, was originally a formalization of the traditional pattern of government by a council of heads of households, one of whom was chosen as shaykh.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The Law of 1928 provides that any community of fifty persons or more should have an elected mukhtar and council. In villages of 50–500 persons, the council has two members; 500–1000, four members; 1500–2500, six members (Rüsher, 1952, p. 28). Since World War II, Mutnjil's council was increased from two to four members. The present incumbents are from lineages A.VI; A.VIII; A.X; and C.XV.

The mayor presides at meetings of the council with which he is supposed to deliberate on all organizational and administrative matters. Council members countersign deeds of sale, identity cards, and bills of assessment. The mayor is responsible for the finances and general health of the village. He is responsible to the central government, or district government, for maintenance of the peace and for the collection of taxes. He is empowered to serve summonses. Mayor and council serve without salary (Rüsher, 1952, pp. 29–31). During the period of study, the mayor in his official capacity was in daily evidence since he accompanied the surveyor who was making a cadastral survey of all land-holdings in the village. The surveyor measured and recorded boundaries, and the mayor confirmed them after consultation with the parties concerned.

Otherwise, it was quite evident that the village government machinery has little cause to be active most of the time. There is no village constable, and the government gendarmerie do not regularly patrol it. If some criminal act were committed in the village, the mayor would be expected by the government to call in the police. However, as one man said, "We are very peaceful here, not like some villages. The judges say that if all villages were like Mutnjil, they would have no work."

THE USE OF TITLES

The priest is addressed and referred to as *khouri* (priest) by everyone in the village but his family, though his children occasionally address him as *bouba* (daddy). *Khouree* (our father), usually *khoura*, is also very frequently used in addressing the priest. The feminine form of *khouri*, *khouriyyah*, is similarly used in reference and address to the priest's wife. The priest and his wife refer to and address each other in public by their titles.

The mayor is always referred to and addressed as *mukhtar*, at least by persons outside his immediate family, and his wife is sometimes called *mukhtarah*.

The retired physician was called *al-doktour* or Doktour Mukhtâl. Here again, his wife was often called *doktourah*. "Doktour" is of course borrowed from Indo-European and as a general thing it is preferred to *hakîm* (the traditional equivalent of "physician") which is never used in address, anyway, and is only used nowadays in oblique references to doctors. For example, once when the priest was called out on duty in the evening he remarked humorously, "*Al-khouri mithl hakîm.*" ("The priest is like a doctor.")

Physical Description of Area.

361 The coastal plain in the Kaamie area is bounded by the Mediterranean Sea on the west and
132 the Lebanon range on the east. The climate is Mediterranean with dry summers, nearly all of the
184 rain falling between October and May. The soil is chiefly a heavy clay. Much of this coastal area
941 is suitable for irrigation. While some of the land is rocky and in the United States would not be used for farm land, nearly all land capable of cultivation has been brought under the plow. The steeper slopes are protected from serious erosion by rock wall terraces. The climate is favorable to the growth of temperate and sub-tropical crops. Citrus fruits, bananas, vegetables, and cereal crops are found in abundance.

361 The major markets for the products of the five villages are Beirut and Saida. All of the project
491 and control villages are linked to the Tyre-Saida-Beirut main coastal road by gravel surfaced roads
487 except for Loubya and Sakrakiyah, which are dependent upon trails. In no case is the dirt road more
494 than two miles from the main road. The traffic on this road is heavy and trucks and buses are frequently available for taking products to Saida or Beirut. These towns are 12 and 42 miles respectively distant from 'Adloun, the most southerly village.

Village Government.

622 The five villages included in the Kaamie Rural Improvement Project have a similar form of
623 local government. Each village has a mukhtar (mayor) who is elected in a more-or-less democratic
491 manner. In each village there is also a board of aldermen or village elders. This board is also
655 elected to office and is composed of from two to six members. The mukhtar is generally the largest landowner or sponsor and one of the wealthiest men in the village. The aldermen as well are among the more well-to-do villagers. However, the concept of wealth is relative. Often the holdings owned by local villagers may be large in comparison with others in their own community, but small indeed when compared to the size of holdings in the village controlled by persons living outside the village. The common fellah does not enjoy representation by his peers in this area whether he has such aspirations is not known.

%Lebanon G-5 (0952)0953 MEI Lebanon MEI

A number of the villages are wholly dependent upon one or several large non-resident land-owners, who own much of the agricultural lands farmed by the village [illegible]. In these cases, the mukhtar acts only after consultation with these large landowners. 491 622

The mukhtar and the board of aldermen are elected for a period of four years. In case of the death or resignation of the mukhtar, the administrative officer of the Saida district (the qaimmaqam) is authorized to appoint one of the aldermen to fill the vacant position. A new election must be held within two months after the vacancy occurs. 622 623

The powers and obligations of the mukhtar include: acting as the representative of the government in the village; registering the newly born and deceased; apportioning the land tax among the holders of land; and, where land registration has not been completed, issuing certificates showing title to land for purposes of sale or mortgage. It is interesting to note, in conformance with Lebanese law, that when the police come to arrest a villager they are not permitted to enter a house unless accompanied by the mukhtar. 622 694

Table I has been prepared for the convenience of technicians working in the area. It shows the names of the mukhtars in the five affected villages as of September, 1952, and the number of persons on the board of aldermen. 622 623

These small villages have no income from taxes or property. What improvements the villagers desire must be achieved through mutual cooperation. This cooperation is reflected in their sharing the village threshing floor (beidar). In answer to the question, "What improvements have been financed (either in cash or in kind) by your village during the past five years?" none was reported. In the coastal area, the villagers in El-Ghuziyah and El-'Addwaniyah contributed the maintenance of school buildings, and in En-Nejarriyah volunteer village labor helped to build a new road from the dei'ah to the Saida-Beirut highway. 496

Where there are over two thousand inhabitants and a village income of over LL. 2,000 annual income, a municipality can be formed. The municipality takes care of locally financed projects such as street construction, water supply works, lighting, sanitation and sponsorship of public schools. Only in the coastal village of El-Ghuziyah does a municipality operate. As none of the five villages under discussion has the legal minimum of two thousand population, there are no municipalities in the demonstration area. 632

9:Lebanon G-3 (0952)053 MEI Lebanon MEI

TABLE I

Village Councils

Kamed Rural Improvement Project

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623

Name of Defter	Name of Mukhtar	Number of Years in Office	Number on Board of Advisors
Project Area			
Sarafand	Haidar Khalaifah	10	6
Sukuniyah	Muhammad Hussein 'Aliwa	6	6
Lwaiziya	Ali Sami El-Ariad	2	2
En-Nmeiriyah	Shahoun Ahmad Yassin	3	2
'Aliwa	'Ali H. Wahbah	7	6
Coastal Area			
El-Ghaziyah*	Muhammad 'Aliwa Khalaifah	2	6
En-Naqqariyah	As'ad Tawaf	10	2
El-'Adaiwiyah	Jirjis Daghir	2	none

* El-Ghaziyah has a municipal government as well as a mukhtar and board of advisors.

III. ADMINISTRATION OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES

63/ Until 1928 the administration of unincorporated towns and villages of the Lebanon was carried on under the provisions of the Ottoman Vilayet Law of November 8, 1864, and January 21, 1871.[1] On January 13, 1928, a new code was promulgated under the title *Loi des Moukhtars*,[2] which forms the present basis of village organization and administration.

Under this law every community of at least fifty inhabitants is administered by a moukhtar and a council of elders.[3] Under the law of 1928, as under the Turkish regime, these officials were elected but by Décret-Loi No. 5 of February 8, 1930, provision is made for their appointment by the Minister of the Interior upon the nomination of the administrator of the district.[4]

Composition of Council of Elders.

63.1 [64] The councils are composed of from two to six members under the presidency of the moukhtar. There are two members in villages of less than 500 inhabitants, four in villages having from 500 to 1500, six in towns of more than 1500.[5] In towns of more than 2500, the quarters are organized separately with their own moukhtar and council. New quarters may be constituted only by decree of the Minister of the Interior.[6]

Tenure of Office.

63.2 63.3 The moukhtar and councillors hold office for a period of four years and are eligible for reelection or reappointment.[7] The candidates must be registered voters in accordance with the provisions of the national electoral law[8] and domiciled in the village or quarter which they represent. They must be at least twenty-five years of age and able to read and write. If there are no literate eligible

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1 Young, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 39-40.
2 Jour. Off., No. F. 438, p. 4.
3 Loi des Moukhtars, *loc. cit.*, Art. 2.
4 Jour. Off. No. F. 539. The electoral procedure under the 1928 law was the same as for the election of municipal councils [illegible] that an declaration of candidatures was required.
5 Loi des Moukhtars, *loc. cit.*, Art. 4.
6 Loi des Moukhtars, *loc. cit.*, Art. 5.
7 Ibid., Art. 7.
8 *Supra*, p. 5.

persons in the village, the literacy qualification may be waived for the councillors, but the *mukhtār* must then be selected from a neighboring village.[1]

The *mukhtār* must be appointed from the dominant sect and the seats on the council are allocated among the different sects by the same procedure followed in the organization of municipal councils.[2]

No one may hold the office of *mukhtār* or councilman in more than one locality at the same time. Father and son, father and son-in-law, brothers, or brothers-in-law may not sit simultaneously in the same council nor in councils of different quarters of the same town.[3]

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The council deliberates with the *mukhtār* on all questions of general organization and administration. They must countersign with the *mukhtār* (1) all certificates of sale or transfer of real estate; (2) certificates of identity of buyers and sellers attesting their compliance with the requisite legal conditions and their freedom from compulsion; (3) certificates concerning the holders of land held without title. They act as an assessment commission for the repartition of the harvest tithe among the inhabitants.[4]

Powers of Mukhtār.

The *mukhtār* presides over the council of elders. He has general powers with regard to public security, finances, land registration, agriculture, health and hygiene, justice, and education.[5]

In matters of general administration and public security he is responsible for the publication of the laws and regulations. He issues official certificates of identity and good character and attests the fulfillment of tax requirements and freedom from judicial process. He must keep the central government informed of local incidents which might lead to a disturbance of the public peace and security.[6]

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1 Loi des Municipes, loc. cit., Art. 8.
2 Ibid., Art. 10 and Supra, p. 4.
3 Ibid., Art. 11.
4 Ibid., Art. 17.
5 Ibid., Art. 18.
6 Ibid., Art. 19.

He is responsible for persuading the inhabitants to enroll their children in the schools. He supervises the protection of antiquities and must notify the proper authorities of any cases of vandalism or theft perpetrated thereon.[1] 422

Miscellaneous Provisions.

The mukhtars and councillors serve without pay. However, the former is authorized to charge a fixed fee for his services in issuing the various certificates required for his office. This fee is set by the central government. Although he retains the money, he must keep strict account of all such receipts on forms prescribed by the Ministry of Finance. He is forbidden to accept any recompense other than the authorized fees.[2] 422 423

A mukhtar may not absent himself from his village for more than ten days without prior authorization from the administrator. During his absence, he is replaced by the senior member of the council of elders.[3]

In case of any fault committed by either a mukhtar or a council member in their official capacities an investigation is made by the administrator who reports thereon to the Minister of the Interior. The latter may institute judicial action against the accused, who may not be reinstated in office unless acquitted and absolved.[4]

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With regard to all other matters of local administration and control the towns and villages are under the authority of the Minister of the Interior acting through the administrators and kaimakams with the advice and assistance of the various administrative councils.[6] 431

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1 Loi des Moukhtars, loc. cit., Art. 19.
2 Ibid., Art. 20.
3 Ibid., Art. 24.
4 Ibid., Art. 25.
5 Ibid., Art. 26.
6 Decret-Loi No. 5, June, 1930, Sta. F. 179

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The Law of 1938 provides that any community of fifty persons or more should have an elected mukhtar and council. In villages of 50–500 persons, the council has two members; 500–1000, four members; 1500–2500, six members (Rikbet, 1952, p. 28). Since World War II, Mutqil's council was increased from two to four members. The present incumbents are from lineages A.VI; A.VIII; A.X; and C.XV.

The mayor presides at meetings of the council with which he is supposed to deliberate on all organizational and administrative matters. Council members countersign deeds of sale, identity cards, and bills of assessment. The mayor is responsible for the finances and general health of the village. He is responsible to the central government, or district government, for maintenance of the peace and for the collection of taxes. He is empowered to serve summonses. Mayor and council serve without salary (Rikbet, 1952, pp. 29–31). During the period of study, the mayor in his official capacity was in daily evidence since he accompanied the surveyor who was making a cadastral survey of all land-holdings in the village. The surveyor measured and recorded boundaries, and the mayor confirmed them after consultation with the parties concerned.

Otherwise, it was quite evident that the village government machinery has little cause to be active most of the time. There is no village constable, and the government gendarmerie do not regularly patrol it. If some criminal act were committed in the village, the mayor would be expected by the government to call in the police. However, as one man said, "We are very peaceful here, not like some villages. The judges say that if all villages were like Mutqil, they would have no work."

THE USE OF TITLES

The priest is addressed and referred to as *khouri* (priest) by everyone including his family, though his children occasionally address him as *baaba* (daddy). *Abouna* (our father), usually known, is also very frequently used in addressing the priest. The feminine form of *khouri*, *khouriyyah*, is similarly used in reference and address to the priest's wife. The priest and his wife refer to and address each other in public by their titles.

The mayor is always referred to and addressed as *mukhtar*, at least by persons outside his immediate family, and his wife is sometimes called *mukhtarah*.

The retired physician was called *al doktour* or Doktour Makhlouf. Since again, his wife was often called *doktourah*. "Doktour" is of course borrowed from Indo-European and as a general thing it is preferred to *hakeem* (the traditional equivalent of "physician") which is never used in address, anyway, and is only used nowadays in oblique references to doctors. For example, once when the priest was called out on duty in the evening he remarked humorously, "*Al khouri mitil hakeem.*" ("The priest is like a doctor.")

iii. The "[illegible]" POSTSCRIPT
[illegible] for internal security. It had always been in French hands although in principle the local police and gendarmerie were under the control of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments.

iv. The control of the Bebais.

v. The censorship of the press, which was in French hands, although there was also a British military censor. (Shortly after the accession of the new Syrian and Lebanese Governments to power, they set up their own political censorships, which did not, however, replace that of the French, but were additional to it.)

Thirdly, in addition to these legislative and administrative limitations, there were various restrictions even on those powers which the Governments possessed:

i. Their freedom of action was restricted by the great influence of the administrative and technical "counsellors", who, although officials of the Governments and in theory subordinate to the Ministers whom they advised, were in practice almost all-powerful in the departments to which they were attached.

ii. Another restriction arose from the existence of the officers of the "Service Spéciaux" who were scattered throughout the country. In theory they were the Délégués-Général's intelligence officers, but in practice they had always exercised a virtually unlimited authority in their regions: an authority which they had enforced where necessary by means of the "Gardes Mobiles", a semi-military police force which they had at their disposal. Among other things, the control of the frontiers was in their hands.

The nationalists had always demanded the recognition of the two Parliaments as the sole source of legislation; the transfer of the Common Interests and other similar services to the Syrian and Lebanese Governments; the abolition of the "Service Spéciaux" officers and a curtailment in the powers of the "counsellors". It was clear that these demands would be pressed with vigour by the new Nationalist Governments, partly because of the principles involved but also because of concrete advantages to be gained from them. For example, control of the customs would give them power to regulate fiscal policy and thus indirectly to assist industry and trade, and would place in their hands an important source of

The procession had formed at the house of the deceased. It squeezed around the corner of the church led by a large group of women, all in black, one carrying a circular arrangement of flowers and candles on her head. The women were followed by the men, and certainly well over a hundred and fifty were present. One person said later that he thought "the whole village" was there. The effort required on the part of many to come from far away added to the strength of the secondary rite of passage in drawing the community together.

The church was filled inside. The flowers were placed on the bier in the middle of the church, and the priest prayed for about five minutes. That was all. The whole crowd left the church again. There was no solemn singing of the full afterward, as is ordinarily done after a regular service.

As at the funeral, the chief male mourners lined up outside to receive condolences, while the women mourners, swathed in black, withdrew by themselves. The minimal lineage of the deceased happened to consist only of his own immediate family and that of his first cousin. The exception consisted of the first cousin, who had automatically become the guardian of the children, the brother of the deceased's wife, and the heads of households of the two minimal lineages most closely connected, genealogically, to that of the deceased.

After this, everyone repaired to the house of the deceased where coffee was served and there was quiet, general, conversation.

The unifying effect of the primary and secondary funerals should be clear from these accounts. The fact that this effect extends outside the village to include the secondary district, which is the case of Mbongé is very clearly defined, is also significant. Even we might note an additional event which took place during the period of study. When a young man, an only son, died in one of the other villages of d-Djumi during the winter, a large number of women members of Mbongé were among those who attended his funeral. Caldwell (1969, p. 90) was that even in districts where there is considerable mixture of religions (unlike d-Djumi) funerals serve to bring together people of different religions in an event of common concern, thus essential easing interreligious tensions.

Young and old alike, the Mbongélés were unanimous in believing that everyone was obligated to attend funerals, regardless of any difficulties which might be involved. Witness the following statement by a young adult: "When someone dies in the village, all of us must go. If a man goes only for the funeral, still it may cause great inconvenience for him. But he goes - we go - everyone goes - because we must. I do not know why we do this, but we do it just the same."

[illegible]

[illegible]

In the area of ritual behavior which is of a private, personal nature, it is clear that there is considerable individual and family variation of practice in the village

[illegible] and gullibility of the American people have been spread through the Marronite region of the Lebanon. In some districts, the excitement may be compared to the gold rush fever period of California and Australia. . . ."

"The American fever has touched us at a few points. In the spring, our teachers at Ashrfih and Beirout resigned. After some delay, one of them went to America. The other wished to go, but discovered he could not do so. The leading member of the church . . . also went to America, having shared his cash possessions of 70 "Liras" (gold pound) with his wife, leaving her 5 and taking the rest with him. . . ."[9]

- *b. Escape from cultural control:* It is obvious that every culture, in order to maintain its specific organization, has to establish and exercise a certain degree of social control over the behavior of the group members. It seems that, no matter how harmoniously integrated that organization may be, so long as social control exists, some of the individuals concerned have to suffer from a certain degree of frustration. This seems to be the inevitable price any cultural group has to pay for the attainment of group solidarity and continuity.

  In the case of Bidonvisme, social control has never assumed an extreme character, and individual frustration has never been an acute problem. Before the American World (the world of free individualism) was discovered by Bidonvisme, those frus-

R 45 (2)

[illegible]

[9] "Memory of the Americas, Presbyterian Mission, Beirut, Lebanon, 1904 and 1905.

• [illegible] [illegible] individuals had to face the issue and put up with the stringent situation, in accordance with the dictates of the village culture. When America was "discovered," an outlet, an escape was provided, and many a frustrated individual took up the newly offered chance.

Extent of Emigration

[167] *Emigration to foreign countries:* Prior to 1880, not a single individual had ever emigrated from the village to the outside, either within the country or to a foreign country. Bishmizzeen constituted the world of the village group. Even mobility was highly restricted. Visits to neighboring villages were very infrequent. A few used to take occasional trips to the town of Tripoli, and still a fewer number had been to Beirut. Occasionally some adventurous souls would take a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or a cattle trading trip to Egypt. One of the old village songs, aiming at the praise of a husband's valor, begins with the following line: "Your husband, oh beautiful one, has gone to Damascus and came back, alone." Damascus is about 100 miles from Bishmizzeen.

[168] In 1884 the first young man from Bishmizzeen emigrated to a foreign country. Others followed, and the number increased, year after year, first to the U. S. A., then to the four corners of the world. The following table (III) shows the geographical distribution of the Bishmizzeen emigrants.

p.66 (A)

to lead to the following general conclusions concerning the influence of emigration upon the social organization of the village:

1. *Social control breaks down:* The influence of emigration, as a convenient escape from social control, has been discussed above. It is mentioned again, with a view to emphasizing its significance. At first, social control with its inevitable individual frustrations—was a factor in the enhancement of the emigration movement. However, once that step was taken, emigration began to react upon the social organization of the village and became a strong factor in the breakdown of its social control. The church and the kinship patterns of behavior were no longer adequate for the control of the elements in the new situation. A state of disorganization was the result.

2. *Rise of the village post office as an institution:* Prior to the emigration movement, no regular post office existed in the village, and the people were not conscious of that institution in any significant manner. There was no need for it, as very few letters were received every month or so. With the advent of emigration, the situation was completely changed. Letters exchanged between the village and abroad became very frequent and highly significant. Through those letters, the ties between the emigrants and the folks at home were preserved and the flow of cash money into the village took place. Two concepts became highly significant in the people's vocabulary, as a result of

P. 74(B)

[illegible] PHYSICAL STRUCTURE AND CULTURAL CHANGES

Evergreen oaks, which are relicts of greater aridity, persist—although a little [illegible] than in [illegible]—but tall shrubs are [illegible] low [illegible], and a few [illegible] of dwarf bushes and flowers take their place. Because of the more open nature of the vegetation, which rarely exceeds 3 feet in height, perennial plants are thriving, and for some weeks after the spring rains, a carpet of flowers and herbs makes a striking display. Georgian is often [illegible], with here patches of red and [illegible] with plants. (Fisher, 1916, p. 71.)

Mammalian fauna are very sparse indeed, as a matter of fact, as far as the [illegible] fauna is naturally [illegible]. Snakes, however, are fairly numerous, and all regarded as being poisonous, and are killed on sight. Small lizards, spiders, [illegible], centipedes, moths, scorpions, and large, wood-eating beetles are prominent among the other creatures which were observed. Birds are few, probably because those which venture into the district are generally shot, when if they are so small as sparrows. Flies are numerous, and there are some mosquitoes.

THE DISTRICT OF AL-QURNA

Now that its physical characteristics have been described, the question arises, Do what basis can Al-Qurna be considered to be a distinct district? The name, according to several informants, means "corner," and it is the impression of the writer that it is used primarily only by the inhabitants of the district itself. There is no sense of remote, it has two features which set it apart from the land immediately surrounding it. It rises particularly abruptly and noticeably from the sea, and from the south, as from the border of el-Bard, the ridge upon which Kfarsel and [illegible] are built leaps up definitely higher than the eastern land, from which it is separated by an arroyo, the Wadi Ba'lalee. These distinctions are, however, rather minor, and, as far as is known, the people themselves do not perceive them. Within el-Qurna there is little of a physical nature to account for its being set apart as a unit. The land is sharply rolling, and the terrain consists, essentially, of three ridges which run roughly at right angles to the shore line. Upon the largest and highest of these, the three northern villages are built. Ghaytoun and Mensaf are on the second, middle one, and the third has been constructed upon above. Such features are typical of most of the coastal zone from Jbeil to Tripoli.

Al-Qurna is not a political unity. It is simply a locality in Kfarsema, one of [illegible] several districts in the Province of Mount Lebanon which is one of the five provinces into which the Republic is divided. Al-Qurna does contain six political units, each with its elected mayor and council, as well as its own church. These are the villages of Bsalloun, Ghaytoun, Ghaytoun, Mensaf, [illegible], and Kfarsel. Lower Bsalloun is mainly an adjunct of the village proper. For political purposes, Bakfa is a part of Ghaytoun. Kfifel and Tanglo belong to Mensaf. Ba'lalee is a part of Kfarsel. For other than political purposes, the people consider themselves to be seven, rather than six, villages, separating Bakfa from Ghaytoun. Of the seven,

[illegible]

672. Since 1946, public school students have had the option of taking French or English (*Ibid.*, p. 431), and in Mawjil English is the universal choice.

The national school follows more or less the same pattern, at the same and also more advanced levels, but of course the country is free to choose his own texts and to present his courses as he chooses. The one in Mawjil is very much concerned with having up-to-date books (American and English), and holds its pupils and students up to strict hygienic standards. The school has a modern toilet, and the drinking water is filtered.

THE 'SPORT CLUB'

674 The building which houses the government school is also the centre of the 675 Sport Club which was founded by the young people of the village about 1956.

[illegible] The building has a large central room in which there is a stage and [illegible] two tables for playing cards and other games. There are four side-rooms, one of which has a stock of books and pamphlets and is the headquarters of the club. The other three are schoolrooms, equipped with small wooden desks for the students and schoolboards. The large room is used as an everyday meeting place for the adolescents and young adults. It is also used for the annual play. In fact, it appears that though the club itself is new, it has formed already existing activities, such as the plays and volleyball games, but has not initiated any new kinds of activity. It is active as a unit only in the summer when there are many older students and young adults in the village on vacation, and it could easily be outlawed. It was by [illegible] that the present name of the club's coming into existence is the need of the [illegible] organization [illegible] exercises. There was no need for this before the beginning of the recent changes in the culture.

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

6.34 The village government consists of a mayor (*mukhtar*) and a four-man 6.35 council of elders (*'ahali shiyukhiyyah*). All five men serve concurrently for a term of four years. They are elected by the men of the village who have attained the age of twenty-one. The present mayor (C.XXX) has held the office for about twelve years. The tenure of his predecessor (B.XXX), who was his father-in-law, extended back to about 1930.

[illegible] The present municipal statutes of Lebanon define three types of community. Below is a list by field. There follow one hundred and twenty "incorporated" towns. The remainder, about 1300, of which Mawjil is one, are classed as "non-incorporated" villages. The unincorporated villages are governed according to the *Loi des Moukhtars* of 1930 (Beirut, 1930), p. 1). Before 1930, the unincorporated villages were governed under the provisions of the Ottoman Vilayet Law of 1864 which, at the local level, was originally a formalization of the traditional pattern of government by a council of heads of households, one of whom was chosen as [illegible]

CARTE DU LIBAN

NORD

MONT LIBAN
LIBEK

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MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE LEBANON

I. THE GENERAL MUNICIPAL CODE

The history of municipal government in the Republic of Lebanon goes back only to the Ottoman Municipal Law of 1877 which was largely based upon the Code Napoleon. The transition to the new municipal code promulgated in 1922 after the establishment of the French mandatory regime was comparatively simple. The general framework remains much the same with minor differences in procedure, particularly in the degree of centralization.

With only 130 incorporated municipalities among the 1300 odd towns and villages of Lebanon and with only eight of these with a population of more than ten thousand, no very elaborate code is required. The only large city, the capital, Beirut, with a population of 130,000, like the capital of France, is organized under a separate law. All the other municipalities of Lebanon are chartered under Arrêté No. 1388 of March 10, 1922[1] while the hundreds of unincorporated villages are governed through the institution under the *Loi des Moukhtars* of January 13, 1930.[2]

Municipal affairs are supervised and controlled by the national government through the Ministry of the Interior by means of its administrative officers in the various levels of local government. The Republic is divided into five principal administrative districts, each headed by an appointed administrateur (*mutasarrif*). The districts are in turn sub-divided into eighteen *kadas* each under the administrative control of an appointed *kaimmakam*.[3] Through French counsellors attached to the more important administrative posts the entire system is brought under the directing authority of the French High Commissioner.[4] All these officials exercise a constant and vigilant surveillance over the municipalities within their jurisdiction with powers even more extensive than those of the prefects in France, thus bringing municipal government well within the highly centralized system of national government.

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1. George Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1905), Vol. 3, p. 68.
2. Recueil des Arrêtés et Décisions du Grand Liban, 1920–1931, (Imprimerie du Lebanon, Beyrouth, 1932), p. 302.
3. Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise (Imprimerie du Lebanon, Beyrouth, No. 3, 1926, p. 1.
4. [illegible] Art. 68, No. 7, 1926, p. 1 (Formerly the Lebanon was divided into 14 *mudirs* (districts).
5. All decisions and orders of the Administrator must be signed by the French counsellor. Arrêté No. 1388, Art. 31.

[illegible]

III. ADMINISTRATION OF TOWNS AND VILLAGES

437 Until 1938 the administration of unincorporated towns and villages of the Lebanon was carried on under the provisions of the Ottoman Vilayet Law of November 8, 1864, and January 23, 1871.[1] On January 13, 1938, a new code was promulgated under the title *Loi des Mouhtars*,[2] which forms the present basis of village organization and administration.

Under this law every community of at least fifty inhabitants is administered by a mouhtar and a council of elders.[3] Under the law of 1938, as under the Turkish regime, these officials were elected but by Décret-Loi No. 3 of February 3, 1938, provision is made for their appointment by the Minister of the Interior upon the nomination of the administrator of the district.[4]

Composition of Council of Elders.

438 [444] The councils are composed of from two to six members under the presidency of the mouhtar. There are two members in villages of less than 500 inhabitants, four in villages having from 500 to 1500, six in towns of more than 1500.[5] In towns of more than 2500, the quarters are organized separately with their own mouhtar and council. New quarters may be constituted only by decree of the Minister of the Interior.[6]

Tenure of Office.

439 440 The mouhtar and councilors hold office for a period of four years and are eligible for reelection or reappointment.[7] The candidates must be registered voters in accordance with the provisions of the national electoral law[8] and domiciled in the village or quarter which they represent. They must be at least twenty-five years of age and able to read and write. If there are no literate eligible

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1 Young, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 94-95.
2 Doc. OE, No. F-429, p. 4.
3 Loi des Mouhtars, loc. cit., Art. 1.
4 Doc. OE, No. F-429. The electoral procedure under the 1938 law was the same as for the election of municipal councils; no provision for nomination of candidates was required.
5 Loi des Mouhtars, loc. cit., Art. 4.
6 Loi des Mouhtars, loc. cit., Art. 5.
7 Ibid., Art. 7.
8 Supra, p. 6.

He is responsible for persuading the inhabitants to enroll their children in the schools. He supervises the protection of antiquities and must notify the proper authorities of any cases of vandalism or theft perpetrated thereon.[1]

§ 455

Miscellaneous Provisions

§§ 456 457

The mukhtar and councilors serve without pay. However, the former is authorized to charge a fixed fee for his services in issuing the various certificates required for his office. This fee is set by the central government. Although he retains the money, he must keep strict account of all such receipts on forms prescribed by the Ministry of Finance. He is forbidden to accept any recompense other than the authorized fee.[2]

A mukhtar may not absent himself from his village for more than ten days without prior authorization from the administrator. During his absence, he is replaced by the senior member of the council of elders.[3]

In case of any fault committed by either a mukhtar or a council member in their official capacities an investigation is made by the administrator who reports thereon to the Minister of the Interior. The latter may institute judicial action against the accused, who may not be reinstated in office unless acquitted and absolved.[4]

No preliminary authorization is required by third parties for the institution of judicial suit against a mukhtar or councilman for an offense committed outside of his official capacity.[5]

§ 458

With regard to all other matters of local administration and control the towns and villages are under the authority of the Minister of the Interior acting through the administrators and [illegible] with the advice and assistance of the various administrative councils.[6]

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1. Let the Ordinance, loc. cit., Art. 21.
2. Ibid., Art. 22.
3. Ibid., Art. 24.
4. Ibid., Art. 25.
5. Ibid., Art. 26.
6. Decree-Law No. 6, June 1936, No. 8, 1/9

Appendix A.

LIST OF INCORPORATED MUNICIPALITIES

DISTRICT OF BEIRUT

Municipality	Budget L.L.A.	Population
Beirut	825,000	150,000

DISTRICT OF MOUNT LEBANON

Municipality	Budget L.L.A.
Chtaura	900
Furn El Chebbak	900
Anaya	800
Choueifat	800
Aley	1,777
Ouzai	870
Bhamdoun	1,500
Dhour Choueir	1,100
Broumana	970
Ras El Metn	780
Jdeide	750
Zouk	5,000
Kfar Chima	4,500
Kfar Yassine	650
Ghazir	650
Dhour Choueir	2,500
Jounieh	4,000
Antelias	800
Bickfaya	750
Baabda	740
Ghazir	2,000
Aramoun	800
Kornayel	650
Aley	1,500
Choueifat	1,000
Antelias	1,000
Ras El Metn	1,500
Broumana	1,500
Jdeide	1,000
Kfar Matta	1,000
Bsalim	1,000

● 134

District of Mount Lebanon (Cont.)

Bet Chabab	1,318
Blaouza	850
Bsharre	3,700
Chamat	2,284
Deghrine	471
Ehmidiye	637
Hadchit	800

DISTRICT OF SEKAA

Municipality	Budget L.L.S.
Zahlé	30,000
Mechghara	1,207
Taalbaya	900
El Ain Ellaa	2,000
Rayak	900
Joubb	600
Mrajdat	700
Barkaya	450
Barkhaya	11,300
Chtaoura	475
Kabbaylat	800
Ras Baalbeck	800
Hermel	2,242
Tell Kalakh	—

DISTRICT OF NORTHERN LEBANON

Municipality	Budget L.L.S.
Tripoli	120,301
El Mina	65,710
Bcharre	1,700
Miniara	817
Batroun	700
Kfarsghab	968
Chekka	10,000
Dekwaney	2,100
Hamatoura	1,138
Kfarhazir	637
Koubba	2,422
Kfar Akkha	410
Andqet	2,215
Kalhat	300
Kfarsghab	968
Qobe	2,000
Batroun	2,000

District of Northern Lebanon (Cont.)

Tannourine	388
Dinnie	647
Ehden	385
Diddo	481
Kfifane	474
Qor	438
Aley	—

DISTRICT OF SOUTHERN LEBANON

Municipality	Budget L.L.
Saida	35,000
Zahrani'	4,000
Ghazie	4,000
Maghdoche	3,500
Kfeir	600
Kafroun	300
El Kafroun	600
Mazraa	2,500
Haddaya	2,000
El Kfeir	600
Qour	6,000
Zrariye	1,500
Tibnine	300
Ain Ebel	2,000
Tyre	—

DISTRICT OF MOUNT LEBANON

Municipality	Budget L.L.
Aley	12,000
Sofar	3,500
Deir El Qamr	3,000
Aley	500
Bhamdoun	1,500
Bhamdoun Gare	1,000
Baisor	800
Kfarsaqra	500
Arsal	1,000
Majdal Mouawad	800
Dhabiye	1,000
Deir El Kamar	2,500

[illegible] (Cont.)

[illegible]

THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF THE LEBANON

Appendix C*

The foregoing article had already been passed the previous week. Article 1,249 of March 11, 1952, on which the municipal administration of the Lebanon is largely based, was amended on a number of points by Legislative Decree 627, of September 12, 1952, — a decree promulgated by the President of the Republic on the proposal of the Minister of the Interior in virtue of the Emergency powers conferred on them by the decree of the then Commissioner of May 9, 1952 which suspended *inter alia* the existing Lebanese constitution. The amendments however only extend to details, of which the following are specifically dealt with in the article:

Incorporation — The minimum budget to be presented by any town wishing for incorporation was amounts to 500 L.L. (instead of 250). All municipalities already incorporated whose budget is below this sum may be dissolved by Governmental decree (Decree article 2 modifying Arrêté article 5).

Powers of Council — In addition to the general powers of decision and advice mentioned in the first paragraph of this section, Municipal Councils may nominate directly or present lists of suitable candidates to certain functions in accordance with existing laws and regulations. (Decree article 4 modifying Arrêté article 45).

Decisions of the Council which are necessary without further approval become effective within 15 days, (instead of 30), and may only be suspended by the administration for 8 days (instead of 15). (Decree article 7 modifying Arrêté article 67).

The nullity of ultra vires decisions is pronounced by the Minister of the Interior, either on his own initiative or on the motion of any party interested. From his decision there is no appeal, but the reasons for the decision must be given in full. (Decree article 10 modifying Arrêté article 93).

Powers of Mayors — The annulment of mayors become necessary within 15 days (instead of 30) after despatch to the administration. The powers of the minister may annul or suspend them, but the decision must be given within 8 days. (Decree article 16 modifying Arrêté article 113).

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*Owing to Professor Rustow's absence on leave in America, he was not able to be present at the Arabic text discussions on the last Arabic and Persian to the text and is described in this appendix. Professor Rustow is, however, in the Department of Economy, kindly supplied the appendix to bring the study up to date.

[illegible] the [illegible] of the Levites, have found refuge in the [illegible] almost impenetrable valleys of Lebanon, where they could worship and live unmolested from outside. The various communities which have established themselves there have usually respected one another's beliefs and ways. There have been tension and rivalries between them, but in normal times they have lived peaceably together. It is true that for generations Lebanon was torn by internal strife, but it was the strife of factions and families. It was only for a short time during the nineteenth century that it took the form of a religious war, and even then the fundamental issues were social and political rather than religious.

The Lebanese tradition was also one of autonomy. Caliphs, Crusading rulers and Ottoman Sultans alike refrained from demanding more from Lebanon than tribute and the formal recognition of their sovereignty. They left the internal affairs of the Mountain to the care of local dynasts, more often than not members of local landowning families. Often Lebanon was partitioned between more than one of these dynasts; but on occasion a ruler succeeded in uniting the whole Mountain and even in extending his sway beyond it. His rule over the Lebanese, however, was never absolute. The social organization was feudal. Its principle and essence is that the ruler of the Mountain was elected by the feudal lords; and although this principle was not always observed, and the principal tended to become hereditary in a great family such as the Shihabs or Jumblatts, even the strongest member of such a dynasty would hesitate before interfering with the custom of the great landowners. As in medieval Europe, where the political power was in weak hands the permanent and rivalries of feudal lords led to civil war and chaos. It was not until the nineteenth century that the feudal organization began to break up.

This much is true of the whole Mountain. Among the Maronites however the tradition was enriched by several other strands. It was a tradition of [illegible]. More even than other Syrians were they were dominated by their clergy. The priests were national leaders, the centre around which turned the struggle of the community to survive and retain its identity; and the Maronite Patriarch, the only Patriarch residing in Lebanon itself, was a temporal as well as a spiritual power in the northern portion of the Mountain.

P. Gabriel El-S (1954) 1958 ME: Lebanon ME:

Sycamore oaks, which are valuable of greater utility, persist,—although at wider intervals than in true maquis—but tall shrubs are much less common, and a low scrub of dwarf bushes and thorns take their place. Because of the more open nature of this vegetation, which rarely exceeds 3 feet in height, perennial plants can develop, and for some weeks after the spring rains, a carpet of flowers and herbs makes a striking display. Garrigue is often discontinuous, with bare patches of soil and rock interspersed with plants. (Fisher, 1958, p. 71.)

Mammalian fauna are very sparse indeed, as a matter of fact, so far as the wilder fauna goes is virtually none. Snakes, however, are fairly numerous, are all regarded as being poisonous, and are killed on sight. Small lizards, spiders, six-inch centipedes, snails, scorpions, and large, wood-eating beetles are prominent among the other creatures which were observed. Birds are few, probably because those which venture into the district are generally shot, even if they are as small as sparrows. Flies are numerous, and there are some mosquitoes.

THE DISTRICT OF AL-QUSAI

Now that its physical characteristics have been described, the question arises, On what basis can al-Qusai be considered to be a distinct district? The name, according to several informants, means "corner," and it is the impression of the writer that it is used primarily only by the inhabitants of the district itself. True, in terms of terrain, it has two features which set it apart from the land immediately surrounding it. It rises particularly sharply and suddenly from the sea; and from the south, say from the barrier of al-Burj, the ridge upon which Kfayeni and Jdeideyd are built looms up definitely higher than the nearer land, from which it is separated by an abrupt, the Wadi Be'aldin. These distinctions are, however, rather minor, and, so far as is known, the people themselves do not perceive them. Within al-Qusai there is little of a physical nature to account for its being set apart as a unit. The land is sharply rolling, and the terrain consists, essentially, of three ridges which run roughly at right angles to the shore line. Upon the largest and highest of these, the three northern villages are built. Shaykhan and Mtaniyl are on the second, middle one; and the third has been constructed upon above. Such features are typical of most of the coastal zone from Jbeil to Tripoli.

Al-Qusai is not a political entity. It is simply a locality in Kisrawan, one of several districts in the Province of Mount Lebanon which is one of the five provinces into which the Republic is divided. Al-Qusai does contain six political units, each with its elected mayor and council, as well as its own church. These are the villages of Bsebrine, Ghosteen, Shaykhan, Mtaniyl, Jdeideyd, and Kfayeni. Lower Bsebrine is merely an adjunct of the village proper. For political purposes, Bekfa'ra is part of Ghosteen. Ellbni and 'Araiji belong to Mtaniyl. Be'aldin is part of Kfayeni. For other than political purposes, the people consider themselves to be seven, rather than six, villages, separating Bekfa'ra from Ghosteen. Of the seven,

7: Gulick Σ-S (1952) 1955 MR: Lebanon MR1

Munsif is by far the largest, being at least twice as large as Jibbayl which is the second in size.

Al-Qurai is a unit because its inhabitants consider it to be one. Within it, the individual villages regard themselves as independent, and the people even recognize minor cultural differences. For example, it was said that the pharynx *ain* is pronounced slightly differently in Bethun, Munsif, and Jibbayl, that the people of one of the villages always marry people from the other villages rather than their own; that the women of one of the villages are more quarrelsome than those of another; and so on. Yet, in relation to the outside, al-Qurai is a unit. Why? It is not because of sheer proximity, although of course this helps. The reason is that, with minor exceptions concentrated in Jibbayl, al-Qurai is exclusively Greek Orthodox in religion and is completely surrounded, in depth, by Maronite (technically Roman Catholic) villages. In 1921, Kfarsouss had a resident population of 41,004, plus an emigrant population of 14,290. Of the residents, 34,305 were Maronites, 2,659 were Mirwahi (Shi'a Muslims), and 1,810 were Greek Orthodox (all figures from Himadeh, 1936, pp. 410-41). Virtually all of the last must have been counted in al-Qurai.

It has not been possible to go very far into this study without encountering the phenomenon of units of loyalty and identification. Since this topic will occupy an increasingly important position as we proceed, nothing more will be said about it at this point, except this: Beyond, and except for, kinship and local connections, sectarian affiliation in the Middle East is the strongest bond which can unite a group of people and the most impenetrable barrier which can separate one group from another.

FROM BEIRUT TO MUNSIF

Placed in its physical and cultural context, let us now turn to the village of al-Munsif itself. It might be asked why a community of farmers should settle in such an unfavorable environment in the first place. A tentative answer to this question will be presented in the chapter, "The Patterns of Culture Change." It might also be asked why, once established, such a community should grow greatly in size and continue to function even through periods of great economic difficulty. This is an easy question to ask. The remainder of this work is, essentially, an attempt to answer it.

Let us, now, in imagination, go to Munsif by automobile from Beirut. The trip will take perhaps an hour and a quarter.

Between Beirut and the mouth of the Dog River the road is lined, for the most part, with banana and citrus plantations, and lush stands of tall reeds. Beyond the river, however, the citrus plantations cease, but the banana plantations continue. We notice that water is brought to them in open cement conduits. On the upper slopes to our right, we pass innumerable small villages and their olive and fig orchards.

772. Since 1948, public school students have had the option of taking French or English (*ibid.*, p. 424), and in Mbangli English is the universal choice.

The national school follows more or less the same pattern, at the same and also more advanced levels, but of course the country is free to choose his own texts and to present his courses as he chooses. The one in Mbangli is very much concerned with having up-to-date books (American and English), and holds its place and students up to strict hygienic standards. The school has a modern toilet, and the drinking water is filtered.

THE "SPORT CLUB"

676 The building which houses the government school is also the centre of the 945 Sport Club which was founded by the young people of the village about 1950.

[636] The building has a large central room in which there is a stage and four or five tables for playing cards and other games. There are four side-rooms, one of which has a *stock* of books and pamphlets and is the headquarters of the club. The other three are schoolrooms, equipped with small wooden desks for the students and blackboards. The large room is used as an everyday meeting place for the [672] adolescents and young adults. It is also used for the annual play. So far, it appears that though the club itself is new, it has formed already existing activities, such as the plays and volleyball games, but has not initiated any new kinds of activity. It is active as a unit only in the summer when there are many other students and young adults in the village on vacation, and it seems may be widened. It can be said that the primary result of the club's coming into existence is the need of the residences to organize new activities. There was no need for this before the beginning of the recent changes in the culture.

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

[1.34] The village government consists of a mayor (*maidoko*) and a four-man [1.43] council of elders (*akoi akhyanjyadi*). All the men serve concurrently for a term of two years. They are elected by the men of the village who have attained the age of twenty-one. The present mayor (C.XXII) has held the office for about twelve years. The tenure of his predecessor (B.XII), who was his father-in-law, extended back to about 1935.

[1.3] The present municipal statutes of Lihanse define three types of community. Beirut is in a class by itself. There follow one hundred and twenty "incorporated" towns. The remainder, about 1300, of which Mbangli is one, are classed as "sub-corporated" villages. The unincorporated villages are governed according to the *Loi des Modalités* of 1928 (Kimbo, 1930, p. 1). Before 1928, the unincorporated villages were governed under the provisions of the Décrets Villages Law of 1909 which, at the local level, was original: a formalization of the traditional pattern of government by a council of heads of households, one of whom was chosen as *Ancien*.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

The Law of 1919 provides that any community of fifty persons or more should have an elected mukhtar and council. In villages of 50–100 persons, the council has two members; 101–1000, four members; 1001–2000, six members (Shaban, 1955, p. 39). Since World War II, Mosul's council was increased from two to four members. The present incumbents are Isaac Sawgan (L.11), S.Y.[illegible] (L.2), and E.[illegible].

The mayor presides at meetings of the council with which he is supposed to deliberate on all organizational and administrative matters. Council members investigate deeds of sale, identity cards, and bills of assessment. The mayor is responsible for the finances and general health of the village. He is responsible to the central government, or district government, for maintenance of the peace and for the collection of taxes. He is empowered to serve summonses. Mayor and council serve without salary (Shaban, 1955, pp. 39–41). During the period of study, the mayor in his official capacity was in daily evidence since he accompanied the surveyor who was making a cadastral survey of all land holdings in the village. The surveyor measured and recorded boundaries, and the mayor confirmed them after consultation with the parties concerned.

Otherwise, it was quite evident that the village government machinery has little cause to be active most of the time. There is no village constable, and the government guidelines do not regularly permit it. If cases criminal or near criminal in the village, the mayor would be expected by the government to call in the police. However, as one man said, "We are very peaceful here, we are one village. The judge say that if all villages were like Mosul, they would have no work."

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

The priest is addressed and referred to as khuri (priest) by everyone including his family, though his children occasionally address him as baba (daddy). Abouna (our father), usually heard, is also very frequently used in addressing the priest. The feminine form of khuri, khuriyyah, is similarly used as reference and address to the priest's wife. The priest and his wife refer to and address each other in public by their titles.

The mayor is always referred to and addressed as mukhtar, at least by persons outside his immediate family, and his wife is sometimes called mukhtarah.

The retired physician was called ai-dukhtur or Dukhtur Mukhtar. Even again, his wife was often called dukhtarah. "Dukhtur" is of course borrowed from English and is a generic thing it is performed in Jubilee (the most-used equivalent of "physician") which is even used in address, saying, and is only used somewhat in oblique references to doctors. For example, once when the priest was called out on duty in the evening he remarked humorously, "Al-khuri wal-'ajbiin." ("The priest is like a doctor.")

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Incorporation and Delimitation

[illegible] Under the new code any town of at least [illegible] inhabitants may, upon the demand of one third of its qualified electors, be incorporated as a municipality, provided its population includes persons eligible as councillors double the number actually to be elected, and further provided that within ninety days of its incorporation it can present a budget showing at least 250 Syrian pounds of effective municipal resources.[1] By exception, existing municipalities of less than 500 inhabitants may be maintained and others incorporated provided they fulfill the budgetary provisions cited above.[2] These financial limitations seem to have been dynamically enforced with three or four municipalities suppressed annually for failure to conform.[3]

Small neighbouring villages with common interests and a combined population of more than 500 persons may be incorporated as a single municipality if they are less than two and a half kilometres apart and if that union is demanded by one third of the qualified electors of each village voting separately.[4] The meeting decides democratically which village shall serve as the seat of government thereby giving its name to the municipality as a whole.[5]

In cases of joint incorporation the distinct communities retain the ownership of the property pertaining to them and to the income from such property collected in kind. The buildings and other real estate serving a public usage prior to incorporation become the property of the new municipality of which it becomes a part, but in case of separation from the municipality the seceding section takes back full ownership of the property which came with it. The decree of union or of dissolution determines all other special conditions. These provisions apply to all cases of joint incorporation (or of dissolution) even though only a quarter or section of the municipality is concerned in the change.[6]

If a change of status affects the territorial limits of one or more

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1. [illegible] Art. 45, Art. 3
2. [illegible] Art. 47, Art. 3
3. Ibid., Art. 3.
4. See Appendix C.
5. [illegible] Art. 45, Art. 3.
6. Ibid., Art. 3.
7. [illegible] Art. 45, Art. 6.

[illegible]

[illegible] 4.22

In case of any proposed change of municipal status, the Administrator must order a special investigation into the facts in the municipal area concerned if demanded by any municipal council involved or by one third of the electors of the area. He may likewise act upon his own initiative. The decision is by executive decree of the President of the Republic after study of the finding of inquiry and the recommendations of the administrative committee of the body.[1]

In all cases of change of municipal status the pre-existing municipal councils are automatically dissolved and a new election is held.[2]

The territory of the municipality is limited to urban agglomerations in which the break in continuity between the community proper and scattered hamlets or houses is not more than 600 meters, except as otherwise provided in the case of joint municipalities.[3] The delimitation of municipal boundaries is exercised by the Department of Public Works at the expense of the municipalities concerned. They are proclaimed by executive decree after advice from the municipal council and the Administrative Commission of the District. A change of name of a municipality is decreed in the same manner.[4]

Composition of Municipal Councils

Every municipality is governed by an elective municipal council which varies in size in accordance with the following table:—

5	members	by	towns up to	500	population
6	"	"	"	500	501 to 2000 population
7	"	"	"	2001	to 4000 "
9	"	"	"	4001	to 8000 "
11	"	"	"	8001	to 20000 "
13	"	"	"	20001	to 40000 "
15	"	"	"	40001	to 60000 "
17	"	"	"	60001	to 100000 "
19	"	"	"	100001	or above[5] "

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1. Sec. 10. Each [illegible] for an administrative committee of six members one of which are appointed by the Governor, the rest elected by an electoral college composed of the members and the members of the municipal councils of the [illegible]. The qualifications and functions of the [illegible] are as follows:
2. Sec. 11.
3. Sec. 12.
4. Sec. 13.
5. Sec. 14. [illegible] Sec. 15, Sec. 16 and 17.
6. Sec. 18.

[illegible] Where there is a religious majority or of Armenians, they are entitled to representation on the council by the addition of members over and above the regular number in proportion to their relative numerical importance in the community.[1]

[illegible] The councils are elected for a term of four years and are renewed as a unit. Municipal elections take place on the third Sunday of May in electoral years.[2]

Basis of Representation

Proportional religious representation is secured by the apportionment of the council seats among the various religious sects in conformity with their relative numerical strength in the electoral list.[3] There is a fixed ratio based on potential voting strength rather than population figures. The allocation of seats is made by decree of the administrative adjunct to the approval of the Minister of the Interior. All electors vote for all the positions to be filled in their ward or municipality so that the votes of a majority sect may determine the choice of representatives for minority sects. One seat is reserved for minority sects having at least half but less than a whole electoral quotient. The allocation of seats is effected by the "list system" of proportional representation, the method being applied to registration rather than voting figures.

[illegible] Qualifications for membership in the municipal councils are the same as for a seat in the national assembly as determined by Arrêté No. 1357 of March 10, 1932.[4] Candidates must be Lebanese citizens, at least twenty-five years of age, literate, and in the enjoyment of full civil and political rights.[5] Aside from the general restrictions of the electoral law, the municipal law of 1930 expressly disqualifies the following —

1. Those deprived of their franchise.
2. Persons under bankrupt or supervision of judicial council.
3. Persons removed from municipal house or exiled by any charitable organization.

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1 Loi du 27 Mars 1930, [illegible] No. 101, p. 1.

2 Arrêté No. [illegible] of Nov. 1930, [illegible] No. 2 cité.

3 Arrêté No. [illegible] of Nov. 1930, [illegible] No. 2 cité, loc. cit.

4 Arrêté No. [illegible] loc. cit., loc. cit.

5 Recueil des lois relatives au Haut Commissariat, Règlement [illegible] Mandat, No. 22, p. 101, loc. 1.

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

4. Persons failing for two consecutive years to pay rates [illegible] on municipal lands.

5. Persons attached exclusively to the person?

Likewise, any functionary of either the state or the municipality may not hold office as municipal councillors within the area under his own jurisdiction or in the municipality in which he is employed?

No one may sit in a municipal council and at the same time hold office as administrator, burgomaster, or official of either the financial or police services. A successful candidate for municipal councillorship who holds one of these positions is given the option of either position but must render his decision within ten days of the proclamation of the results of the election, failing which, he is automatically considered resigned from his administrative post? Likewise, no one may sit in more than one municipal council at a time. In municipalities of more than 500 inhabitants, father and son, father-in-law and son-in-law, and brothers or brothers-in-law may not sit in the same council. If there is no voluntary withdrawal on the part of one of the candidates, the administrator shall declare [illegible] resigned, or in case of equal age the matter is settled by the drawing of lots at the first meeting of the council? Any councillor who, after his election, is discovered to be ineligible is immediately declared resigned by the administrator. Any councillor charged with a crime or misdemeanor is suspended in the same manner pending decision as to his guilt? But may appeal to the administrative courts?

Dissolution and Suspension

A municipal council may be dissolved by executive decree. In case of urgency, it may be suspended by the administrator for a period of one month. The suspension may be later assented to by authorization of the Minister of the Interior. In such case the burgomaster or some other administrative official is charged with the

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1) Arrêté Ro 1996/bis, ch., loc. cit.

2) Ibid., loc. cit. Under the Decree [illegible] Belgian nationals include Flemish nationality, residence in municipality, age of 25 years, full enjoyment of civil and Flemish electoral and full possession of civil rights. Excluded were persons who appeared to a court martial/commission or to extraordinary penalties imposed by or passages of a foreign power, persons engaged in public employment of municipality, the domestic servants in military service and persons [illegible] loc. cit., Art 1 a

3) Ibid., loc. cit.

4) Arrêté n Ro 1996, loc. cit., loc. cit.

5) Ibid., loc. cit.

6) Ibid., loc. cit.

[illegible]

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[illegible] administration of the municipality.[1] In cases of dissolution or collective resignation a special delegation is named by the President of the Republic, who likewise appoints its president and vice-president, if any. The delegation consists from three to seven members depending upon the importance of the municipality. The duration of such a delegation may not exceed one year. In exercise all the powers of a municipal council has a automatically dissolved when a council is reconstituted.[2]

Electoral Franchise

[illegible] Municipal electoral procedure and qualifications are regulated by the national electoral law, Arrêté No. 1307 of March 10, 1953, except that residence requirements are interpreted entirely in terms of municipal residence. Suffrage qualifications are the same as for national elections. The electorate consists of all male citizens 21 years of age having their real and principal establishment within the municipality where they must have resided for at least six months. Likewise, they must have conformed with the national census law of March 9, 1932. Citizens because of status as members of a recognized sect, as public functionary, or as soldier of the Syrian Legion, Lebanese Gendarmerie, or French Army, does not lose the quality.[3] The following categories are disqualified for the suffrage:—

1. Individuals deprived of their civil rights.
2. Individuals permanently deprived from holding public office.

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1 Ibid., art. 41.

2 Arrêté No. 1436 bis 41, Art. 41. The provision for dissolution and appointment by an appointed Commission have been widely used as a means by the Government when a period of time must expire, a vast of only [illegible] Although the powers of such commissions is limited to one year, there is nothing to prevent the renewal of members or the appointment of a new commission. This device as been has been in a considerable extent and has led to the existence [illegible] with that the power of dissolution has been used for political reasons rather than because of administrative inefficiency or irregularities. It is a means [illegible] that unfavorable administrative has legal control is not exercised in many cases because of law that elected [illegible] have the power to [illegible] Although to the actual government or to back one of competing sects in control. While it might be claimed that disappearance [illegible] such provision would be dangerous since it put a power a council of capable public, the fact that one of the dissolutions on record was attributed to 5 of the action of dissolution, although responsible [illegible] required by law, took part in the change [illegible]

3 Arrêté No. 1436 bis 41, Art. 41. Under the French mandate military [illegible] have included French nationality, age of at least 21 years possession of full civil and political rights, freedom from sentence for crime, and payment of at least [illegible] French pounds in taxes. (Arrêté No. 41, Art. 3 a 41).

[illegible]

5. Individuals sentenced for a crime or offence involving a correctional penalty. Convicted or released on bail, awaiting place of confinement, public outrage at decision, habitual residence of person to detention, neighborhood, and simple bankruptcy.

6. Individuals sentenced to imprisonment for crime.

7. Individuals under judicial investigation.

8. Insolvents are condemned for bankruptcy. Disqualification for this category holds for three years from declaration of insolvency.

9. Individuals condemned to imprisonment or even arrest sentence for any violation of the electoral laws.

A list of qualified voters known as the "electoral list" is drawn up by an electoral Registration Commission and is revised annually from registrations duly formulated by the candidates and candidates of municipalities. Upon the publication of this list ten days are allowed for the presentation of claims of error which are decided by the Registration Commission with right of appeal only on points of law. No one may be inscribed on the electoral list of more than one voting division. In case of duplicate registration through error the citizen may choose which residence he desires to establish provided he fulfills the qualifications before the final closing of the electoral lists. All demands for such changes must be accompanied by a demand for the removal of the name from the former list.

The elections are convoked by decree of the President of the Republic issued at least fifteen days before the election. In no case may the elections last more than seven days. Following simple elections on a Sunday fair may run for several consecutive days. The number of days, place, and time of voting are decreed by the administration. The polls must remain open at least six consecutive hours in municipalities of more than 500 inhabitants or in case of a single day and hours of voting, at least nine consecutive hours. If a second balloting is necessary, the citizens are automatically convoked for the following Sunday and such succeeding days as are provided in the original decree of convocation. The administration is responsible for the publication of the necessary notices.

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1 Ibid., Art. 15
2 A permanent commission examines cases to be removed from
3 Ibid., Art. 17
4 Ibid., Art. 18
5 Ibid., Art. 19

[illegible]

§ 53. When a municipal council is reduced by vacancies to three fourths of its normal membership a supplementary election is held within two months of the last vacancy, unless it occurs within six months of the next regular election. In this case a supplementary election is not held unless the membership is reduced to less than one half its normal number. If elected by wards, the supplementary election is held only in the wards concerned.[1]

The councillors are elected by direct universal manhood suffrage on the general ticket plan (*scrutin de liste*). However, a municipality if composed of several distinct and separated communities, as in the case of joint incorporations, or if possessing a population of more than 5000, may be divided into electoral districts or wards, each electing a number of councillors proportional to the number of its enrolled electors in the ward. In no case shall such a ward have less than two members.[2] Division into wards is made by the administrative council either upon its own initiative or upon the request of the administrative commission of the district, the municipal council concerned, or the electors themselves.[3] The administrative divides the municipality or wards into voting precincts (*bureaux de vote*), each of which votes on the general ticket of the entire municipality or ward of which it is a part.[4] In each precinct the administrative designates the polling place.[5] An Ottoman appoints a president for each voting bureau or precinct. The bureau president alone has police powers within the polls and no armed force may enter except at his request.[6] The bureau president must be named at least five days before the election. He is assisted by from two to four "bureau men" who must be chosen from different religious sects represented in the precinct. Half of the assessors are appointed by the bureau president, the remainder are chosen by the electors present at the opening of the polls from among those of their own number who can read and write. One or two secretaries may be appointed having only a consultative voice in the voting bureau.[7] The bureau pre-

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1 Rég., art. 45.

2 Public Ins. Code, art. 45, par. 2.

3 Rég., art. 46.

4 Rég., art. 51.

5 Public Ins. Code, art. 45, par. 3.

6 Rég., art. 48.

7 Public Ins. Code, art. 45, par. 4. The provision for the election of half of the officers by the electors at the opening of the polls has not proved happy in municipal elections in the interior districts. Many electors are unable to produce, or write, documents with their names, the usual election rules work to the benefit of the bureau president, whose suggestions may under the pretext of the difficulties to control the existing procedure.

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[illegible] and at least half of the assessors must be present throughout all the electoral operations. The electoral board or voting bureau has provisional jurisdiction over all questions arising out of the conduct of the elections. All votes and decisions must be recorded together with the reasons motivating the judgement.[1]

The bureau secretary is provided with an official copy of the electoral list. No one may vote whose name does not appear upon this list except such persons as may present a decision of the Registration Commission issued subsequently to the preparation of the list.[2] The voting of each elector is entered on the official list by the signature or initials of the secretary opposite the name of the elector.[3]

The ballot box has a single opening for the admission of the ballots. At the opening of the polls the box is closed and locked with two locks one key being retained by the bureau president, the other by the elder of the assessors chosen by the electors.[4] Each voter presents his official certificate of identity (carte d'identité) to the secretary who checks the name against the electoral list. The reverse of the identity paper is then stamped with an indication of the precinct and the date. The secretary then announces the voter's name and the latter presents his folded ballot to the bureau president who deposits it in the ballot box. No official ballots are provided, the voter writing his own ballot on any piece of white paper. Ballots may be prepared for a candidate or groups of candidates and distributed outside the polls. The only restrictions are that they must not be on colored paper or bear any other external distinctive marks.[5]

Upon the closing of the polls the count is made by the bureau officials unless the number of ballots is more than three hundred. If this be the case a number of voters may be appointed from among the electors present who shall be distributed at counting tables having at least two voters each. If various candidates or

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1 Rule, Art. 46.
2 Rule, Art. 41.
3 Rule, Art. 42.
4 Arrêté du 1945, Art. 45, Art. 46.
5 Rule, Art. 49. Even if the vote electorale has deposited ordinarily on their [illegible] or envelopes of the ballot prepared by candidates it is not difficult to determine the designation of a man's vote by a mere glance at the ballot which a successful worker at the bureau of counting the polls. Under the envelope or the ballots are the votes should the ballot of an envelope which was dropped, unfold, then the ballot box. Finney, Art. 45, Art. 5, p. 41.

[illegible]

[illegible] lists of candidates have been presented they have the right to designate the additional voters who shall then be distributed equally among the voters as far as possible. Upon the opening of the ballot box the total number of ballots is ascertained and checked against the official list. If the total is more or less than the vote recorded on the list, a minute is made to this effect. The bureau president then distributes the ballots to the different supervising tables. One of the voters reads each ballot in a loud voice, then passing it to another teller. The vote is recorded on specially prepared counting sheets. The electors are entitled to be present at the count and to circulate about the tables. If they challenge any of the proceedings, the bureau president and his assistants inspect the operations.[1]

Blank ballots, those not bearing sufficient designation as to which the vote may be known, those of colored paper or bearing any external mark of identification, and those bearing any remarks injurious to the candidates or the people are not included in the count but are attached to the proces-verbal.[2] Also excluded are any votes for candidates who have failed to comply with the regulations governing declaration of candidatures.[3]

Immediately after the count the result is announced by the bureau president, and the ballots, other than those attached to the proces-verbal, are burned in the presence of the electors.[4] When more than one voting precinct exists within an electoral circumscription, the proclamation of the result is made by the president of the central bureau to whom the various other bureau presidents must bring the proces-verbal with attached ballots and the official check list.[5] A summary proces-verbal is prepared at the central bureau and forwarded to the Ministry of the Interior and to the Registration Commission. Definitive announcement of the results is made by the Registration Commission after checking the returns.[6] The

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1 Arrêté du 1881 du 21 Jan 31. Libertés du bien portant à constituer les électeurs à savoir les votes pour le candidat du [illegible] avec leur [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

electoral operations may be challenged by any elector or any candidate. The appeal must be presented at the office of the returning officer within five days of the following. A receipt must be given therefor. This appeal is transmitted with the opinion of the returning officer to the Minister of the Interior for submission to the Council of State. A decision, from which no appeal lies, must be rendered within one month. If the President of the Republic finds that the conditions and forms prescribed by the electoral law have not been complied with he must denounce the elections to the Council of State within one month of the elections.[1]

Organization and Procedure of Council.

A municipal council may adopt fixed dates for its meetings or may call meetings on call of its president or mayor.[2] In either case, the secretary must state the order of the day and the subjects for discussion. The council may transact business only with those specified in the notice. Calling of a meeting is mandatory upon the written request of the administrators or of one third of the members of the council.[3]

A written summons must be addressed to each councillor at least three days before the scheduled meeting. In cases of urgency, this period may be reduced to twenty-four hours, in which case the council decides at the opening of the meeting whether the matter at hand is sufficiently urgent to warrant such a summons. Further, in such cases, the administrators may - upon his own initiative or upon the request of a councillor - require a second deliberation upon the same subject. Two copies of the summons, the schedule of meetings and the order of the day must be transmitted to the communities who forward one to the administrators. They must likewise be recorded in the council minutes under penalty of nullification.[4]

The mayor and assistant mayors, if any, are appointed by the central authorities from among the council members. The other members rank in accordance with the date of their election, or the one being the senior in accordance with the size of their electoral vote. Where these are still secondary, they rank in accordance with seniority of age.[5]

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1 Loi du 14[illegible] Art. 47, par. 47 as amended by Loi du 4[illegible] 1948, Loi du 14[illegible] Art. 47 §

2 Loi du 1[illegible] Art. 47, par. 1[illegible] The latter implies a non-written entry the town clerk and being an illegible one.

3 Ibid., Art. 47 § 2

4 Loi du [illegible] Art. 47, par. 4

5 Ibid., Art. 47

— 49 —

[illegible] The meetings of the council are private. The administrative, bürgermeister, and French councilor are ex officio members[1]. A quorum consists of one half the membership. If upon a second convocation, a quorum is still lacking, the deliberations are valid regardless of the number in attendance. If the lack of a quorum at the first meeting is due to the non-participation of members personally interested or interested as agents in the matter under consideration, the deliberations may proceed[2]. Councilors absent from three successive meetings without satisfactory excuse may be dismissed by the administrative chief he has called upon them for an explanation. They may appeal within ten days to the administrative courts[3]. Employees are addressed to the administrators or the burgomaster and are effective upon acknowledgment thereof. Failing acknowledgment, a new resignation may be despatched by registered mail and becomes automatically effective one month from the date of mailing[4]."

Decisions of the council are determined by majority vote. In case of a tie the mayor has the determining vote, except in secret balloting. A roll call is mandatory upon the request of at least two councilors. Ayes and noes to be recorded in the minutes. All votes on nominations or appointment must be by secret ballot. If no candidate secures a majority on the second ballot, the third ballot determines by plurality and in case of a tie the oldest candidate prevails[5]."

The mayor presides at council meetings and he alone has executory authority and may visit [illegible] members[6]. In the absence the assistant mayors or other councilors preside. If the mayor has resigned or been suspended or dismissed, he is replaced by a temporary successor appointed by executive decree[7]. In the session devoted to the consideration of the budget, the oldest councilor presides, except in those cases where the Administrator presents the budget, when the mayor himself presides. Whenever presents the budget may participate in the discussions but must retire before the vote thereon. The minutes of the session are transmitted directly to the Ministry of the Interior[8]."

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7. [illegible]
8. [illegible]

One or more secretaries are elected by the council.[1] They are responsible for the minutes but do not participate in the deliberations. Provision has been made for the eventual merging of the offices of secretary and municipal treasurer. In small municipalities the functions of secretary are frequently entrusted to the local schoolmaster. The minutes must be kept in both Arabic and French,[2] whenever possible, and an abstract of the minutes must be posted at the municipal building within eight days of the council meetings.[3] Copies of the abstract must be transmitted to the administrator and the commandant. Inspection of the minutes is open to all inhabitants or taxpayers, together with the right to copy them in whole or in part, including the budgets and accounts.[4]

3.[1] Powers of Council

The council passes on all the affairs of the municipality and acts, as an advisory capacity to the central authorities upon their request or when required by law. It may likewise submit to opinion on any matter of local interest. It inspects the budget and accounts of the regular and municipal treasuries. By authorization of the Minister of the Interior it may communicate with other municipalities on matters of common interest.[5]

Decisions of the council may be divided into three categories:— (a) those having executory character without specific approval of the central authorities; (b) those having executory character only after approval from the central authorities; and (c) those of a purely advisory nature. Decisions in the first category are executory thirty days after receipt by the administrator. However, during this time they may be vetoed by the administrator for violation of the law. Likewise, the administrator may suspend execution for a further period of fifteen days. In cases of urgency, the administrator may order immediate execution which gives the decision executory character upon the expiration of the fifteen day delay required for the presentation of protests and appeals. The following subjects fall within this category:—

1. Methods of administration of communal properties.
2. Conditions of contracts for lease or rent for a period not exceeding nine years for other properties.

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1. Ibid., art. 40.
2. Ibid., art. 42. The secretary is an ex-officio member.
3. Ibid., art. 41.
4. Ibid., art. 43.
5. Arrêté No. 1466, bis 45, art. 46.
6. Ibid., art. 47.

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regulations and maintenance exceeding the fixed limits (4th) etc.

6. Change in use of public property already utilised in the public service.

7. Any change in the conditions or status of public roads, highways, gardens, market-places, dressing and rest rooms, etc.

8. Acceptance or refusal of gifts or legacies bearing any charge or conditions or with power of reclamation.

11. Establishment, change or suppression of markets other than simple provision markets.

12. Price-fixing for certain necessities as bread, flour, meat, butter, milk, oil, vegetables, fish, wood, charcoal, coal and fuel.[1]

(c) any time the council authorities may call upon the council for an opinion upon the law specifically calls for such action with regard to the following subjects :—

1. Projects of alignment and leveling of the ground highways lying within the boundaries of a municipality.

2. Creation of charitable bureaus and their regulations.

3. Budgets and accounts of municipal charitable establishments created by private donations; authorization for purchase, alienation, transfer, borrowing, exchange, or pleading demanded by such organizations and the acceptance of legacies or gifts to the same.

If the council fails to give its opinion after having been formally requested therefor, action may proceed without it.[2]

Besides voting the budget, the council passes on the accounts of the municipality. Detailed regulations for municipal accounting and its supervision are provided by the Ministries of Interior and Finance.[3]

A municipal council is forbidden to make any pronunciation or to express its views on the political, religious or administrative questions. Any act or deliberation in violation of this prohibition is

1 Law No. 4 (Gazette 1927, Issue 188, No. 3, 1927, p. 1).
2 Article No. 1928, Art. 45, Sec. 46.
3 Ibid., Art. 46.

[illegible] automatically null and void without necessity of pronouncement and without prejudice to any sanctions which may be determined by the government.[1] Such cases have resulted in the dissolution of an entire council or the dismissal of individual members.[2]

Automatically null and void are any deliberations of the council upon any subject foreign to its powers or taken outside of a regularly convoked meeting of the council. Likewise, any deliberations in violation of the laws and regulations are null and void. Notification for these reasons is susceptible of appeal to the administrative courts.[3]

Duties of Mayors

Each municipality is headed by a president of the council or mayor, appointed by the President of the Republic for a period of one year from among the members of the municipal council. In municipalities having at least eight councillors the mayor is assisted by a vice-president or assistant mayor (two in municipalities of over 20,000 inhabitants) who is appointed in the same manner and for the same period as the president. Both officers are eligible for reappointment.[4] In municipalities of 20,000 and above, the administration of the [illegible] is charged with the functions of the mayor.[5]

In the absence of the mayor he is replaced by the vice-president or, where there is none, by the oldest member of the council. If the mayor resigns or is suspended or dismissed, he is replaced by a temporary successor appointed by the central government.[6] After being given an opportunity for written reply to the charges against him, the mayor may be suspended or removed by decree of the President. The decree must be motivated but there is no recourse. Suspensive power is in the hands of the President alone except in cases where the municipal officer has been referred to crime when the administrator may suspend, subject to immediate reference to the central authorities.[7] In case of refusal or failure of the mayor to carry out any of his prescribed functions, the administrator may act or appoint a special delegate to carry out the prescribed duties.[8]

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1. [illegible] Sec. 45, Sec. 5.
2. See Appendix D.
3. [illegible] Sec. 45, Sec. 6.
4. Ibid., Sec. 46 & 48.
5. Ibid., Sec. 49.
6. [illegible] Sec. 45, Sec. 46.
7. Ibid., Sec. 47.
8. Ibid., Sec. 48 & 49.

Resignation of the mayor or assistant mayors is made directly [illegible] to the Province and becomes effective upon acceptance thereby, or, in default thereof, one month after the deposit of a new resignation by registered mail. The incumbents must carry on their functions until their successors have been appointed.[1]

The mayor, assistant mayors, and municipal councillors serve without pay but are entitled to any actual expenses incurred in carrying out a special mandate. In municipalities of 5,000 inhabitants and more, the mayor may be voted a representation allowance from the ordinary revenues of the municipality.[2]

Powers of Mayor

If the mayor deems it necessary for the welfare of the service to delegate some of his functions to members of the council, he can only do so with the approval of the assistant mayors and of the Minister of the Interior. However, in no case may the administrator or burgomaster delegate any of his functions when serving as municipal councillor.[3] No government functionary belonging to the services of finance, justice, post and telegraph, or control of public establishments may serve as either mayor or assistant mayor. Likewise, no one employed by the mayor may be appointed as assistant mayor.[4] If the personal interests of the mayor or acting mayor should prove to be in conflict with the general welfare, the Province designates some other member of the council to act for the municipality in justice or in contract.[5]

The mayor appoints, with powers of suspension and removal, all municipal employees for whom the law or regulations have not fixed a special mode of appointment.[6] All such appointments must, however, receive the approval of the administrators, with the exception of those employed by the day.[7]

When awarding contracts on behalf of the municipality, the mayor is assisted by two councillors chosen by the council, or, in default, chosen from the official list in order of ranking. The municipal treasurer is included in all meetings for this purpose and is

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1 Arrêté du 1785, No. 45, Art. 45.
2 Ibid., Art. 46. Under the Province system the mayor presides, votes as he pleases on the municipal budget. (Arrêté No. 45, Art. 2, p. 11).
3 Ibid., Art. 47. A number of the additional powers of delegation of the mayor of Rwanda-Urundi.
4 Ibid., Art. 48.
5 Ibid., Art. 49.
6 Ibid., Art. 50.
7 Ibid., Art. 51.

4.55 cases of contracts for public works, the Director of Public Works is likewise included. Decision is taken by majority vote of the mayor and two assistants, the other members acting only in an advisory capacity but with the right to demand the inclusion of their advice in the written minute of the contract.[1]

Subject to the control of the council and the central authorities already outlined, the mayor is charged with a large variety of functions. As in France, he acts in the dual capacity of head of the municipal government and agent of the central government. The more important of his duties under the first category are the following :—[2]

1. The conservation and administration of municipal properties.
2. Administration of revenues and supervision of accounts.
3. Preparation of the budget.
4. Direction of public works.
5. Supervision of municipal highways.
6. Signing of contracts and leases for the municipality and adjudications concerning public works.
7. Signing of all acts of sale, exchange, apportionment, acceptances of gifts and legacies or other acquisitions, etc.
8. Regulation of burial procedure.
9. Execution of all decisions of municipal council.

As an agent of the central government and under the supervision of the Ministry of the Interior, the mayor is charged with the publication and execution of the laws and regulations, with all measures for general security not entrusted by the laws to the police services, and with the execution of any special functions provided by law or regulations.[3]

The mayor may issue arrêtés giving effect to local measures concerning the objects entrusted to his vigilance and authority and arrêtés publishing new laws and police regulations and calling the citizens to their observance.[4] In his character as agent of the central

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1 Arrêté, No. 1366, Art. 46.
2 Ibid., Art. 47.
3 Ibid., Arts. 48, 49, 50.
4 Ibid., Art. 50.

police service, the mayor issues orders having the character of police regulations. The most important of these concern the following:[1]

1. Regulation of everything which may affect free and undisturbed passage in the public streets, as destruction of dangerous structures, danger from falling articles, obstruction of passage, etc.

2. Maintenance of public order through avoidance of quarrelling, rioting, troublesome assemblages, nocturnal disturbances.

3. Maintenance of order on all occasions of public assemblage.

4. Procedure for funeral rites as affecting public order.

5. Inspection of weights and measures, and honesty of such transactions.

6. Precautionary and relief measures at times of public catastrophy as fires, floods, epidemics, and accidents of all sorts.

7. Provisional disposal of insane persons who may threaten public safety or morals.

8. Precautions against and relief for depredations by straying or wild animals.

Arrêtés issued by a mayor must be despatched immediately to the administrator who forwards them to the Minister of the Interior with his comments thereon. If they contain permanent regulations, they are not definitive until approved by the Minister. All other arrêtés are executory one fortnight after their despatch to the administrator. The Minister may annul or may suspend execution; in cases of urgency he may authorize immediate execution.[2]

Such arrêtés are not binding until they have been brought to the attention of the parties concerned, either through ordinary publication as in the case of general ordinance or by individual notification in other cases.[3]

Every municipality not enjoying the services of the State Police may have one or more municipal guards. They are nominated by the mayor for approval and commission by the administrator whose

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1 Arrêté No. 1288, *loc. cit.*, Art. 71.
2 Ibid., Art. 72.
3 Ibid., Art. 73.

[illegible]

[illegible] decision must be rendered within one month. They may be suspended by the mayor for a period of one month, but may be dismissed only by the administrators. They are responsible for the enforcement of municipal regulations and police action through reports to the mayor, but have no authority to make arrests. Failure to comply with municipal regulations may result in judicial process with final enforcement by the regular police.[1]

Aspects of Legal Personality

A municipality may be declared legally responsible by decree of the President on advice of the Administrative Courts for damages resulting from crimes or misdemeanors committed by violence upon its territory through riots, or armed bands, whether against persons or public or private property. The damages shall be distributed over all the domiciled inhabitants of the responsible municipality by a tax specially prepared by the Director of Finance.[2] If rioting is caused by the inhabitants of more than one village or municipality the damages shall be distributed over all those responsible thereby in proportions to be determined by the Ministry of Finance.[3] These provisions are not applicable when the municipality can prove that all measures within its power had been taken to prevent the incident; when the mayor does not have the control of the local police; or when the damages are the result of acts of war.[4] The responsible municipality has full recourse against the authors and accomplices of the disorder.[5]

The sale of movable or immovable municipal property may be authorized or decreed of any creditor having executory title by order of the Minister of the Interior who also determines the form of sale.[6] The Council sits on all legal actions initiated or sustained by the municipality. The mayor may, prior to such action, take steps to conserve or prevent forfeiture.[7] No municipality may undertake action in justice without authorization of the Administrative. It must first prove a good right and sufficient interest. The Administrative court renders its decision within two months, failing which the municipality may proceed.[8]

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1 Arrêté No. [illegible], loc. cit., Art. 76.
2 Ibid., Art. 77.
3 Ibid., Art. 78.
4 Ibid., Art. 79.
5 Ibid., Art. 80.
6 Ibid., Art. 81.
7 Ibid., Art. 84.
8 Ibid., Art. 85.

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No judicial action other than possessory may be instituted against a municipality except when the claimant has previously presented a properly authenticated memorial to the Administrator. Such suit action may not be initiated until one month after the date of receipt of such a memorial without prejudice to acts of conservation. The presentation of the petition interrupts any prescription or forfeiture if it is followed by a demand in justice within three months. The administrator immediately transmits such petitions to the mayors with a request that the council be convoked for deliberation thereon.[1]

Obligatory Provisions

Municipal expenditures are obligatory or optional. The former may be written into the budget by the administrator and consist of the following —[2]

1. Maintenance of a municipal building or rooms used for that purpose.
2. Payment of honorifics duties.
3. Expenses of municipal administration, salaries of secretary, treasurer, and other employees.
4. Expenses of maintaining, cleaning, and lighting the streets.
5. Expenses of establishing and maintenance of plans for aligning and leveling the streets.
6. Cost of subscription to one person rate of the Official Journals of the Republic.
7. Portion of expenses of State Police allocated to municipality in the State budget.
8. Rent, cost of furnishing, lighting, and heating of posts of gendarmerie.
9. Any expenses incurred through necessity for the administrator to act owing to failure of local authorities to perform their functions and in general any expenses charged to municipalities by the dispositions of any law or regulation.

All other expenditures are optional. The detailed regulation of municipal accounts, budgets, and contracts is provided by special articles of the central government.[3]

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1 Arrêté No. 1208, loc. cit., Art. 84.
2 Ibid., Arts. 85, 86, 87.
3 Ibid., Art. 88.

A.52

Appendix B.

LIST OF MUNICIPAL COUNCILS DISSOLVED

No.	Date			Name	Cause cited
Ann. 1438	Jul.	27	1863	Sofia	Town cited
" 1460	Aug.	31	"	Vienna	"
				Krakow	"
				Lwów	"
				Odessa-Dashnak	"
				Kiev	"
				Simferopol	"
				Mitrofan	"
				Kremlin	"
" 1536	Sept.	13	"	Wadi al-Asaphite	"
" 1562	"	7	"	Dede al-Gherb	"
" 1575	Dec.	31	"	Crimea	"
" 1589	Jan.	11	1864	Sofia	"
" 1611	Mar.	17	"	Rasnitsa	"
" 1661	Jul.	18	"	Rive-di-Gorino	Endgenative
" 1633	Aug.	23	"	Gub Elbo	Town cited
Dec. 1652	Sept.	14	"	Kharkiv	"
Ann. 1689	"	23	"	Smyrna	Endgenative
" 1140	Oct.	9	"	Antioch	Town cited
Dec. 1679	"	11	"	Baalbek	"
Ann. 1136	"	28	"	Petraglia	"
Dec. 1662	Nov.	9	"	Ulyss	"
				Bukhara	"
Ann. 1663	Mar.	29	1869	Chenab	"
" 1661	May	6	"	Kandia (South Lab.)	Cause of confidence
" 1688	"	7	"	Mission-di-Chard	"
" 1679	"	28	"	Ulyanovsk	"
" 1243	July	29	"	Kharkiv	"
" 1686	"	30	"	Beyrouth	"
" 1652	Sept.	27	"	Rudolfi al-Jubbe	Town cited
" 1660	"	"	"	Bucharest	"
" 1661	Nov.	23	"	Kandia (South Lab.)	"
" 1663	Jan.	12	1870	Bucharest	Council protested on Lebanon Constitution
" 1639	Apr.	21	"	Chenab	Judicial action re two members.
Dec. 31	June	15	"	Tyre	Lack of quorum.
" 1641	July	19	"	Sidon	Town cited
" 1643	Sept.	21	"	Ellar Aisha	Internal dissension & abuse of confidence.

No.	Date			Name	Name and
[illegible]					

[illegible]

— [illegible] —

No.	Date	Name	Cause shown
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Appendix C.

LIST OF MUNICIPALITIES SUPPRESSED

No.	Date	Name	Consolidated
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

Appendix B.

TABLE SHOWING NUMBER OF MUNICIPAL BOROUGHS

	No. of Boroughs
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]

DISTRIBUTION OF MUNICIPAL BOROUGHS

No. of Wards		Average Area in Square Miles
3	only	[illegible]
4	Between	[illegible]
5	"	[illegible]
6	"	[illegible]
7	"	[illegible]
8	"	[illegible]
9	"	[illegible]
10	"	[illegible]
11	"	[illegible]
12	"	[illegible]
13	"	[illegible]
14	"	[illegible]
15	"	[illegible]
16	"	[illegible]
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27	"	[illegible]
28	"	[illegible]
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30	"	[illegible]
31	"	[illegible]
32	"	[illegible]
33	"	[illegible]
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THE MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT OF THE LEBANON

Appendix (A)*

The foregoing article had already finally passed its printing when Decree 118 of March 30, 1963, on which the municipal administration of the Lebanon is largely based, was amended on a number of points by Legislative Decree 116 of September 16, 1963, — a decree promulgated by the President of the Republic on the proposal of the Minister of the Interior in virtue of the Emergency powers conferred on them by the Decree of the Ruler Commissioner of May 5, 1958 which suspended *inter alia* the existing Lebanese constitution. The amendments however only extend to details, of which the following are specifically dealt with in the article:

Incompatibles — The minimum budget to be possessed by any town wishing for incorporation now amounts to 400 L.L. (instead of 250). All municipalities already incorporated whose budget is below this sum may be dissolved by Governmental decree (Decree article 2 modifying Decree article 5).

Powers of Council — In addition to the general powers of decision and advice mentioned in the first paragraph of this section, Mixed or Councils may nominate directly or present lists of suitable candidates to certain functions in accordance with existing laws and regulations. (Decree article 4 modifying Decree article 40).

Decisions of the Council which are executory without further approval become effective within 10 days, (instead of 30), and may only be suspended by the administration for 8 days (instead of 15). (Decree article 7 modifying Decree article 46).

The validity of *ultra vires* decisions is pronounced by the Minister of the Interior, either on his own initiative or on the motion of any party interested. From this decision there is no appeal, but the reasons for the decision must be given in full. (Decree article 11 modifying Decree article 58).

Powers of Mayors — The orders of mayors become executory within 10 days (instead of 30) after despatch to the administration. The Director of the Interior may annul or suspend them, but his decision must be given within 3 days. (Decree article 13 modifying Decree article 72).

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*Owing to Professor Khalaf's absence on leave in America, he received only a revised proof of this study and incorporate on the last minute any changes in the law such as described in this appendix. Professor Ragai N. Saliba of the Department of History, kindly supplied this appendix in order to bring the study up to date.

B. THE GOVERNMENT OF BEIRUT

[illegible]

Upon the establishment of the mandatory regime, the government of Beirut was functioning under a municipal council, half of whose members had been elected in 1913. Although their tenure of office had expired in 1918, they were still functioning as no new elections had been held. Partly on this ground and also because of the difficulties that the council as constituted did not satisfactorily represent the various religious sects, the council was dissolved in 1920 and an administrative commission appointed.[1] Municipal government was still being carried on under the provisions of the Ottoman Vilayet (Municipal) Law of October 5, 1877. In 1930 this regime was replaced by the new municipal code promulgated by Arrêté No. 1.559 of March 13 1930.[2]

In 1924 the government appointed a commission to study the different problems of administrative arising out of the fact that Beirut was the capital of the Lebanon and the seat of the French High Commission, the largest city in the country, and composed of a highly heterogeneous population. This commission proposed the reorganization of the Beirut administrative machinery under a special charter differing in several respects from the general municipal code. This proposal was adopted, and the Beirut Municipal Law was promulgated on July 29, 1930 by Arrêté No. 2671.[3] In its general outline the new law follows the principles of the general code of 1930. The points of difference which will be treated in the following pages

Status of Mayor

The municipality of Beirut had always been classified as one of the principal administrative divisions of the Lebanon, ranking on a par with under the earlier law and as a district under the present

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1 Arrêté No. 1446, July 31, 1920, Recueil des arrêtés et décisions de la Commissaire de la République Française dans les États Libres, Syrienne, 1920, p. 34.

2 Supra, p. 1.

3 Journ. Off., No. 37, 1930, pp. 1-6.

unless effected under Decree (Act No. 5 of February 6, 1962)[1] (Letter to the new municipal charter the administration became the mayor as president of the municipal council[2] a position which had long disappeared under the preceding regime[3]

Thus the Mayor of Beira has final authority in all matters of appointment and dismissal from the municipal service;[4] he controls the resignations of municipal councillors[5] or assistant mayors;[6] he has power to dismiss any councillor who, after election, is found to be bankrupt[7] or who fails to comply with the law concerning attendance at council meetings[8] On other hand certain functions which ordinarily fall to the administrator, in the case of Beira are exercised directly by the central authorities. For example, the Minister of the Interior may require a second deliberation of matters brought before the council at a special meeting on grounds of urgency;[9] he receives directly the records of all council meetings;[10] no exhibit of the mayor on monetary until approved by the Minister;[11] any expenses not provided for in the budget must receive his approval;[12] and the services and accounts of the municipality are open to inspection and verification by his agents at any time[13]

The mayor receives a salary from the central government the amount of which must be inscribed in the municipal budget and paid in to the national treasury[14]

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1. Supra, pp. 1-2.

2. Article No. 2(1), Art. 21, Art. 1. The arrangement contained in Article 2 which means of increased autonomy brought in which means [illegible] to the ordinary municipality must be submitted to the administrator of the district under which the competence of the Mayor of Beira. In the case also it brings the city more directly in touch with the central administration as all citizens to the higher authorities are directly to the Ministry of the Interior.

3. Article No. 2(1), Sec. 2, (1), Art. 21, p. 21

4. Article No. 2(1), Art. 21, Art. 21. (2) Supra, p. 21

5 Ibid., Art. 21. (2) Supra, p. 10

6 Ibid., Art. 21

7 Ibid., Art. 21. (2) Supra, p. 9.

8 Ibid., Art. 21. (2) Supra, p. 21.

9 Ibid., Art. 21. (2) Supra, p. 21.

10 Ibid., Art. 21. (2) Supra, p. 21.

11 Ibid., Art. 21. (2) Supra, pp. 21-21.

12 Ibid., Art. 21.

13 Ibid., Art. 21.

14 Ibid., Art. 21. So is the only mayor receiving a salary in his capacity as municipal councillor.

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Composition of the Council

4.40 The constitution of the Seoul municipal council differs in several respects from those of other municipalities. In the first place, it has a larger membership in order to secure representation for the many ward agglomerations in its constituency. Originally constituted with fourteen elected members, it was enlarged by Decree No. 6627 of April 21, 1988, to contain 19 elected members.[1] The seats are distributed among the different wards as follows —

6 Jung-Ku	1 Ulleung-do or Dok-do
3 Mapo-Gu	1 Representative of minority ward
3 Gangnam-Gu	4 Representatives of foreigners, nationals of seven countries of the Congress of Nations, or of the United States.

The members of the council are elected by direct universal suffrage of all male inhabitants of the city having the qualifications required by the national elections law,[2] except that no distinction is made on the basis of nationality or sex.[3] By amendment in 1988, this provision was changed so that the Ulleungdo members are elected by their own nationals, the foreign members being elected separately by the inhabitants of foreign nationality.[4] In actual practice

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1 Law No. 6627, Art. 2, para. 4.

2 Article No. 201 (as ch., sec. 4 & 5).

3 The provision for the representation of foreigners in the municipal council was brought against in the representative chamber on the ground that there was no precedent for such action, that foreigners had no right to participate in the internal affairs of the country, and that it would work an unfair advantage to the foreign communities. The arguments supporting it stressed in debate and in the report of the drafting committee were (1) that the foreign communities were legally entitled to the benefits and duty being enforced in municipal councils, and the authorities having been established that were entitled to a voice in municipal council elections, (2) that their participation would encourage the interest and cooperation of foreign residents in the development of the city, (3) that such participation in the council would strengthen the financial credit of the municipality, and (4) that it might aid in overcoming the world of a readiness for a greater degree of self-government as evidenced by a willingness although several foreign countries. In the original draft it was proposed to have two French members, one American, and one from the other foreign groups. As adopted, the law provided for two French members and one from the other groups. By Article No. 6627 of April 21, 1988, the law was changed to provide for four foreign members, and more than one of whom should represent the same national group. As no elections have yet been held under the new law, the city having been governed by an appointed consultative body, (q. v., p. 11), the foreign members have been appointed by the President of the Republic upon the recommendations of the Consular Corps. In actual practice the foreign members have been appointed from the following national groups: French, English, and Indian.

4 Article No. 6627, March 5, 1988, June 1988, No. 488 and Article No. 6627, Art. 4th.

— 43 —

an election have been held under the new law, the council having been dissolved in 1939 and a commission appointed which has been governing ever since that date. Members of the foreign diplomatic or consular corps and any persons in their employ are ineligible for election to the municipal council.[1]

Procedure of the Council

If the council is reduced by vacancies to twelve members, including the mayor, a new election must be held within one month, unless the next regular election would occur within six months, when a subsidiary election is held only if the council has lost six of its members.[2]

In case the council is dissolved, it is replaced by a special delegative component of five members, only one of whom may be of foreign nationality. This delegation exercises all the powers of the council except that of deliberating on the municipal budget, taxes, or loans. In such cases of dissolution the government must call an election within three months.[3]

The council must meet at least once every two weeks with special meetings on call of the mayor.[4] A quorum consists of eight members. If a quorum is lacking due to the ineligibility of at least five members owing to personal interest in the matter under deliberation, the council may proceed providing at least six members are present. All voting except for nominations and appointments, is by roll call and must be recorded in the minutes.[5]

Powers of the Council

The Beirut council is invested with all the powers appertaining to the ordinary municipal councils under the general code and in addition is empowered (1) to fix the tariff for public conveyances of all kinds, (2) to make provision for the poor and (3) to pass on

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1 Arrêté No. 695, loc. cit., Art. 9.

2 Ibid., Art. 11. Cf. Report, p. 19.

3 Ibid., Art. 15. This article has been practically nullified by having the elections placed by ministerial decree under the authority of the municipal council of by administrative decree under the authority of the municipal law. Thus the replacement of one election within three months has been avoided with a practical suspension of popular participation in municipal government by the expedient of repeatedly postponing the election. The next most postponement was to May, 1941.

4 Ibid., Art. 16.

5 Ibid., Art. 18.

all projects of construction, expenditure, [illegible] which need to be submitted to the council in the interest of public safety and hygiene. Its decisions in these matters are subject to veto by the central government.[1] Likewise the council is authorized to supervise all public services of the city, its deliberations on these matters are having executory character until approved by the central government.[2]

Publication or veto of any act of the council follows the same procedure as in the general rule except that all references to the administrators, who in this case is the mayor, are transferred directly to the President of the Republic.[3]

In contrast to the provisions of the general rule, the Bolivar charter provides that the assistant mayors shall be elected by the council for a period of one year and are eligible for reelection. Their election takes place the first week of April. In case of either office falling vacant, a new officer is elected for the duration of the predecessor's term.[4] The assistant mayors serve without pay.[5]

Budgetary Procedure

The annual budget must be voted by the council before the 15th of November. It is not mandatory until approved by the Minister of the Interior. If not approved before the beginning of the new fiscal year, the budget of the preceding year continues in force on the basis for fiscal operations until the new budget comes into force.[6] No expenses appropriated for in the budget may be incurred without the express approval of the Minister. Likewise no deductions may be made from the reserve for contingencies without similar approval.[7]

The final accounts for the year must be reported and explained to the council in February and after examination and approval are forwarded to the Minister of Finance for audit. They must be published in the Official Journal, likewise the budget and the accounts for the first semester.[8]

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1. Article 3, No. 21, Sec. 2
2. Ibid., Art. 25
3. Ibid., Art. 25, as [illegible] Supra, p. 25.
4. Ibid., Art. 26 [illegible] Supra, p. 26.
5. Ibid., Art. 26
6. Ibid., Art. 46
7. Ibid., Art. 46
8. Ibid., Art. 47. An examination of the Official Journal shows that this provision has not been adhered.

[illegible]

The arrangement of the budget and the accounting system must [illegible] follow the regulations of the central government. All municipal services and accounts are open at all times to inspection and audit [illegible] by the agents.[1]

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Chapter III.
Communal Domain.

	L. Syrian
Taxes	3,000
Repairs and insurance	3,000
	L. Syr. 6,000

Chapter IV.
Debt Repayment and Miscellaneous.

Debts regulation	1,000
Repayment to treasury	4,000
Miscellaneous repayments	1,000
Repayments on stamp tax	3,500
Police expenses	10,000
Public instruction	1,650
Convents and police stations	1,600
Salaries to inspectors of administrative service	4,000
Court expenses	4,000
Expenses for lodging	3,000
Expenses for elections and printed material	50
	L. Syr. 33,000

Chapter V.
Work, Repairs and Working Instruments.

Roads and avenues	125,000
Repairs of roads with tramways	3,000
Gardens, squares, plantations	12,000
Expropriations for roads	30,000
Building construction	5,000
Basta Road	12,500
Covering roads with tar	42,000
Garage construction	35,000
Tiles	4,000
Miscellaneous	40,000
	L. Syr. 309,500

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Chapter VI.

Miscellaneous Expenses.

Regulation of prostitution	6,500
Exceptions	2,000
Care of paupers	4,000
Maintaining houses, shops and running roads	1,500
Museums	2,000
Miscellaneous	2,000
	L. Syn. 17,500

Chapter VII.

Reserve.

	L. Syrian
Emergency reserve	12,870
	L. Syn. 12,870
Grand Total	L. Syn. 780,870

MEDITERRANEAN SEA
Tripoli
Beirut
Sidon
Tyre
Nabatiye
PROVINCES
North Lebanon
Mount Lebanon
South Lebanon
Bekaa
ISRAEL

have retained close contact with their homeland, a factor which has had a profound influence on the soil and the economic development of the country.

Unlike the neighboring Arab states, Lebanon is a compact territory. The density of population in its four administrative provinces, exclusive of Beirut district, averaged over 300 per square mile in 1948. It was 464 per square mile in Mount Lebanon, 356 in North Lebanon, and 291 in South Lebanon, but declined to 101 in the potentially fertile district of the Bekaa. About 60 per cent of the inhabitants live under rural conditions in some 2,000 large or small villages. Urbanization has increased progressively within recent years, however, and almost one half of the population is now concentrated within city limits of Beirut. The city, which is not only the capital and the industrial metropolis of Lebanon but the principal port of the Levant states, had a population of 100,000 to 400,000 in 1960. Tripoli, the second largest city and the terminus of the pipeline from the oil fields in northern Iraq to the Mediterranean, had a population of roughly 70,000. Numerous towns in the southern and the central portions of the Lebanon range are popular resorts, with an annual influx of summer residents.

The fact that Beirut has become one of the leading cultural and educational centers of the Near East has stimulated the spread of education in the rest of the country. The literacy rate is consistently higher among the men than among the women; it probably averages from 75 to 90 per cent in Beirut and the neighboring districts of Mount Lebanon as from 40 to 60 per cent in the other provinces. The expansion of education has been influenced by the activity of French, American and other foreign groups, but the division between the different systems has hindered the development of a unified national program. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory, although the facilities are inadequate, especially in the rural areas of the south.

DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS OF THE LEBANON

By ELIASHU EPSTEIN

THE Lebanese Republic covers an area of about 10,000 sq. k.* The population was last assessed in the Order of the President dated June 17, 1943, as the number of citizens registered in the registration records on December 31, 1942. This Order also referred to a number of Lebanese who had emigrated but had retained their Lebanese citizenship.

The Order in question was published in connection with the elections to the Lebanese Parliament. Although the Moslem communities disagreed with the correctness of the number given, the Order remains the official document pending the holding of a general Census which will determine the figures more precisely.

The following is the table which served as the foundation for fixing the population of the Lebanon as on January 1, 1943:†

Communities.	*Inhabitants.*	*Emigrants.*	*Total.*
Maronites	318,201	91,276	409,477
Sunni	225,554	4,913	230,467
Shi'ah	200,698	9,387	210,085
Greek Orthodox	106,658	33,655	140,313
Druses	71,711	4,863	76,574
Greek Catholics	61,996	13,172	75,168
Armenian Orthodox (Gregorians)	58,077	66	58,143
Minorities	41,556	2,159	43,715
Total	1,084,451	159,571	1,243,889

The following are the estimated figures for the movement of population in the Lebanon, and the estimated natural increase:‡

Communities.	*1932 Census.*	*End 1943.*	*Difference.*	*Percentage.*
Sunni	179,667	225,554	45,887	25·1
Shi'ah	159,153	200,698	41,545	38·5
Druses	56,297	71,711	15,414	38·0
Maronites ...	269,620	318,201	48,581	18·0
Greek Catholics	55,045	61,996	6,951	12·5
Greek Orthodox	92,931	106,658	13,667	15·0

The instructive conclusions which can be drawn from these tables are:

(a) Most of the emigrants from the Lebanon and those who continue

* Since the demarcation of the Syro-Lebanese Frontier has not been completed, estimates of the areas of the two States vary. The area of the Autonomous District of the Lebanon (1861-1915) was 5,700 kilometres and its population was 400,000.

† "Le Syrie et l'Orient," Beirut, 20.05.6, 1945.

‡ *Ibid.* The figures in these tables and the statistical calculations should be accepted with extreme caution on account of the backward methods used for demographical statistics in the Lebanon.

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to maintain their Lebanese citizenship abroad are Christians, the over-[illegible] majority of whom are Maronites.

The natural increase among the non-Christian population of the Lebanon, and particularly of the Shi'ah and the Druses, is more than twice as great as that of the Christian population. These facts can serve as a key to explain various developments, the influence of which may be decisive in shaping the social character and political fate of the Lebanon.

Any person reviewing the demographic problems of the Lebanon cannot but observe a number of factors common to the Christian population of the Lebanon and the Yishuv (the Jewish community) in Palestine. The natural increase of the Christians in the Lebanon is roughly equal to that of the Yishuv in Palestine.*

Against this, however, the Yishuv in Palestine has incomparably more potential reserve in the way of immigration from abroad than that which is available to the Lebanese Christians through the return of emigrants. And just as the chief concern of Zionism in Palestine is the creation of possibilities for the absorption of Jewish immigrants from abroad, so the Christians of the Lebanon are faced first and foremost with the problem of preventing emigration from the country, and, in consequence, the creation of opportunities for absorbing emigrants who do return and who can return to their homeland, given suitable absorptive conditions. In addition, attention is devoted to the creation of opportunities for absorbing Christians who require a refuge.

The absence of dynamic economic resources in the Lebanon which could increase and expand the sources of livelihood for a progressive population has led to a steady emigration from the country since the middle of the last century. This process has chiefly affected the Christians whose requirements are more developed and whose living standards are higher than those of their Druse and Moslem neighbours; it has created a serious social and political problem which, taken together with their lower rate of natural increase, places the future of the Lebanese Christians in permanent danger.

Robert Widmer described the economic reasons for a migration from the Lebanon in the following passage:†

> "Lebanon is over-populated. As has been stated, the density of population is about 93 people to a square kilometre. In view of the topography of the country, its rocky mountains and its thin soil, its scarcity of mineral wealth, and its undeveloped industries, the land cannot support all its people. Consequently it is to be expected that some of them have to emigrate, leaving many dependent on their remittances."

As long as emigration was temporary, it was in many ways advantageous. To the general broadening of outlook resulting from contact with more advanced countries were added the material benefits of an increase in the country's capital (brought in by returning emigrants), an ad-

* Fourteen per-mille among the Christians of the Lebanon as against fifteen per-mille among the Jews of Palestine.

† S. Himadeh, *Economic Organization of Syria*, Beirut, 1936, p. 14.

The Lebanese who returned to their homelands after a... problem on their own, but the paucity of reliable material on the Lebanese Diaspora makes it hard to investigate the subject. Yet the large number of Lebanese emigrants who continue to preserve their citizenship shows not only their affection for their homeland but also suggests their intention of returning there under suitable conditions.

Despite the constant emigration from the Lebanon, this country served as a refuge during the interval between the two wars for Christian emigrants from the neighbouring countries, and in particular for Armenians.* More than 60,000 Armenian refugees from Turkey found refuge in the Lebanon, and despite the economic problems which were raised by the entry of these penniless immigrants, they have added considerably to the Christian strength of the Lebanon, where their fellow-Christians, together with the Mandatory Power, have provided for them in various ways and have facilitated their establishment in the country.

The statistical data on the changes in the composition of the population resulting from its differing natural composition shows clearly the danger awaiting the Christian character of the country. The danger of a Moslem majority, to be sure, primarily affects not Mount Lebanon proper, but the State of Lebanon within its existent political frontiers, where the Moslem population constitutes a majority in the towns of Beirut, Tripoli, Tyre and Sidon. But the natural increase of the Druzes and Shi'ah in Mount Lebanon, which is twice, or more, as much as that of the Christians, also raises a serious problem for the latter, even in their chief stronghold. Any free-will relinquishment by the Christians of the present boundaries of the Lebanese Republic, and their return to the boundaries of their period of autonomy between 1861 and 1915, would not serve to solve the main problem of preserving the Christian character of their country for any length of time.

This situation faces the Lebanese Christians with a number of grave and urgent problems which require solution in the economic field: the creation of conditions that will first and foremost prevent emigration, which chiefly affects the Christian population and systematically reduces their numbers in the country; and, in addition, the development of possibilities for absorbing returning emigrants and Christian immigrants from the neighbouring countries. In any case of organized population transfer in this part of the world for the sake of territorial concentration in accordance with common religious and communal character, the Lebanon would be more suitable than any other Middle Eastern region for serving as a centre for the Christians.

* Most of these are Orthodox (Gregorians). The Catholics and Protestants among them are included under "minorities" in the tables given above.

455 administrative of the municipality.[1] In cases of dissolution or collective emigration a special delegation in named by the President of the Republic, who likewise appoints its president and vice-president, if any. The delegation contains from three to seven members depending upon the importance of the municipality. The duration of such a delegation may not exceed one year. It exercises all the powers of a municipal council but is automatically dissolved when a council is reconstituted.[2]

Electoral Procedure.

438 Municipal electoral procedure and qualifications are regulated
444 by the national electoral law, Arrêté No. 130 of March 10, 1922,
449 except that residence requirements are interpreted entirely in terms of municipal residence. Suffrage qualifications are the same as for national elections. The electorate consists of all male citizens 21 years of age having their real and principal establishment within the municipality where they must have resided for at least six months. Likewise, they must have conformed with the national census law of March 9, 1921. Absence because of status as minister of a recognized cult, as public functionary, or a soldier of the Syrian Legion, Lebanese Gendarmerie, or French Army, does not disqualify.[3] The following categories are disqualified for the suffrage:—

1. Individuals deprived of their civil rights.
2. Individuals permanently deprived from holding public office.

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1 Ibid., Art. 31.

2 Arrêté No. 1308, loc. cit., Art. 32. The powers for dissolution and administration by an appointed Commission have been widely used as is shown by 66 dissolutions over a period of nine years among a total of sixty odd municipalities. Although the tenure of such commissions is limited to one year, there is nothing to prevent the renewal of mandate or the appointment of new commission. This seems to have been done to a considerable extent and has led to the suspicion, commonly held, that this power of dissolution has been used in political reasons rather than because of administrative inefficiency or irregularities. It is a widely held belief that commission administration has been resorted to or continued in many cases, because of fear that election would bring into power an administration hostile to the central government or at least not so completely under its control. While it might be claimed that circumstances were such that no election could be depended upon to put in power a council of requisite ability, the fact that out of 66 dissolutions no reasons are advanced in 36 of the arrêtés of dissolution, although impracticability is required by law, lends color to the charge. (See Appendix).

3 Arrêté No. 1337, loc. cit., Art. 34. Under the Turkish regime suffrage qualifications included Turkish nationality, age of at least 3 years, possession of full civil and personal rights, freedom from sentence for crime, and payment of at least 5£ Turkish pounds in taxes. (Young, loc. cit., Vol. I p. 32).

[illegible]

3. Individuals condemned for a crime or infamous offense involving a correctional penalty. Considered as infamous are theft, swindling, abuse of confidence, public outrage of decency, habitual excitation of minors to debauchery, vagabondage, and simple bankruptcy. 432 446 447

4. Individuals condemned to imprisonment for crime.

5. Individuals under judicial interdiction.

6. Insolvents not condemned for bankruptcy. Disqualification for this category holds for three years from declaration of insolvency.

7. Individuals condemned to imprisonment or more severe sentence for any violation of the electoral laws.[1]

A list of qualified voters known as the "electoral list" is drawn up by an appointed Registration Commission[2] and is revised annually from supplementary lists furnished by the mukhtirs and presidents of municipalities. Upon the publication of this list ten days are allowed for the presentation of claims of error which are decided by the Registration Commission with right of appeal only on points of law. No one may be inscribed on the electoral list of more than one voting district. In case of duplicate registration through error the elector may choose which residence he desires to establish provided he fulfils the qualifications before the final closing of the electoral lists. All demands for such changes must be accompanied by a demand for the removal of the name from the former list.[3] 432 446

The electors are convoked by decree of the President of the Republic issued at least fifteen days before the election. In no case may the elections last more than seven days. Balloting always commences on a Sunday but may run for several consecutive days. The number of days, place, and time of voting are decreed by the administrator.[4] The polls must remain open at least six consecutive hours in municipalities of more than 500 inhabitants or, in case of a single day and bureau of voting, at least nine consecutive hours. If a second balloting is necessary, the electors are automatically convoked for the following Sunday and such succeeding days as were provided in the original decree of convocation. The administrator is responsible for the publication of the necessary notices.[5]

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1 Ibid., Art. 16.

2 A permanent commission constituted under the national electoral law.

3 Arrêté No. 1898 loc. cit., Art. 17.

4 Arrêté No. 1897 loc. cit., Art. 24.

5 Ibid., Art. 28.

[SHOULD READ 1927 AND 1928. CF. CENSUS SHEET, P. 97 -- ANALYST.]

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691 full guarantees for the rights of individuals and communities. Article 9 declared:

> Le libre[sic] de conscience est absolue. En rendant hommage au Très-Haut, l'Etat respecte toutes les confessions et en garantit et protège le libre exercice, à condition qu'il ne soit pas porté atteinte à l'ordre public. Il garantit également aux populations, à quelque rite qu'elles appartiennent, le respect de leur statut personnel et de leurs intérêts religieux.

In addition, Article 10 stated that education was free, provided it did not conflict with public order or morals or touch the dignity of the confessions. There would be no infringement of the right of communities to have their schools, under reserve of the general regulations on public education issued by the State.

Personal Status and Communal Organization

692 691 563 Before the war of 1914-18, certain matters of personal status fell within the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts of the millets, while all others were within the competence of the Shariah courts, which were on a higher level than the communal ones. In 1917, at the height of the war, the Ottoman Family Code deprived the Christian and Jewish courts of their jurisdictions, which were conferred on the Shariah tribunals. But this law was never effective and it was annulled in 1921. Soon afterwards the Moslem Shariah courts were placed on a level with those of the other communities by the transfer of all matters of personal status except marriage, divorce, separation, annulment and alimony, to the civil courts. But this measure met with opposition from all sides, and the decree containing it was suspended pending further consideration of the whole subject of personal status.

After several attempts to reform the whole system of jurisdictions had come to nothing, the High Commissioner issued in April 1936 a comprehensive decree defining the position of religious communities. The decree gave explicit legal recognition to the historic communities. Their statutes were given the force of law, and the application of them placed under the protection of the law and the control of the public authorities. They were to enjoy corporate personality, and to be represented in their relations with the public powers by their spiritual heads. Members of the communities would be obliged to conform to their statutes in matters of personal status, and to the civil law

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where the statutes of the communities were silent. But anybody who had attained his majority would be at liberty to leave his community and enter a new one. The decree also provided for the recognition of *communautés de droit commun*, in addition to communities possessing personal status jurisdiction. They would enjoy certain rights, such as that of acquiring property, but in matters of personal status their members would be subject to the civil law. This last provision was to apply also to individuals who were not members of any religious community.

This decree was opposed by the ecclesiastical authorities; and in December 1938 a new one was issued, modifying it at certain points. For example it was now made clear that in cases of secession, children who were minors would follow their father's confession, even after the father's death and even if the mother had the custody of the children after separation or divorce.

The decree of 1938, like that of 1936, was opposed from many sides, and has not been fully carried out. The position of the religious courts is still undefined and unsatisfactory.

Social Structure of the Communities

There is a considerable difference between the social structure of the different communities. The Maronites are mainly an agricultural community: many of the large estates were broken up in the course of the nineteenth century and a class of freehold farmers created. As a whole, the standard of life is higher among them than among most other communities, owing to the fertility of their lands and emigration to the New World. In addition to the farmers, there is a large and prosperous bourgeoisie in Beirut. The force which holds together the community is the Church, whose priests, like those of all the Uniate Churches, are more highly educated than those of the independent Eastern Churches: the Patriarch has immense social power, which is, however, challenged by the large land-owning families with feudal traditions.

The Sunni Moslems are almost wholly an urban community, concentrated in Tripoli, Beirut and Saida. They form a great part of the proletariat of those towns, but there is also a Sunni commercial and professional bourgeoisie and some large land-owning families. They have nothing comparable with either the religious or the temporal solidarity of the Maronites, perhaps because they never had the *millet* organization of Ottoman days.

The Shi'is are mainly peasantry in the southern districts and

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698 Republic. At the same time, however, an attempt was made to
583 keep the other sects hopeful and satisfied enough to prevent them trying to break up the Republic. This was done by the careful distribution of posts, large and small, among members of the different sects, and by the encouragement of Lebanese particularist feeling.

Sectarianism in Politics

In a country divided so fundamentally and in so many different ways, it has not been possible to create any genuine sense of solidarity. From its beginning, at least until 1943, the Lebanese Republic was only held together by the control and constant intervention of France; within the framework provided by that control, sectarian feeling maintained and even increased its strength.

692. The Constitution of the Lebanese Republic, promulgated in
563 1926, provided for a political organization which should take
691 into account the sectarian divisions of the country. It laid down two principles. The first was that all Lebanese citizens were equal before law, possessed of the same rights and duties, and equally admissible to all public offices, without any distinction (Articles 7 and 12). The other was that, at least provisionally, the confessions should be equitably represented in public offices and in the Ministry, in so far as that did not detract from the welfare of the State (Article 95).

All parts of the political organization of the State show the influence of these principles. Thus the President of the Republic has always been a Christian. To counterbalance this, the Prime Minister has usually been a Sunni Moslem, and the other Ministries have been distributed among the confessions. The Chamber of Deputies, during periods when it has been functioning, has been so composed as to represent the confessions roughly in proportion to their numerical strength; deputies have been elected by their co-religionists, organized for the purpose on a confessional as well as a geographical basis.

In matters of appointments and promotions in the public service, the equitable representation of the sects is a more important consideration than merit, in the minds not only of those who make appointments but also of the public, and more especially of the leaders of the different communities, who watch closely to see that the balance is not overturned.

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boundaries of the Cazas of Baalbeck, Beqa, Hasbaya and Rachaya. *South*—The southern boundaries of the Caza of Sour (Tyre and Merdjayoun. *West*—The Mediterranean Sea.

Art. 2. No part of Lebanese territory may be alienated or ceded.

Art. 3. The boundaries of the administrative areas may not be altered except by law.

Art. 4. The Grand Lebanon is a Republic; its Capital is Beirut.

Art. 5 (*as amended December 7, 1943*). The Lebanese flag is made of red, white, and red horizontal stripes, with the cedar in green in the center of the white stripe. The size of the white stripe is equal to the size of the two red stripes together. The cedar is in the middle, its apex touching the upper red stripe and its base touching the lower red stripe. The size of the cedar shall be equal to one third of the size of the white stripe.

CHAPTER II—THE LEBANESE AND THE RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF THE LEBANESE

Art. 6. Lebanese nationality and the manner in which it is acquired, retained and lost shall be determined in accordance with the law.

Art. 7. All Lebanese shall be equal in the eyes of the law. They shall enjoy civil and political rights and shall also be liable to public charges and obligations without any distinction whatsoever being made.

Art. 8. Personal freedom shall be guaranteed and protected. No person may be arrested or kept in custody except in accordance with the law. No offence may be established and no penalty imposed except by law.

Art. 9. There shall be complete freedom of conscience. While acknowledging the Most High, the Government shall respect all creeds and safeguard and protect the free exercise of all forms of worship on condition that public order is not interfered with. It also guarantees that the personal status and religious interests of the populations, to whatever creed they belong, shall be respected.

Art. 10. There shall be no interference with public instruction as long as it is not contrary to public order and morals and does not affect the dignity of the various creeds. The communities still be

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entitled to maintain their own schools, provided that they conform to the general requirements relating to public instruction laid down by the State. §92 §97

Art. 11 (as amended November 9, 1943). Arabic shall be the official national language. The cases in which French is to be used shall be determined by a special law.

Art. 12. All forms of public employment shall also be open to all Lebanese citizens in accordance with the conditions laid down by law, preference being given solely to merit and capacity. The conditions applicable to State officials shall be embodied in a special Statute, according to the department to which they belong.

Art. 13. Freedom of speech and of writing, the freedom of the Press, freedom to assemble together and freedom of association shall be guaranteed within the limits laid down by the law.

Art. 14. Dwellings shall be inviolable. No one may enter therein except in the circumstances and in the manner prescribed by law.

Art. 15. Rights of ownership shall be protected by law. No person may be expropriated except on grounds of public utility in the circumstances defined by law and on condition that fair compensation is paid beforehand.

Part II

Public Powers

Chapter I—General Provisions

Art. 16 (as amended October 17, 1927). The legislative power shall be exercised by a single Assembly: the Chamber of Deputies. §92

Art. 17. The executive power shall be entrusted to the President of the Republic, by whom it shall be exercised with the assistance of the Ministers, under the conditions laid down in the present Constitution.

Art. 18 (as amended October 17, 1927). The right to introduce laws shall be vested in the President of the Republic and the Chamber of Deputies.

Art. 19 (as amended October 17, 1927). Before a law can be promulgated, it must be adopted by the Chamber.

Art. 20 The judicial power, functioning within the limits of a Statute established by law and affording the necessary guarantees to

of the population. Several of these were possessed of a local predominance in some part of the Republic: the Maronites in the north, the Druzes in the south, the Sunnis in the coastal towns of Beirut, Tripoli and Saida, and the Shi'is in the Biqa' and the extreme south. The consequences which are likely to flow from such a situation are clear. The political life of the Republic was deeply affected by the struggle for equality or superiority between a number of communities, none of them so strong as to be able to dominate all the rest. Sectarian loyalties and sectarian jealousies thus continued and perhaps strengthened themselves. In addition, the domination of the spiritual leaders over the members of their communities was perpetuated; the Maronite Patriarch in particular wielded an incalculable influence over the political life of the country.

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The importance of communal differences in Lebanon was recognized by the Mandate. Article 8 stated the necessity of guaranteeing the most complete liberty of conscience and worship; the equal treatment of all inhabitants irrespective of differences of race, religion and language; and the right of communities to maintain their own schools. Article 6 required the Mandatory Power to respect the personal status and religious interests of the different sections of the population. These guarantees were reaffirmed in the Lebanese Constitution, promulgated in 1926, Article 9 of which declared: "Liberty of conscience is absolute. In rendering homage to the Most High, the State respects all confessions and guarantees and protects the free exercise of them, on condition that no harm is done to public order. It guarantees equally to populations belonging to every rite respect for their personal status and their religious interests."

These guarantees were respected by the Mandatory Power to a considerable extent. For example, the traditional jurisdictions of the communal courts were maintained in some matters of personal status, although a large proportion of such matters were transferred to the civil courts. An attempt was made in 1936 to define the whole position of the communal jurisdictions. The High Commissioner issued a decree in which the historic communities were given explicit legal recognition. Their statutes were given the force of law, and

the application of them placed under the protection of the law and the control of the public authorities. They were to possess corporate personality, and to be represented in their relations with the public powers by their spiritual heads. Members of the communities would be obliged to conform to the communal statutes in matters of personal status, and to the civil law where the statutes of the communities were silent. Anyone who attained his majority would be at liberty to leave his community and enter a new one; and provision was made for individuals who were not members of any religious community. This decree was opposed by religious authorities, and in 1936 a new one was issued modifying it at certain points; but this also aroused opposition from several sides.

In the political sphere the relations between the communities were defined in the Constitution, which formulated two principles. First, all Lebanese citizens were equal before the law, possessed of the same rights and duties, and equally admissible to all public offices without any distinction (Articles 7 and 12). Secondly, Article 95 laid it down that, at least provisionally, the communities should be equitably represented in public offices and in the Ministry, in so far as that did not obstruct the welfare of the State.

The whole political organization of the State was permeated by these principles, but by the second more than the first. It has already been mentioned that the President of the Republic was always a Christian, and with the exception of the first President a Maronite. To counter-balance this, the Prime Minister was normally a Sunni Moslem, and the other Ministries were distributed among the different communities as equitably as possible. The Chamber of Deputies was so constituted as to represent the communities roughly in proportion to their numerical strength; every district elected a number of deputies belonging to the different communities living in it, but every deputy was elected not only by his co-religionists but by the whole electorate of the district. The maintenance of the balance between the communities was an important and often the most important consideration in the making of appointments in central and local administration alike.

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/For an account of the political regime, social stratification, and Westernizing of administration under the British and French Mandates following the First World War, see 66: Bonné, M1 Middle East, category 116, pp. 88-101./

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE LEBANON

I. THE GENERAL MUNICIPAL CODE

The history of municipal government in the Republic of Lebanon goes back only to the Ottoman Municipal Law of 1877[1] which was largely based upon the Code Napoleon. The transition to the new municipal code promulgated in 1922 after the establishment of the French mandatory regime was comparatively simple. The general framework remains much the same with minor differences in procedure, particularly in the degree of centralization.

With only 120 incorporated municipalities among the 1300 odd towns and villages of Lebanon and with only eight of these with a population of more than ten thousand, no very elaborate code is required. The only large city, the capital, Beirut, with a population of 130,000, like the capital of France, is organized under a separate law. All the other municipalities of Lebanon are chartered under *Arrêté* No. 1208 of March 10, 1922[2] while the hundreds of unincorporated villages are governed through the *mukhtirs* under the *Loi des Moukhtars* of January 14, 1930.[3]

Municipal affairs are supervised and controlled by the national government through the Ministry of the Interior by means of its administrative officers in the various levels of local government. The Republic is divided into five principal administrative districts, each headed by an appointed administrator (*mutasarrifs*). The districts are in turn sub-divided into eighteen *kadas* each under the administrative control of an appointed *kaimmakam*.[4] Through French counsellors attached to the more important administrative posts the entire system is brought under the directing authority of the French High Commissioner.[5] All these officials exercise a constant and vigilant surveillance over the municipalities within their jurisdiction with powers even more extensive than those of the prefects in France, thus bringing municipal government well within the highly centralized system of national government.

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1. George Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1905), Vol. I, p. 68.

2. Recueil des Arrêtés et Décisions du Grand Liban, 1920–1933, (Imprimerie des Lettres, Beyrouth, 1933), p. 262.

3. Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise, (Imprimerie des Lettres, Beyrouth), No. F. 408, p. 4.

4. [illegible] *loc. cit.* No. F. 370, p. 1. Formerly the Lebanon was divided into 22 *nahies* (districts).

5. All decisions and orders of the Administrator must be visaed by the French counsellor. *Arrêté* No. 1208, Art. 68.

[illegible]

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Bishara al-Khouri, became President with the pan-Arab Riyad as-Solh as Prime Minister; these nationalists were not satisfied with mere titular sovereignty but claimed the reality of independence, and in November 1943 a Free French resort to force against them was reversed only by a British intervention, endorsed by the United States Government. The Free French were thus constrained to transfer most branches of the administration to the Syrian and Lebanese Parliaments, but retained control of the local 'Troupes Spéciales' and obstructed the proper equipping of the Syrian gendarmerie. The French intention was to make this vital concession of authority conditional upon the conclusion of a Franco-Syrian treaty which would give France much the same strategic, economic, and cultural advantages as Britain had retained in Iraq by the already obsolescent Treaty of 1930. In March 1945 Syria and Lebanon had been admitted as sovereign states to membership both of the United Nations and of the League of Arab States. The Syrian nationalists were not prepared to subordinate their sovereignty to an imposed alliance with France, and the landing of a contingent of Senegalese troops immediately after VE-day (in disregard of a personal appeal of Churchill to de Gaulle) was regarded in both Syria and Lebanon as clear evidence of a French resort to coercion. Sporadic outbreaks of violence between the Syrian gendarmerie and the local nationalists on the one hand and the French garrison on the other became general, and when, at the end of May 1945, the local French Commander carried out a bombardment of Damascus the British Government ordered their Commander-in-Chief, Middle East, to intervene, by force if necessary, to restore order in a region whose security was vital for British communications in the still-continuing war in the Far East. The crisis accelerated the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops, concerning which the demands of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments were supported by the Security Council; the process was completed in Syria by 15 April 1946 and in Lebanon by the end of the year.

Between the wars, the French Mandate had allowed political development in Lebanon to produce at least a façade of parliamentary democracy, with arrangements between the Muslim and Christian leaders on the division of political power and perquisites, and the active commercial and intellectual life of Lebanon made progress with a minimum of government interference. In Syria, however, local separatisms which French policy had encouraged made it very difficult for any Syrian Government to knit the people together from Damascus; the

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foundations for commercial and intellectual progress were less firmly established than in Lebanon, and the Muslim leaders of the political parties were given little opportunity to acquire the technique of government. The root of the trouble was that the French were opposed to self-government and tended to refuse office to nationalist political leaders, except for short, self-defeating periods. But though they failed to foster self-government, the French did much good in both Syria and Lebanon as engineers, doctors, educators, and archaeologists, and performed a valuable service in training at least a cadre of competent civil servants.

With the end of the French Mandate there emerged two sovereign and independent Republics with many mutual and some conflicting interests. For some years the rest of the world failed to distinguish between the two, and it is still possible to find educated persons who suppose that Beirut is the capital of Syria. Syria and Lebanon are, to some extent, mutually dependent or complementary, but they are distinct and their political development will be considered separately.

Government and Politics

(a) Syria

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Under her constitution Syria is a Republic in which the legislative power is in the hands of a Chamber of Deputies numbering 114 members in 1949. The deputies are elected by direct suffrage granted to all men and to women of a certain educational standard. The representation of religious minorities is shown in the table on p. 466 above. The President of the Republic must be a Muslim and is elected for a term of five years by the Parliament; he nominates the Prime Minister who appoints his cabinet ministers. The Parliament is elected for four years but may be dissolved by the President. The constitution was suspended in 1952 by the military dictatorship and a new one on the Presidential model adopted in July 1953.

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Damascus is the seat of government and there are ten provinces, each under a Governor who is assisted by a staff of civil servants representing most of the ministries. The provinces (*muhafazat*) are divided in *qadas*, each under a *qaimaqam*, who is a civil servant under the Ministry of Interior; the *qadas* are divided into *nahiyas* under *mudirs*. Within a *nahiya* may be several villages, each of which is rather loosely under the control of the *mukhtar* who may be elected by the village or appointed by the ministry. The judiciary are independent of the legislature and

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1952 and he has obvious affinities with General Neguib of Egypt whom he visited later in the year.

The threat of Zionism is considered very real in Syria and Shishakli has declared that Syria has not given up hope of a revision of the present position. Between March and May 1951 a flare-up over Lake Hulch brought an offer of Iraqi aid to Syria, but hostilities between Syria and Israel were localized and stifled without leading to a general outbreak of war. All Syrians wish Israel ill; fear of Israeli expansion remains and is fostered by the Government.

In internal politics, the most progressive measures which have yet been considered are land reform and the partition of state lands. There is little unrest among the people, who generally want to live their lives without undue government interference. Nationalism of two kinds exists: a nascent patriotism that has for the first time the support of the rulers, and a narrow xenophobia that, while less extreme than in Egypt, is more pronounced in Syria than in Lebanon.

(*b*) Lebanon

Lebanon is a republic of which the Chamber of Deputies was till 1953 elected by direct manhood suffrage but in that year women were permitted to vote in the election. By convention, the President of the Republic must be a Christian and is normally a Maronite, the Prime Minister must be a Sunni Muslim and the President of the Chamber a Shii Muslim. The table on p. 466 above shows the division of parliamentary seats between the religious sects; a scrupulous observance of these quotas is evident even in the civil service establishments. The existence of a Christian majority is held to be essential for the survival of Lebanon as a separate state and so, in June 1950, it was found convenient to extend the franchise to Lebanese abroad (of whom the majority are Christian) and to increase the number of deputies from 55 to 77, but in November 1952, under a new electoral law, the number was reduced to 44. The Muslim rate of natural increase is higher than that of the Christians and it is probably for this reason that no census has been taken since. In other ways the constitution and administration are similar to those of Syria already described.

Internal Politics

As in Syria, a European type of political party system has not yet evolved and the struggle has been not only between different cliques of ruling families backed by great commercial wealth, but also between these rich groups on the one hand and

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made a determined effort to modernize and strengthen their Empire. Two aspects of this effort are of interest here:

(i) The attempt of Abdul-Hamid II to create a new basis of loyalty to the Imam by reviving the Ottoman claim to the Caliphate. Largely this was undertaken as propaganda for external use, to frighten Europe with the threat of a union of Islamic nations under a single head. Partly also, however, it was an attempt to create for the dynasty a place in the hearts of its subjects, in an age in which the dynastic principle was growing weaker. But it was only its orthodox Moslem subjects who could share in this new loyalty; in an Empire based upon Pan-Islamism and the Caliphate there would be no place for Christians, Jews or even heterodox Moslems who rejected the doctrine of the Caliphate.

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(ii) The Sultans tried to 'conquer their Empire': to turn it from a group of loosely connected local, racial and religious units into a military and highly centralised state. The means to this end were various: the abolition of feudalism, the creation of an elaborate bureaucracy and provincial administration, the improvement of communications. Among the tasks which were undertaken, an attempt was made to break down the immemorial local autonomies. The feudal and tribal system of the Kurds was gradually broken down from the early decades of the century onwards. On several occasions Kurdish revolts in defence of their autonomy had to be crushed; the last important uprising was that of Badr Khan Bey in the eighteen-forties. The Turcoman and Alawi principalities were subdued in the same way in the middle of the century. Towards the century's close, several attempts were made to establish the Imperial authority over Jebel Druze, but with little effective success in spite of the formal submission of the Druzes.

Lebanese Autonomy

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In one instance, however, the new policy of destroying the autonomies was a complete failure. In the nineteenth century the autonomy of Lebanon, far from being destroyed, was strengthened and formalized.

The sectarian character of Lebanon, its desire for autonomy, and its organization under feudal lords and spiritual hierarchies were already well established when the Ottoman Sultans conquered Syria. Although the Mountain recognized the suzerainty

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of the Sultan, it preserved its autonomy under hereditary Amirs who paid tribute to the Porte. And although it was frequently afflicted with civil wars, local tyrants and anarchy, it was rarely if ever torn by sectarian strife, until the period of the Shihab Amirs in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It was then that the rivalry appeared between Maronites and Druzes, which grew throughout the reign of the great Amir Bashir (1788–1841), and culminated in the disturbances of 1845 and 1860.

This rivalry was no doubt fed and embittered by religious differences, but its causes were mainly political and social. In part they were external to the life of the Mountain: the general unrest caused by Ibrahim Pasha's invasion of Syria; the international rivalry between France, which supported the Maronites, and Great Britain, which supported the Druzes; and the desire of the Ottoman authorities to weaken the autonomy of the Mountain by destroying the tradition of religious tolerance on which it rested. But there were also causes in the Mountain itself. There was growing unrest among the Maronite peasants against their feudal landlords, both Maronite and Druze; this showed itself in North Lebanon in the agrarian revolution of 1857 and the establishment of a short-lived agrarian republic. More important still, there was a gradual shift in the balance of the population: the Maronites were spreading southwards into regions which had formerly been chiefly Druze; the Druzes were emigrating to the Hauran, and those who were left feared for their predominance.

In 1860, as the climax of a long period of unrest and growing hatred, the Druzes of the Mountain and the Moslems of Damascus killed some thousands of the local Christians. The Powers intervened, and the result of their intervention was the formalization of Lebanese autonomy in the Statute of 1861. This Statute (which was amended and definitively promulgated in 1864) made Lebanon into a self-governing Sanjaq, the territory of which included the Mountain but excluded the larger coastal towns. It was ruled by a Christian governor, appointed by the Sublime Porte and assisted by an administrative council representative of the sects. The Sanjaq had its own fiscal system, its own judiciary and its own gendarmerie. The Ottoman authorities had practically no control over its administration.

The system established in 1861 remained in force with no essential change until the outbreak of the Great War, when the

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Turks abolished the self-government of the Sanjaq and subjected it to a regime of repression and starvation. But during the half-century of autonomy, Lebanon enjoyed freedom from civil strife and from Turkish oppression.

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The Egyptian Government

In Egypt the line of political development was different. Under Muhammad Ali and his successors the country became even more free of control from Stamboul than it had been before. Their rule was comparatively favourable for the minorities. There was a gradual shift from the concept of theocracy to that of a nationalism which could include Copts as well as Moslems: and the Copts continued, as before, to hold many positions in the Government. The rulers welcomed foreigners who wished to live and work in the country; Armenians, Syrians and others found an official career open to their talents, and vast opportunities in the commercial and financial life of the country. The dynasty was receptive to Western culture, and under its aegis a veneer of Western ideas and refinement spread over the upper classes at least, but the enlightenment was much less profound than it seemed, and beneath the surface Islamic feeling and hatred of the Christian West continued to be strong.

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When the British occupied Egypt, they carried further certain tendencies begun by the dynasty of Muhammad Ali. They ensured greater freedom of religious thought and expression, greater equality before the law (although still far from complete equality). They opened the country still wider to foreigners, and they made full use of Eastern Christians as government officials; for example Syrian Christians in both the Egyptian and Sudanese Governments, and a small but important group of Armenians, of whom the most famous was Nubar Pasha. But contrary to what might have been expected, they neither attempted to use the Copts as instruments of government nor gave them in any way a privileged position. Individual Copts co-operated with the British, like Butrus Pasha Ghali, but in general there were fewer Coptic officials under the British than there had been in previous periods.

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The Rise of Nationalism in the Ottoman Empire

In the second half of the nineteenth century there appeared a new factor, destined to have great effects, for better or for worse,

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648 Republic. At the same time, however, an attempt was made to
563 keep the other sects hopeful and satisfied enough to prevent them trying to break up the Republic. This was done by the careful distribution of posts, large and small, among members of the different sects, and by the encouragement of Lebanese particularist feeling.

Sectarianism in Politics

In a country divided so fundamentally and in so many different ways, it has not been possible to create any genuine sense of solidarity. From its beginning, at least until 1943, the Lebanese Republic was only held together by the control and constant intervention of France; within the framework provided by that control, sectarian feeling maintained and even increased its strength.

642 The Constitution of the Lebanese Republic, promulgated in
563 1926, provided for a political organization which should take
641 into account the sectarian divisions of the country. It laid down two principles. The first was that all Lebanese citizens were equal before law, possessed of the same rights and duties, and equally admissible to all public offices, without any distinction (Articles 7 and 12). The other was that, at least provisionally, the confessions should be equitably represented in public offices and in the Ministry, in so far as that did not detract from the welfare of the State (Article 95).

All parts of the political organization of the State show the influence of these principles. Thus the President of the Republic has always been a Christian. To counterbalance this, the Prime Minister has usually been a Sunni Moslem, and the other Ministries have been distributed among the confessions. The Chamber of Deputies, during periods when it has been functioning, has been so composed as to represent the confessions roughly in proportion to their numerical strength; deputies have been elected by their co-religionists, organized for the purpose on a confessional as well as a geographical basis.

In matters of appointments and promotions in the public service, the equitable representation of the sects is a more important consideration than merit, in the minds not only of those who make appointments but also of the public, and more especially of the leaders of the different communities, who watch closely to see that the balance is not overturned.

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CHAPTER V

COTTON IN LEBANON

Lebanon is the smallest, the most cosmopolitan, and one of the most progressive countries in the Middle East. Beirut, the capital, is a modern, pleasant summer resort, whose shops are known over the world. Probably this contact with the world through Beirut explains the strong Western influence in the country.

But Beirut is not Lebanon, and tourism and commerce still are minor aspects of the economy, which still is primarily agricultural. The country as a whole has not modernized as much as the cities. The farmers are much more provincial.

BACKGROUND

The country has limited resources. The total area is less than 4,000 square miles, a third the size of Maryland, and most of it is mountainous. The crop land is limited to the narrow coastal plain which averages only four miles in width, and to the numerous fairly small valleys in the mountains.

Lebanon always has had a great many more people than its agriculture can sustain. In the past this pressure was relieved by emigration, but restrictions of the past 25 years, at home and abroad, have checked the exodus and intensified the problem. The population is now about 1.2 million.

Progress has been encouraged by the government which is admittedly one of the most stable in the Middle East, despite its lack of experience. Lebanon became an independent Republic only in 1943, after the French mandate was ended. It has been remarkably independent and practical and has not allowed itself to become embroiled in nationalistic issues as many of the other Arab states have.

INDUSTRY

With few exceptions, industries are small and devoted chiefly to the production of light consumer goods such as matches, rubber goods, soap, furniture, cigarettes, beer, macaroni, biscuits, and olive oil. The two chief basic industries are the Iraq Petroleum Company's Tripoli topping plant and the Chekka cement factory. Other basic manufacturing plants include cotton textiles, glass, and sole leather.

AGRICULTURE

Roughly a third of the tilled land is devoted to cereals and the balance to a wide variety of crops—fruit trees, vineyards, vegetables, and a number of industrial crops including cotton. Approximately 15 per cent of this area is left fallow each year.

The western plains receive 20 to 35 inches of rainfall a year, and that only during the winter months. Because of the dry summers, a few of the crops

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CONSTITUTION OF THE LEBANESE REPUBLIC, PROMULGATED ON MAY 23, 1926; AS AMENDED BY THE CONSTITUTIONAL LAWS OF OCTOBER 17, 1927, MAY 8, 1929, NOVEMBER 9 AND DECEMBER 7, 1943, AND JANUARY 21, 1947[1]

PART I

FUNDAMENTAL PROVISIONS

CHAPTER I—THE STATE AND THE TERRITORY

Art. 1 *(as amended November 9, 1943).* Lebanon is an independent, unitary, sovereign state. Its frontiers are formed by the present boundary line: *North*—From the mouth of An Nahr El Kabir along a line following its course to a point of its confluence with Wadi Khalid its tributary at the height of Jisr El Qamar. *East*—The summit line separating Wadi Khalid from Wadi El Assi (Orontes) and crossing the villages of Muaissara, Harbi'ana, Heit, Abbish, Fissan, to the height of the two villages Brifa and Matriba; this line follows the northern boundaries of the Caza of Baalbeck in a northwesterly and southeasterly direction, thence along the eastern

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[1] English text of all articles not modified after 1929 in League of Nations, *Constitution of the Lebanese Republic*, Promulgated on May 23, 1926, as Amended by the Constitutional Laws of October 17, 1927, and May 8, 1929, Geneva, 1930 (C.352.1930.VI) (C.P.M. 1075.), pp. 4-13. English text of articles modified after 1929 based on the translation prepared by Captain Lawrence J. Evans, Jr., United States Army, Beirut. The valuable suggestions of Mr. M. F. Abcarius, Professor in the American University of Beirut, for the establishment of a correct text, and the help of Captain Evans in providing his translation and pertinent information are gratefully acknowledged.

The Constitution of 1926 was superseded on May 9, 1932, and dictatorial powers were given to the President of the Republic. On January 2, 1934, an amended constitution was promulgated by the French High Commissioner which remained in force with slight amendments until January 4, 1937, when the Constitution of 1926, with amendments as reproduced below, was restored. The modifications contained in the Constitutional Law of November 9, 1943, constitute repeals of all references to the Mandate, the League of Nations, and the French Republic as the mandatory power. The sole article of the Constitutional Law of December 7, 1943, modified article 5 concerning the Lebanese flag. The Constitutional Law of January 21, 1947, abolished the provisions according to which a certain number of members of the Chamber of Deputies were not elected but appointed, and contains other modifications of minor importance. Note also the Provisional Constitutional Law of May 22, 1948, printed below, p. 306.—ED.

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642 boundaries of the Casas of Baalbeck, Baqa, Hasbaya and Rashaya. *South*—The southern boundaries of the Casas of Sour (Tyre) and Mardjayoun. *West*—The Mediterranean Sea.

Art. 2. No part of Lebanese territory may be alienated or ceded.

Art. 3. The boundaries of the administrative areas may not be altered except by law.

Art. 4. The Grand Lebanon is a Republic; its Capital is Beirut.

Art. 5 *(as amended December 7, 1943)*. The Lebanese flag is made of red, white, and red horizontal stripes, with the cedar in green in the center of the white stripe. The size of the white stripe is equal to the size of the two red stripes together. The cedar is in the middle, its apex touching the upper red stripe and its base touching the lower red stripe. The size of the cedar shall be equal to one third of the size of the white stripe.

CHAPTER II—THE LEBANESE AND THE RIGHTS AND OBLIGATIONS OF THE LEBANESE

642 641 Art. 6. Lebanese nationality and the manner in which it is acquired, retained and lost shall be determined in accordance with the law.

Art. 7. All Lebanese shall be equal in the eyes of the law. They shall enjoy civil and political rights and shall also be liable to public charges and obligations without any distinction whatsoever being made.

Art. 8. Personal freedom shall be guaranteed and protected. No person may be arrested or kept in custody except in accordance with the law. No offence may be established and no penalty imposed except by law.

Art. 9. There shall be complete freedom of conscience. While acknowledging the Most High, the Government shall respect all creeds and safeguard and protect the free exercise of all forms of worship on condition that public order is not interfered with. It also guarantees that the personal status and religious interests of the populations, to whatever creed they belong, shall be respected.

Art. 10. There shall be no interference with public instruction as long as it is not contrary to public order and morals and does not affect the dignity of the various creeds. The communities shall be

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entitled to maintain their own schools, provided that they conform to the general requirements relating to public instruction laid down by the State.

Art. 11 *(as amended November 9, 1943)*. Arabic shall be the official national language. The cases in which French is to be used shall be determined by a special law.

Art. 12. All forms of public employment shall also be open to all Lebanese citizens in accordance with the conditions laid down by law, preference being given solely to merit and capacity. The conditions applicable to State officials shall be embodied in a special Statute, according to the department to which they belong.

Art. 13. Freedom of speech and of writing, the freedom of the Press, freedom to assemble together and freedom of association shall be guaranteed within the limits laid down by the law.

Art. 14. Dwellings shall be inviolable. No one may enter therein except in the circumstances and in the manner prescribed by law.

Art. 15. Rights of ownership shall be protected by law. No person may be expropriated except on grounds of public utility in the circumstances defined by law and on condition that fair compensation is paid beforehand.

Part II

Public Powers

Chapter I—General Provisions

Art. 16 *(as amended October 17, 1927)*. The legislative power shall be exercised by a single Assembly: the Chamber of Deputies.

Art. 17. The executive power shall be entrusted to the President of the Republic, by whom it shall be exercised with the assistance of the Ministers, under the conditions laid down in the present Constitution.

Art. 18. *(as amended October 17, 1927)*. The right to introduce laws shall be vested in the President of the Republic and the Chamber of Deputies.

Art. 19 *(as amended October 17, 1927)*. Before a law can be promulgated, it must be adopted by the Chamber.

Art. 20 The judicial power, functioning within the limits of a Statute established by law and affording the necessary guarantees to

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642 the judges and the persons amenable to their jurisdiction, shall be exercised by the courts of various classes and degrees. The limits of the judges' powers, the conditions governing the exercise of those powers and the irremovability of judges shall be fixed by law. Judges shall be independent in the exercise of their functions. The decisions and judgments of all courts shall be rendered and executed in the name of the Lebanese people.

Art. 21. Every Lebanese citizen who has completed his twenty-first year and fulfils the conditions laid down by the electoral law shall be an elector.

CHAPTER II—THE LEGISLATIVE POWER

642 Art. 22 *(abrogated October 17, 1927).*

646 Art. 23 *(abrogated October 17, 1927).*

Art. 24 *(as amended October 17, 1927, and January 21, 1947).* The Chamber of Deputies shall consist of elected members. Their number and the manner of election shall be determined by the electoral laws in force.

Art. 25 *(as amended January 21, 1947).* Should the Chamber of Deputies be dissolved, the instrument ordering dissolution must call upon the electors to take part in new elections, which must be held in accordance with Article 24 and within a period not exceeding three months.

CHAPTER III—PROVISIONS RELATING TO THE CHAMBER

Art. 26 *(as amended October 17, 1927).* The Chamber and the Executive Power shall sit at Beirut.

Art. 27 *(as amended October 17, 1927, and January 21, 1947).* A member of the Chamber shall be deemed to represent the whole nation. No binding mandate may be imposed upon him by his electors.

Art. 28 *(as amended October 17, 1927, and May 8, 1929).* A Deputy may also at the same time discharge the functions of Minister. Ministers may be selected either from among the members of the Chamber or from persons outside the Chamber.

Art. 29 *(as amended October 17, 1927).* The cases in which persons are disqualified from becoming Deputies shall be determined by law.

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Art. 30 *(as amended January 21, 1947).* The Chamber of Deputies shall alone be competent to decide on the validity of the mandate of members. No mandate may be invalidated except by a majority of two-thirds of the votes of the whole Assembly.

Art. 31 *(as amended October 17, 1927).* Meetings of the Chamber outside the period of session fixed by law shall be unlawful and *ipso facto* null and void.

Art. 32 *(as amended October 17, 1927).* The Chamber shall hold two ordinary sessions each year. The first shall open on the first Tuesday following March 15th and shall terminate at the end of the month of May. The second shall open on the first Tuesday following October 15th. It shall be primarily devoted to the discussion and adoption of the budget. It shall last until the end of the year.

Art. 33 *(as amended October 17, 1927).* The ordinary sessions shall begin and end automatically on the dates fixed in Article 32.

The President of the Republic may convene the Chamber in extraordinary session. The date of the opening and termination of extraordinary sessions shall be fixed by Decree.

The agenda shall be fixed in the Decree summoning the Chamber to assemble.

The President of the Republic shall be required to summon the Chamber of Deputies to assemble at the request of an absolute majority of its lawful members.

Art. 34 *(as amended October 17, 1927).* The Chamber shall not be validly constituted unless the majority of its lawful members are present.

Decisions shall be taken by a majority vote. Should the votes be equal, the question under discussion shall be rejected.

Art. 35 *(as amended October 17, 1927).* The discussions of the Chamber shall be public. Nevertheless, at the request of the Government or of five of its members, the Chamber shall meet in private. It shall decide later whether the discussion on the same question is to be continued in public.

Art. 36. Votes shall be given verbally or by the members rising or remaining in their seats, except in the case of elections, when a secret vote shall be taken. In the case of all draft laws and when

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646 the question of confidence is raised, the vote shall always be taken by
642 roll-call and verbally.

Art. 37 *(as amended October 17, 1927, and May 8, 1929).* Every Deputy is fully entitled during ordinary and extraordinary sessions to call upon Ministers to justify their action.

A proposal of this kind may not be discussed and voted upon until at least five days after it is submitted to the Assembly and communicated to the Minister or Ministers concerned.

Art. 38 *(as amended October 17, 1927).* No bill which has been rejected by the Chamber may be re-introduced during the same session.

Art. 39 *(as amended October 17, 1927).* No member of the Chamber may be prosecuted or steps taken for his arrest in respect of opinions expressed or votes given by him during the term of his mandate.

Art. 40 *(as amended October 17, 1927).* During the session, no member of the Chamber may be prosecuted or arrested for a criminal offence without the authorization of the Chamber, unless he is taken in the act.

Art. 41 *(as amended October 17, 1927, and January 21, 1947).* In the event of a vacancy occurring in the Chamber, the seat shall be filled within two months. The new member's term of office shall terminate with the expiry of his predecessor's term of office. The vacancy shall not be filled if the mandate of the Chamber has less than six months to run.

Art. 42 *(as amended October 17, 1927).* General elections for the renewal of the Assembly and the designation of appointed Deputies shall take place within the sixty days preceding the expiry of their mandate.

Art. 43 *(as amended October 17, 1927).* The Chamber shall draw up its own rules of procedure.

Art. 44 *(as amended October 17, 1927, and January 21, 1947).* Every time a new Chamber is elected and at the opening of the October session, the Chamber, under the presidency of its oldest member, the two youngest members acting as secretaries, shall elect separately, by secret ballot and by an absolute majority of the votes cast, a President, Vice-President and two Secretaries. At the third

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ballot, a relative majority shall be sufficient. Should the votes be equal, the oldest candidates shall be elected. §45

Art. 45 *(as amended October 17, 1927)*. Members of the Chamber shall only vote if they are present at the meeting; voting by proxy shall not be allowed.

Art. 46 *(as amended October 17, 1927)*. The Chamber alone has the right to maintain order at its meetings through its President.

Art. 47. *(as amended October 17, 1927)*. All petitions to the Chamber must be made and submitted in writing. They may not be presented in person or at the bar of the Chamber.

Art. 48. *(as amended October 17, 1927)*. The remuneration of members of the Chamber shall be determined by law.

CHAPTER IV—THE EXECUTIVE POWER

Art. 49 *(as amended October 17, 1927, May 8, 1929, and January 21, 1947)*. The Chamber of Deputies shall elect the President of the Republic by secret ballot and by a two-thirds majority of the votes. After the first ballot, an absolute majority shall be sufficient. The President shall be elected for a term of six years.[1] He may be re-elected only after an interval of six years. No person shall be eligible for the office of President of the Republic unless he fulfils the conditions of eligibility for the Chamber of Deputies. §43 §43

Art. 50. Before assuming office, the President of the Republic shall take an oath of fidelity before Parliament to the Lebanese Nation and the Constitution, in the following terms:

"I swear by Almighty God to observe the Constitution and laws of the Lebanese People and to maintain the independence of the Lebanon and its territorial integrity."

Art. 51 *(as amended October 17, 1927)*. The President of the Republic shall promulgate laws after they have been adopted by the Chamber. He shall supervise their execution and for that purpose he shall have the power to issue regulations, but not to modify the actual laws or set aside their provisions.

He shall have the right to pardon. Amnesties may not be granted except by law.

Art. 52 *(as amended October 17, 1927, and November 9, 1943)*. The President of the Republic shall negotiate and ratify treaties. He

[1] See the Provisional Constitutional Law of May 21, 1926, art. 1 (p. 308 below).—Ed.

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shall bring them to the knowledge of the Chamber as soon as the interest and safety of the State permit.

Treaties involving a charge upon the finances of the State, commercial treaties and, in general, treaties which cannot be denounced at the expiry of each year shall not be definitive until they have been adopted by the Chamber.

Art. 53 (as amended October 17, 1927, and January 11, 1947). The President of the Republic shall appoint and dismiss Ministers, from among whom he shall select a Prime Minister; he shall make all appointments in regard to which the method of appointment is not otherwise determined by law; he shall preside over national ceremonies.

Art. 54. Every instrument issued by the President of the Republic, with the exception of those relating to the appointment and dismissal of Ministers, must be countersigned by the Minister or Ministers concerned.

Art. 55 (as amended October 17, 1927, and May 8, 1929). With the approval of the Cabinet, the President may by Decree, the reasons being specified, dissolve the Chamber of Deputies before the legal expiry of its mandate.

In that case, the electoral bodies shall meet as provided for in Article 25, and the new Chamber shall be convened within fifteen days after the results of the elections have been proclaimed.

Art. 56 (as amended October 17, 1927). The President of the Republic shall promulgate laws within one month after the date on which the law, definitively adopted, is transmitted to the Government. When the promulgation of a law has been declared urgent by a special vote of the Chamber, he must promulgate it within five days.

Art. 57 (as amended October 17, 1927). Within the time allowed for promulgating laws, the President of the Republic may request, not more than once, a further discussion of a law; this request may not be refused.

When the President of the Republic makes use of this right, he shall not be required to promulgate a law unless it has been adopted by the Chamber, after a second discussion, by an absolute majority of the lawful members of that Assembly.

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Art. 58 (*as amended October 17, 1927*). By means of a decree issued with the approval of the Cabinet, the President of the Republic may put into force any bill which has previously been declared to be urgent by the Government in the order for its transmission issued with the Cabinet's approval, and on which the Chamber has not given a decision within forty days of its communication to the Assembly.

Art. 59 (*as amended October 17, 1927*). The President of the Republic may adjourn the Chamber for a period not exceeding one month. He may not do so more than once during the same session.

Art. 60 (*as amended January 21, 1927*). The President of the Republic may not be called to account for acts performed by him in the discharge of his duties except in the case of violation of the Constitution or high treason; his responsibility in respect of offences under the ordinary law shall be subject to the ordinary law. He may not be charged with these offences or with violating the Constitution or high treason, except by the Chamber of Deputies, its decision being adopted by a majority of two-thirds of the members of the whole Assembly; he may not be tried except by the High Court provided for in Article 80. The functions of the Public Prosecutor at the High Court shall be exercised by a judge appointed each year by the Court of Cassation at a general meeting.

Art. 61. Should the President of the Republic be arraigned, he shall be suspended from his functions and the Presidency shall be vacant until the High Court has rendered its decision.

Art. 62. Should the Presidency of the Republic be vacant for any reason whatsoever, the executive power shall be temporarily exercised by the Cabinet.

Art. 63. The salary of the President of the Republic shall be fixed by law. During the President's term of office, it may not be increased or reduced.

Art. 64. The Ministers shall have the supreme direction of all the services of the State which come under their respective Departments. They shall be responsible, each in so far as he is concerned, for the application of the laws and regulations.

Art. 65. No person may be a Minister who is not a Lebanese.

Art. 66 (*as amended October 17th, 1927*). Ministers shall be

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jointly and severally responsible to the Chamber for the general policy of the Government, and individually responsible for their personal actions. The Government's general programme shall be drawn up and put before the Chamber by the Prime Minister or by a Minister acting on his behalf.

Art. 67 (as amended October 17th, 1927). Ministers shall have free access to the Chamber and shall have the right to address it whenever they so request. They may be accompanied by one or more officials from their Department.

Art. 68 (as amended October 17th, 1927). When, in accordance with Article 37, the Chamber declares that a Minister no longer possesses its confidence, that Minister shall be so required to resign.

Art. 69 (abrogated May 5th, 1929).

Art. 70. The Chamber of Deputies shall have the right to arraign Ministers for high treason or for grave dereliction of their duty. The decision to arraign a Minister may only be taken by a majority of two-thirds of the members of the whole Assembly. The civil responsibility of Ministers shall be determined by a special law.

Art. 71. A Minister who is arraigned shall be tried by the High Court.

Art. 72. A Minister shall leave office as soon as he is arraigned. The Minister's resignation shall not prevent proceedings being taken or continued against him.

PART III

(a) ELECTION OF THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC

Art. 73 (as amended October 17th, 1927). One month at least and two months at most before the expiry of the term of office of the President of the Republic, the Chamber shall be summoned by its President to assemble for the purpose of electing the new President of the Republic.[1]

Should it not be thus summoned, the Chamber shall meet of its own accord on the tenth day preceding the expiry of the President's term of office.

Art. 74 (as amended October 17th, 1927). Should the Presidency become vacant through the death or resignation of the Presi-

[1] See the Provisional Constitutional Law of May 22, 1926, art. 2 (p. 302 below).—ED.

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dent, or for any other cause, the Assembly shall meet immediately and of its own accord to elect a new President. If the Chamber is dissolved at the time the vacancy occurs, the electoral bodies shall be convened without delay and, as soon as the elections have taken place, the Chamber shall meet as of full right.

Art. 75 *(as amended October 1926, 1927)*. When the Chamber meets to elect the President of the Republic, it shall constitute a purely electoral body and not a deliberative Assembly. It shall proceed solely, without delay or discussion, to elect the Head of the State.

(b) REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Art. 76 *(as amended October 1926, 1927)*. The Constitution may be revised on the initiative of the President of the Republic.

In such a case, the Government shall submit to the Assembly a draft constitutional law.

Art. 77 *(as amended October 1926, 1927)*. The Constitution may likewise be revised on the initiative of the Chamber of Deputies. This right shall be exercised as follows:

During an ordinary session and on the proposal of at least ten of its members, the Chamber may recommend, by a two-thirds majority of its lawful members, the revision of the Constitution. The articles and questions referred to in the recommendation must be specifically enumerated and defined.

The President of the Chamber shall transmit the recommendation to the Government, requesting it to prepare a draft constitutional law.

Should the Government approve the Assembly's recommendation, it shall prepare the respective draft law and submit it to the Assembly within four months; if the Government does not agree with the Assembly, it shall return the recommendation to the latter for further discussion. Should the Assembly maintain its recommendation by a majority of three-fourths of its lawful members, the President of the Republic may either accede to the Assembly's request, or issue an order for its dissolution, and proceed to new elections within three months.

Should the new Assembly decide that revision is necessary, the

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§ 42 Government shall be obliged to carry out the Assembly's recommendation and submit the draft law within a period of four months.

(c) Procedure of the Assembly

§ 43 Art. 78 (as amended October 25, 1927). When a draft constitutional law is submitted to the Chamber, it shall, until a final vote is taken, confine itself to revision.

It may only discuss and vote on articles and questions specifically enumerated and defined in the draft submitted to it.

Art. 79 (as amended October 25th, 1927). When a draft constitutional law is submitted to the Chamber of Deputies, it may only be validly discussed and voted upon when a majority of two-thirds of the lawful members of the Chamber are present. Decisions shall be taken by a majority of two-thirds of the lawful members of the Assembly.

The President of the Republic shall be required to promulgate the constitutional law under the same conditions and in the same form as ordinary laws. He may request a further discussion of the law within the time limit for promulgation. In that case also, the decision shall be taken by a two-thirds majority.

Part IV

Various Provisions

(a) High Court

§ 44 Art. 80 (as amended October 25th, 1927). The High Court § 45 shall consist of seven deputies elected by the Chamber of Deputies and of the eight highest Lebanese magistrates in order of rank or, should their rank be equal, in order of seniority, under the presidency of the magistrate of highest rank.

The sentences of the High Court shall be rendered by a majority of six votes. The procedure to be followed by this Court shall be determined by a law.

(b) Taxation

§ 46 Art. 81 (as amended January 21st, 1927). Taxes shall be estab- § 47 lished for purposes of common utility. Taxes may only be levied in the Lebanese Republic in accordance with a uniform law which shall apply to the whole territory without exception.

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Art. 82. No tax may be modified or removed except by virtue of a law.

Art. 83. Each year at the beginning of the October session the Government shall submit to the Chamber of Deputies, for examination and approval, the general budget estimates of State revenue and expenditure for the following year. The budget shall be voted upon article by article.[1]

Art. 84 *(as amended October 17th, 1927)*. During the discussion of the budget and draft laws involving the opening of supplementary or extraordinary credits, the Chamber may not increase the credits proposed in the budget estimates or above-mentioned draft laws, either by amendment or by means of an independent proposal. The Assembly may, however, adopt laws involving further expenditure after the close of this discussion.

Art. 85 *(as amended October 17th, 1927, and January 21, 1947)*. No extraordinary credit may be opened except by a special law.

Nevertheless, should unforeseen circumstances arise making urgent expenditure necessary, the President of the Republic may, by Decree adopted with the approval of the Cabinet, open extraordinary or supplementary credits or effect any transfers of credits. These credits may not exceed 15,000 pounds per item. The measures thus decreed shall be submitted to the Chamber for ratification at the first coming session.

Art. 86 *(as amended October 17th, 1927)*. If the Chamber of Deputies has not given a final decision on the budget estimates before the expiry of the session devoted to the examination of the budget, the President of the Republic shall convene an extraordinary session to terminate at the end of January for the purpose of continuing the discussion on the budget; if at the end of this extraordinary session the budget has not been finally voted, the President of the Republic may, by a Decree adopted with the approval of the Cabinet, give effect to the budget estimates in the form in which they were submitted to the Chamber.

[1] The word "article" refers to the Head of Expenditure such as Department of Defence, Department of Finance etc. (Information through the courtesy of Professor M. F. Abboud, Beirut.)—Ed.

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642 652 The President may not exercise this right unless the budget estimates were submitted to the Chamber at least fifteen days before the commencement of the session.

During this extraordinary session, imposts, contributions, taxes, duties and other revenue shall continue to be collected as hitherto.

The expenditure for the month of January shall be based on the "provisional twelfth" of the expenditure for the previous financial year, plus the permanent additional and supplementary credits and minus the permanent reductions.

Art. 87 (as amended October 17th, 1927). The final accounts of the financial administration for the closed financial years shall be submitted to the Chamber and approved before the promulgation of the budget for the second financial year after that to which the accounts refer.

A special law shall be issued to govern the formation of an Accounting Department.*

Art. 88. No public loan or obligation involving a charge upon public funds may be contracted except by virtue of a law.

Art. 89. No concession for the exploitation of natural resources of the country or a service of public utility and no monopoly may be granted except by virtue of a law and for a limited period.

PART V

643 648 PROVISIONS RELATING TO THE MANDATORY POWER AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Arts. 90 to 92 (abrogated November 9, 1943).
Art. 93 (abrogated January 21, 1947).
Art. 94 (abrogated November 9, 1943).

PART VI

FINAL AND TRANSITORY PROVISIONS

642 *Art. 95 (as amended November 9, 1943).* As a provisional measure and for the sake of justice and concord, the communities shall be equitably represented in public employment and in the composition of the Cabinet, such measure, however, not to cause prejudice to the general welfare of the State.

* According to information received through the courtesy of Professor M. F. Abcarius, Beirut, this paragraph, which is not in the text published by the League of Nations, appears in the original Arabic text.—ED.

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Arts.96 to 100 *(abrogated January 21, 1947)*.

Art. 101. As from September 1st, 1926, the State of "Grand Lebanon" shall be known as "The Lebanese Republic" without any change or modification of any kind. 642

Art. 102 *(as amended November 9, 1943)*. All legislative provisions contrary to the present Constitution are hereby repealed.

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PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL LAW PROVIDING FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF RE-ELECTING HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC[1]

MAY 22, 1948

642 643 The Chamber of Deputies has passed and the President of the Republic hereby promulgates the abovementioned law in the following terms:

Art. 1. Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 49 of the Constitution, it shall be lawful, as an exceptional case, to re-elect the President of this Republic now in office for a second term; but it shall not be lawful to re-elect him for a third term until six years have elapsed from the date of expiration of his second term of office.

Art. 2. Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 73 of the Constitution and as an exceptional case the Chamber of Deputies shall be convened at a summons of the President of the Republic within a month from the date of the promulgation of this Constitutional Law for the purpose of electing a President of the Republic. The term of office of the elected President shall begin from the date of the termination of the term of office of the President now in office.

[1] English translation and information through the courtesy of Professor M. F. Abcarius, American University of Beirut, and Captain Lawrence J. Evans, Jr., United States Army, Beirut.—Ed.

and Sidon were roughly comparable. In a series of 1,151 complement fixation tests on miscellaneous human serums sent to the Wassermann laboratory of the University hospital, 7 per cent gave a positive reaction with Q fever antigen.

SUMMARY

Lebanon, formerly one of the French-mandated Levant states, has been an independent republic since 1943. It is a compact territory, with an estimated population in 1948 slightly in excess of 1,229,500 and a density of roughly 300 inhabitants per square mile. Unlike the surrounding Arab countries, the Christian and the Moslem elements of the population are almost equal in collective numerical strength and political importance.

Responsibility for the health of the people resides in the Ministry of Public Health of the Lebanese government, which acts in co-operation with other ministries and numerous philanthropic and religious organizations. The public health and the medical care functions of the Ministry are directed from Beirut. The city is one of the leading medical centers of the Near and Middle East, with two university medical schools and associated hospitals. In 1948, there were 73 hospitals (including sanatoria) in the country, with an aggregate capacity of 5,181 beds, or approximately 4.2 beds per 1,000 population. Eight hospitals were maintained by the Ministry of Public Health, while 56 were conducted under private or philanthropic auspices and 9 by foreign organizations. In addition to the outpatient services of the hospitals, a central polyclinic, 17 rural dispensaries and 4 tuberculosis clinics were operated by the Ministry; a polyclinic by the municipal health department in Beirut; 16 dispensaries by the Lebanese Red Cross; and various units by other organizations.

Water supplies are derived from streams, springs or wells, and are usually abundant in the coastal region but often deficient in the interior. Treated municipal water sup-

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from the plains of the interior, have found refuge in the previously almost impenetrable valleys of Lebanon, where they could worship and live unmolested from outside. The various communities which have established themselves there have usually respected one another's beliefs and ways. There have been tension and suspicion between them, but in normal times they have lived peaceably together. It is true that for generations Lebanon was torn by internal strife, but it was the strife of factions and families. It was only for a short time during the nineteenth century that it took the form of a religious war, and even then the fundamental causes were social and political rather than religious.

The Lebanese tradition was also one of autonomy. Caliphs, Crusading rulers and Ottoman Sultans alike refrained from demanding more from Lebanon than tribute and the formal recognition of their suzerainty. They left the internal affairs of the Mountain to the care of local dynasts, more often than not members of local landowning families. Often Lebanon was partitioned between more than one of these dynasts; but on occasion a ruler succeeded in uniting the whole Mountain and even in extending his sway beyond it. His rule over the Lebanese, however, was never absolute. The social organization was feudal. In principle and sometimes in fact the ruler of the Mountain was elected by the feudal lords; and although this principle was not always observed, and the principate tended to become hereditary in a great family such as the Maanis or Shihabis, even the strongest member of such a dynasty would hesitate before interfering with the estates of the great landowners. As in medieval Europe, when the political power was in weak hands the pretensions and rivalries of feudal lords led to civil war and chaos. It was not until the nineteenth century that this feudal organization began to break up.

This much is true of the whole Mountain. Among the Maronites however the tradition was enriched by several other strands. It was a tradition of clericalism. More even than other Syrian sects they were dominated by their clergy. The priests were national leaders, the centre around which turned the struggle of the community to survive and retain its identity; and the Maronite Patriarch, the only Patriarch residing in Lebanon itself, was a temporal as well as a spiritual power in the northern portion of the Mountain.

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X. POLITICAL HISTORY, 1920-1936

1

642 648 THE political organization described in the last chapter remained fundamentally unchanged until 1936. In two out of the four units the years 1920-1936 were on the whole marked by political tranquillity and administrative progress. In Lebanon, constitutional development was more rapid than in the other States. In 1925 the High Commissioner entrusted the Representative Council with the task of drafting a constitution for the State. The constitution was promulgated in May, 1926. It provided for the establishment of normal republican institutions: an elected President, who by convention was always a Christian; a responsible Ministry; an elected Chamber and a nominated Senate, which after a time were combined into a single Chamber, two-thirds elected and one-third nominated. Article 90 reserved the rights and duties of the Mandatory Power, as derived from Article 22 of the Covenant and from the Mandate; while Article 91 stated that where circumstances permitted Lebanon would apply for admission to the League of Nations, and in doing so would have recourse to the good offices of the Mandatory Power.[1] Modified in 1927 and 1929, the Constitution was suspended in 1932 because it had proved too cumbersome and expensive; the administration was carried on directly by the President of the Republic, until in 1934 the High Commissioner issued a decree provisionally re-establishing a small Chamber.

648 Some of the Moslem and other elements in Lebanon were immediately responsive to movements of opinion in the State of Syria and the rest of the Arab world, of which they considered Lebanon to form a part. But to a great extent Lebanese political life developed in its own way; it was dominated by the problems arising from the extension of the 162 frontiers in 1920. Lebanon as it existed before 1914 had 795 contained a large Christian majority; but in the Lebanese Republic established in 1920 Christians formed scarcely more than 50 per cent of the population.[2] Moreover, both Christians and Moslems were subdivided into a number of sects, the largest of which, the Maronite sect, included only 30 per cent

[1] For text of the Constitution, see F. R. and P. Duresté, *Les Constitutions Modernes* (4th edition, Paris, 1933), Volume V, pp. 706–19.
[2] See Chapter VII.

of the population. Several of these sects possessed a local predominance in some part of the Republic: the Maronites in the north, the Druzes in the south, the Sunnis in the coastal towns of Beirut, Tripoli and Saida, and the Shi'is in the Biqa' and the extreme south. The consequences which are likely to flow from such a situation are clear. The political life of the Republic was deeply affected by the struggle for equality or superiority between a number of communities, none of them so strong as to be able to dominate all the rest. Sectarian loyalties and sectarian jealousies thus continued and perhaps strengthened themselves. In addition, the domination of the spiritual leaders over the members of their communities was perpetuated; the Maronite Patriarch in particular wielded an incalculable influence over the political life of the country.

2

The importance of communal differences in Lebanon was recognized by the Mandate. Article 8 stated the necessity of guaranteeing the most complete liberty of conscience and worship; the equal treatment of all inhabitants irrespective of differences of race, religion and language; and the right of communities to maintain their own schools. Article 6 required the Mandatory Power to respect the personal status and religious interests of the different sections of the population. These guarantees were reaffirmed in the Lebanese Constitution, promulgated in 1926, Article 9 of which declared: 'Liberty of conscience is absolute. In rendering homage to the Most High, the State respects all confessions and guarantees and protects the free exercise of them, on condition that no harm is done to public order. It guarantees equally to populations belonging to every rite respect for their personal status and their religious interests.'

These guarantees were respected by the Mandatory Power to a considerable extent. For example, the traditional jurisdictions of the communal courts were maintained in some matters of personal status, although a large proportion of such matters were transferred to the civil courts. An attempt was made in 1936 to define the whole position of the communal jurisdictions. The High Commissioner issued a decree in which the historic communities were given explicit legal recognition. Their statutes were given the force of law, and

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671 the application of them placed under the protection of the law and the control of the public authorities. They were to possess corporate personality, and to be represented in their relations with the public powers by their spiritual heads. Members of the communities would be obliged to conform to the communal statutes in matters of personal status, and to the civil law where the statutes of the communities were silent. Anyone who attained his majority would be at liberty to leave his community and enter a new one; and provision was made for individuals who were not members of any religious community. This decree was opposed by religious authorities, and in 1938 a new one was issued modifying it at certain points; but this also aroused opposition from several sides.

3

641 In the political sphere the relations between the com-
642 munities were defined in the Constitution, which formulated two principles. First, all Lebanese citizens were equal before the law, possessed of the same rights and duties, and equally admissible to all public offices without any distinction (Articles 7 and 12). Secondly, Article 95 laid it down that, at least provisionally, the communities should be equitably represented in public offices and in the Ministry, in so far as that did not detract from the welfare of the State.

642 The whole political organization of the State was permeated by these principles, but by the second more than the first. It has already been mentioned that the President of the Republic was always a Christian, and with the exception of the first President a Maronite. To counter-balance this, the Prime Minister was normally a Sunni Moslem, and the other Ministries were distributed among the different communities as equitably as possible. The Chamber of Deputies was so constituted as to represent the communities roughly in proportion to their numerical strength; every district elected a number of deputies belonging to the different communities living in it, but every deputy was elected not only by his co-religionists but by the whole electorate of the district. The maintenance of the balance between the communities was an important and often the most important consideration in the making of appointments in central and local administration alike.

It is doubtful if the system could have worked even as well 649
as it did had it not been for the control and intervention of the Mandatory Power. But this again was a source of trouble. The French authorities were believed to be not altogether impartial in their efforts to hold the balance, and to show excessive favour to the Maronites and other Uniates. Thus the other communities became hostile both to France and to the Maronites. This hostility in its turn cemented the alliance between the two.

The situation just described had the approval of the majority 186
of the Maronites, who chiefly profited by it. Many of the 642
religious and secular notables of the other communities also did not disapprove of the conception of a Lebanon based upon sectarianism, either because they derived advantage from it or else because they could not conceive of any loyalty except that to the religious community. But the more thoughtful members of both the Maronite and the other sects, and especially the younger of them, saw the need for the creation of some sort of corporate consciousness or sense of solidarity. In the Sanjaq of the years before 1914 this had to some extent existed ; it had been based upon a common way of life and a common tradition of autonomy which all alike had valued. In the new Republic this was lacking and would have to be created. On the question of what form it should take, different opinions were held, corresponding in the main to the different conceptions of Lebanon expounded in Chapter VII. Those who regarded Lebanon as an asylum for religious minorities, together with those who regarded the Lebanese as a distinct people, wished to create a specific Lebanese nationalist spirit transcending communal differences ; and they wanted the enlarged Lebanon to be an independent state, protected by or in alliance with a European Power who would take an interest in it which was other than purely political. Those who looked upon Lebanon as a point from which Christian and Western influences could radiate throughout the Arab East, wished to encourage the consciousness of Lebanon as both a distinctive unity and part of a larger unity ; or them, Lebanese autonomism and Arab or Syrian nationalism were not opposed to each other but complementary, and they desired to see Lebanon, with or without the restoration of its

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15 older more restricted frontiers, a self-governing member of a
642 Syrian or an Arab federation. Those who considered
Lebanon as simply one Arab province among others wished to stimulate Arab nationalist sentiments among its inhabitants and advocated its integral incorporation in a Syrian or Arab State, with only such administrative privileges as its distinctive history made necessary.

This last conception was particularly strong among the Sunni Moslems of the coast towns, most of whom clamoured either for the inclusion of Lebanon in Syria or at least for its reduction to the frontiers it had possessed before 1914. Some of them desired this because as Moslems they resented living in a State which had a mainly Christian atmosphere; others because they were totally opposed to the Lebanese particularist idea. Yet others, while conceding the claims of the Christians, Druzes and Shi'is to special treatment, did not agree that the coastal towns had any part in the natural or historical unity of Lebanon. This sentiment was strongest in Tripoli, with an almost wholly Moslem population. It was shared by the greater part of the Arab nationalists in the State of Syria. They were willing to accept a certain carefully defined autonomy for the historic Lebanon, provided its rulers would co-operate with the Syrians in matters of common interest. They bitterly resented, however, the inclusion in Lebanon of the coastal towns, especially of Tripoli, partly on grounds of principle because they interpreted it as a move in the supposed French game of dividing and weakening the Arabs, and partly because they did not like to see Tripoli and Beirut, two of the natural ports of Damascus, in any hands except their own.

665 For the most part these differences of opinion did not embody themselves in organized parties. The parties which dominated elections and the life of the Chamber were scarcely more than loose alliances of prominent politicians, based upon common personal interest rather than common doctrine. They were usually so organized as to include representatives of all the leading sects. The most important of them were the 'Unionist' group led by Emile Edde, and the 'Constitutionalists', of whom the leading member was Bishara al-Khuri. The main division between these two groups was the personal rivalry of their leaders; but on the whole the former was more intransigent in its belief in Lebanese

of the minority problem contained in it was satisfactory. When the Treaty was ratified, it would firmly establish on a contractual basis a French influence which the too-long maintenance of an authoritarian régime might in the long run compromise.

3

In Lebanon the signature of the Franco-Lebanese Treaty was welcomed by the Maronites and some other sections of the population. The Sunnis, however, regarded it as a blow to their aim of reunion with Syria; their anger found expression in communal clashes in Beirut and elsewhere at the end of 1936. In spite of their opposition, however, steps were immediately taken to carry out the policy of the Treaty by re-establishing self-governing institutions. The Constitution of 1926 was restored in January, 1937; the Chamber met, and Khair ad-Din al-Ahdab, a Sunni, formed a Ministry. But it soon became apparent that the signature of the Treaty and the revival of constitutional forms had not affected the essential nature of Lebanese political life, which continued to be dominated by sectarian issues.

A new electoral law was passed in 1937, replacing the existing Chamber by a new and larger one, two-thirds elected on a sectarian basis and one-third nominated. The elections of November, 1937, were marked by corruption on an extensive scale; and the Chamber which resulted from them, and which remained in being until 1939, was remarkable only for the bitterness and complexity of its internal dissensions. The Ministries of the Amir Khalid Shihab and Abdullah al-Yafi succeeded those of Khair ad-Din al-Ahdab, and none of them had any notable legislative or other advance to show.

The consequence of this was a general loss of interest and faith in the constitutional system as it existed in Lebanon. It was not simply that the established leaders and the parliamentary parties, the Unionists, Constitutionalists and so on, ceased to possess even so limited a hold over public opinion as they had perhaps had; more than that, Lebanese began to ask themselves what purpose was served by the existence of a costly Parliament, filled with landowners and lawyers, wasting its time in internecine quarrels and showing no effective interest in the country's welfare. Had not Lebanon been better ruled under the simple system which had existed

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before 1914; and was it not ridiculous, as well as expensive, for so small a region to have so grandiose and complex a constitution?

As a further consequence, the movement of discontent with sectarianism was greatly strengthened, and many Lebanese, especially among the young, began to look for an alternative. At one extreme the 'Phalanges Libanaises', the party of Lebanese nationalism, received much support. So too did the 'Syrian National Party', with its doctrine of the total separation of Church and State; while the Arab Nationalists pointed to the failure of the constitutional system as a proof, if one were needed, that an independent Lebanon was too divided, artificial and unstable to exist by itself.

4

In Syria, the first steps towards the execution of the Treaty were taken immediately after the return of the Syrian delegation from Paris. Arrangements were made for the holding of Parliamentary elections; the Chamber was to consist of 86 members, 16 of them representing the religious minorities and 7 the Beduin tribes. The elections, which took place in November, 1936, resulted in an overwhelming majority for the candidates of the National Bloc; and when the Chamber met, on December 21st, its first important act was to choose Faris al-Khuri as its President, and its second to accept the resignation of Muhammad Ali al-Abid from the Presidency of the Republic and to elect Hashim al-Atasi in his place. The Ayyubi Ministry having resigned, the President entrusted the formation of a new one to Jamil Mardam Bey. All the members of his Ministry were drawn from the National Bloc.

This Ministry found no difficulty in securing the confidence of the Chamber, which unanimously approved the Treaty in December, 1936. It was formally signed by the High Commissioner and the members of the Ministry on December 22nd.

In the same month, after consultations with notables of the districts of Jebel Druze and Latakia, their annexation to the Syrian State was proclaimed. This proclamation was accompanied by special Statutes granting a measure of administrative autonomy to the two regions. Despite protests from separatist groups against the concept of a unitary Syria, the régime envisaged in these Statutes was inaugurated by the appointment in January, 1937, of two prominent members of the

political, strategic and economic reasons it was impossible to conceive of an Arab union in which they were not included; but it was clear that they could not take an effective part in that movement until they possessed self-government and effective freedom of political action. It was therefore a general Arab interest to see Syria and Lebanon possessed of self-government. More than that, if a crisis should arise over the grant of self-government, it would be vital for the other Arab countries to give what help they could to the Syrians and Lebanese, because such a crisis would be a test of the effective strength of Arab unity. In regard to Lebanon there was a special reason for going to her help: Lebanon was only half-heartedly Arab nationalist, and nothing would strengthen her Arab sentiment so much as a practical demonstration of the concern of the other Arab countries for her welfare and of the benefits she could obtain from their assistance.

4

It was in fact the Lebanese Government which first challenged the French on the issue of the transfer of powers. The new Prime Minister, Riyadh as-Sulh, made a statement of policy to the Chamber on October 7th, 1943, announcing the Government's intention to propose a revision of the Constitution. This, he said, would be purged of all provisions inconsistent with the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon, so that henceforward no authorities other than the legitimate representatives of the nation would participate in its government. During the following weeks the Government, while preparing its constitutional measure, was also engaged in controversy with the French authorities as to its right to modify the Constitution without previous agreement with the Mandatory Power. The controversy was made public by C.F.L.N. in a communiqué dated November 5th. This stated that the Committee could not recognize the validity of a unilateral revision of the Constitution; but that this decision did not affect the determination of France 'to accord Lebanon complete independence by means of negotiations conducted between the two parties in the spirit of loyal and friendly collaboration which must continue as in the past to inspire the special relations uniting Lebanon and France'. The Lebanese Government proceeded with the arrangements they

had made for submitting their measure to the Chamber, where it was carried by 48 votes to none on the 8th. The amendments affected the following Articles of the Constitution:

Article 1. References to the Mandatory Power and the League of Nations were eliminated, and Lebanon was described as 'a sovereign State'.

Article 11. French was no longer described as an official language.

Article 52. The treaty-making power was no longer to be limited by the reservations laid down in the Mandate.

Articles 90-94. These were annulled. They had provided that the exercise of the constitutional powers of Lebanese authorities should be subject to the maintenance of the Mandatory's rights and obligations; that Lebanon should eventually enter the League of Nations through the good offices of the Mandatory; that good relations would be maintained with 'the neighbouring countries under French Mandate'; that disputes liable to lead to war should be submitted to the Mandatory's arbitration; and that agreements would be reached between Lebanon and France for the representation of the former, in countries where Lebanese residents were numerous, by means of attachés in French diplomatic and consular missions.

Articles 95 and 102. References to the Mandate were omitted.

On November 10th, two days after the passage of these amendments through the Chamber, M. Helleu returned from a visit to Algiers. In the early hours of the following morning the Lebanese President and the majority of the Ministers were, by his order, arrested and removed from Beirut. A few hours later the Delegate-General issued decrees declaring the amendments null and void, suspending the Constitution, dissolving the Chamber and appointing Emile Edde—Bishara al-Khuri's unsuccessful opponent in the recent elections—as Head of the State and the Government.

These measures caused immediate and vigorous reactions, both in Lebanon and elsewhere. Throughout the next eleven days there was a general strike in the Lebanese towns; shops were shut, the ordinary newspapers ceased to appear and there were demonstrations in the streets. These led to clashes with

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shown in the table above are found in other parts of the Middle East but three indigenous sects need mention here: the Druses, who are a communal people professing a religion which derived from Islam in the eleventh century A.D., but became independent; the Alawis of the mountains behind Latakia, whose religion appears to be a dogmatic form of Shi'i Islam with some survivals of Christian ritual; and the Maronites, who are a Christian sect, living mainly in the north of Lebanon.

The religion of the majority of Syrians and of the head of the Syrian state is Sunni Islam; in the Lebanon, Muslims and Christians are fairly evenly divided and the President of the Republic is a Maronite Christian and the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim. The Christians of the Arab Levant have provided the Middle East with great leaders in journalism, letters, politics, and science, but in present-day Syria the Christians are mainly prominent in commerce and industry. There is hardly any dangerous animosity between the sects, but sectarian bonds are a very real force in the lives of people who for so long lived under the Turkish *millet* system whereby each sect was an administrative unit, the head of which exercised considerable authority.

So mixed a population living in a variety of environments naturally does not constitute one physical type, but some generalizations are hazarded for the sake of a fuller picture. Dark hair is almost universal but the skin of the town dweller is no darker than that of a Mediterranean European; the Syrians and Lebanese are not often as tall or as heavy as the average Englishman but they mature at an earlier age. The peasant's normal diet is mainly bread, with milk and fruit and vegetables as less frequent additions and meat as an event, but in the towns and villages most people eat a full diet with rather more oil and spice than is used in Britain. The cultivator and the nomad wear local costumes but most townspeople wear European clothes; the *tarbush* or fez head-cloth are usual but not universal headgear for men. Most Muslim women wear the veil, but in the towns the richer women are becoming more and more emancipated and, particularly in Beirut, many lead the same lives as Christian women. In Lebanon and in Damascus and Aleppo the way of life is very like that in southern Europe, and both countries make a pleasant home for a European.

History

Semitic-speaking people have inhabited for four or five millennia the area which is known historically as Syria, or yet for much of this period the rulers of what is now

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were on both sides. In Syria (and to a lesser degree, in Lebanon) the possibility of long-term co-operation between the nationalist politicians and the Mandatory was frustrated alike by the attitude of most French officials and by that of the local urban populations who, though they have signed the 1936 treaty, desired full self-government.[1] The advent to power in France of the Front Populaire in 1936 eased the situation; treaties with Syria and Lebanon were negotiated whereby the Mandate was to be transformed into an alliance with independent status, but under which France could still maintain troops in the Levant. However, the French Parliament was unwilling to ratify the Syrian treaty under the lengthening shadow of the impending Second World War, and Syrian indignation was increased when the cession to Turkey's friendship bill France in 1939 to cede to Turkey the Sanjaq of Alexandretta, afterwards renamed Hatay. Leading Syrian politicians refused to co-operate with the French on these terms, and on the eve of the outbreak of war the French High Commissioner once again suspended the Syrian constitution and governed the country through French and Syrian officials; the same procedure was applied to Lebanon after the outbreak of war.

When metropolitan France fell in 1940 the Mandate was carried on by the Vichy Government until the latter's acquiescence in the use of the Levant airfields by the Germans obliged the intervention of British and Free French forces in June 1941. After a short but bitter campaign, the Vichy forces signed an armistice in July 1941. In the struggle between the Allies and the Axis and between Vichy and de Gaulle the Syrians and Lebanese took no part, but their independence had been promised by the Allied Command. On behalf of the Free French, General Catroux, in a statement on 8 June 1941, proclaimed the end of the Mandate, but in fact the Free French regarded themselves as trustees for France's position, seeking to maintain them by installing Syrian and Lebanese supporters of France in the seats of authority. The Free French had, however, eventually to yield to the demand for popular elections, which was supported by the British Government as soon as the victory at el-Alamein (October 1942) had finally removed the threat of Axis invasion from the Middle East. In Syria the elections of 1943 brought into office the National Bloc with Shukri al-Quwatli as President of the Republic and Sabahiddin Jabri, Jamil Mardam, and Faris al-Khouri as parliamentary leaders. In the Lebanon also nationalists were successful and the leader of the 'Constitutional Bloc',

[1] For details, see A. H. Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon* (London, RIIA, 1946).

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Bishara al-Khouri, became President with the pan-Arab Riyad as-Solh as Prime Minister; these nationalists were not satisfied with mere titular sovereignty but claimed the reality of independence, and in November 1943 a Free French resort to force against them was reversed only by a British intervention, endorsed by the United States Government. The Free French were thus constrained to transfer most branches of the administration to the Syrian and Lebanese Parliaments, but retained control of the local 'Troupes Spéciales' and obstructed the proper equipping of the Syrian gendarmerie. The French intention was to make fully vital concession of authority conditional upon the conclusion of a Franco-Syrian treaty which would give France much the same strategic, economic, and cultural advantages as Britain had retained in Iraq by the already obsolescent Treaty of 1930. In March 1945 Syria and Lebanon had been admitted as sovereign states to membership of the United Nations and of the League of Arab States. The Syrian nationalists were not prepared to subordinate their sovereignty to an imposed alliance with France, and the landing of a contingent of Senegalese troops immediately after V-Day (in disregard of a personal appeal of Churchill to de Gaulle) was regarded in both Syria and Lebanon as clear evidence of a French resort to coercion. Sporadic outbreaks of violence between the Syrian gendarmerie and the local nationalists on the one hand and the French garrison on the other became general, and when, at the end of May 1945, the local French Commander carried out a bombardment of Damascus the British Government ordered their Commander-in-Chief, Middle East, to intervene, by force if necessary, to restore order in a region whose security was vital for British communications in the still-continuing war in the Far East. The crisis accelerated the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops, concerning which the demands of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments were supported by the Security Council; the process was completed in Syria by 15 April 1946 and in Lebanon by the end of the year.

Between the wars, the French Mandate had allowed political development in Lebanon to produce at least a façade of parliamentary democracy, with arrangements between the Muslim and Christian leaders on the division of political power and perquisites, and the active commercial and intellectual life of Lebanon made progress with a minimum of government interference. In Syria, however, local separatisms which French policy had encouraged made it very difficult for any Syrian Government to knit the people together from Damascus; the

Syria and Lebanon

1952 and he has obvious affinities with General Naguib of Egypt whom he visited later in the year.

The threat of Zionism is considered very real in Syria and Shishakli has declared that Syria has never given up hope of a revision of the present position. Between March and May 1951 a [illegible] Syria, but hostilities between Syria and Israel were localized and stifled without leading to a general outbreak of war. All Syrians wish Israel ill; fear of Israeli expansion remains and is fostered by the Government.

In internal politics, the most progressive measures which have yet been considered are land reform and the partition of state lands. There is little unrest among the people, who generally want to live their lives without undue government interference. Nationalists of two kinds exist: a nascent patriotism that has for the first time the support of the rulers, and a narrow xenophobia that, while less extreme than in Egypt, is more pronounced in Syria than in Lebanon.

(ii) Lebanon

Lebanon is a republic of which the Chamber of Deputies was till 1953 elected by direct manhood suffrage but in that year women were permitted to vote in the elections. By convention, the President of the Republic must be a Christian and is normally a Maronite, the Prime Minister must be a Sunni Muslim and the President of the Chamber a Shi'i Muslim. The table on p. 466 above shows the division of parliamentary seats between the religious sects; a scrupulous observance of these quotas is evident even in the civil service establishments. The existence of a Christian majority is held to be essential for the survival of Lebanon as a separate state and so, in June 1950, it was found convenient to extend the franchise to Lebanese abroad (of whom the majority are Christian) and to increase the number of deputies from 55 to 77, but in November 1951, under a new electoral law, the number was reduced to 66. The Muslim rate of natural increase is higher than that of the Christians and it is probably for this reason that no census has been taken since. In other ways the constitution and administration are similar to those of Syria already described.

Internal Politics

As in Syria, a European type of political party system has not yet evolved and the struggle has been not only between different cliques of ruling families backed by great commercial wealth, but also between these rich groups on the one hand and

ballot, a relative majority shall be sufficient. Should the votes be equal, the oldest candidate shall be elected. §43

Art. 43 (as amended October 17, 1927). Members of the Chamber shall only vote if they are present at the meeting, voting by proxy shall not be allowed.

Art. 44 (as amended October 17, 1927). The Chamber alone has the right to maintain order at its meetings through its President.

Art. 45. (as amended October 17, 1927). All petitions to the Chamber must be made and submitted in writing. They may not be presented in person or at the bar of the Chamber.

Art. 46 (as amended October 17, 1927). The remuneration of members of the Chamber shall be determined by law.

CHAPTER IV—THE EXECUTIVE POWER

Art. 47 (as amended October 17, 1927, May 8, 1929, and June 9, 1943, and November 7, 1947). The Chamber of Deputies shall elect the President of the Republic by secret ballot and by a two-thirds majority of the votes. After the first ballot, an absolute majority shall be sufficient. The President shall be elected for a term of six years.* He may be re-elected only after an interval of six years. No persons shall be eligible for the office of President of the Republic unless he fulfills the conditions of eligibility for the Chamber of Deputies. §43, §45

Art. 50. Before assuming office, the President of the Republic shall take an oath of fidelity before Parliament to the Lebanese Nation and the Constitution, in the following terms:

"I swear by Almighty God to observe the Constitution and laws of the Lebanese People and to maintain the independence of the Lebanon and its territorial integrity."

Art. 51 (as amended October 17, 1927). The President of the Republic shall promulgate laws after they have been adopted by the Chamber. He shall supervise their execution and for that purpose he shall have the power to issue regulations, but not to modify the actual laws or act with their provisions.

He shall have the right to pardon. Amnesties may not be granted except by law.

Art. 52 (as amended October 17, 1927, and November 6, 1947). The President of the Republic shall negotiate and ratify treaties. He

* See the Provisional Constitutional Law of May 21, 1926, art. 1 (p. 501 infra).—Ed.

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shall bring them to the knowledge of the Chamber as soon as the interests and safety of the State permit.

Treaties involving a charge upon the finances of the State, commercial treaties and, in general, treaties which cannot be denounced at the expiry of each year shall not be definitive until they have been adopted by the Chamber.

ART. 53 *(as amended October 27, 1945, and January 11, 1947).* The President of the Republic shall appoint and dismiss Ministers, from among whom he shall select a Prime Minister; he shall make all appointments to regard to which the method of appointment is not otherwise determined by law; he shall preside over national ceremonies.

ART. 54. Every instrument issued by the President of the Republic, with the exception of those relating to the appointment and dismissal of Ministers, must be countersigned by the Minister or Ministers concerned.

ART. 55 *(as amended October 27, 1945, and May 6, 1954).* With the approval of the Cabinet, the President may by Decree, the reasons being specified, dissolve the Chamber of Deputies before the legal expiry of its mandate.

In that case, the electoral bodies shall meet as provided for in Article 25, and the new Chamber shall be convened within fifteen days after the results of the elections have been proclaimed.

ART. 56 *(as amended October 27, 1945).* The President of the Republic shall promulgate laws within one month after the date on which the law, definitively adopted, is transmitted to the Government. When the promulgation of a law has been declared urgent by a special vote of the Chamber, he must promulgate it within five days.

ART. 57 *(as amended October 27, 1945).* Within the time allowed for promulgating laws, the President of the Republic may request, not more than once, a further discussion of a law; this request may not be refused.

When the President of the Republic makes use of this right, he shall not be required to promulgate a law unless it has been adopted by the Chamber, after a second discussion, by an absolute majority of the lawful members of that Assembly.

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Art. 58 (*as amended October 17, 1927*). By means of a decree 642
issued with the approval of the Cabinet, the President of the Re- 643
public may put into force any bill which has previously been declared
to be urgent by the Government in the order for its transmission
issued with the Cabinet's approval, and on which the Chamber has
not given a decision within forty days of its communication to the
Assembly.

Art. 59 (*as amended October 17, 1927*). The President of the Republic may adjourn the Chamber for a period not exceeding one month. He may not do so more than once during the same session.

Art. 60 (*as amended January 21, 1947*). The President of the Republic may not be called to account for acts performed by him in the discharge of his duties except in the case of violation of the Constitution or high treason; his responsibility in respect of offenses under the ordinary law shall be subject to the ordinary law. He may not be charged with these offenses or with violating the Constitution or high treason, except by the Chamber of Deputies, its decision being adopted by a majority of two-thirds of the members of the whole Assembly; he may not be tried except by the High Court provided for in Article 80. The functions of the Public Prosecutor at the High Court shall be exercised by a judge appointed each year by the Court of Cassation at a general meeting.

Art. 61. Should the President of the Republic be assaigned, he shall be suspended from his functions and the Presidency shall be vacant until the High Court has rendered its decision.

Art. 62. Should the Presidency of the Republic be vacant for any reason whatsoever, the executive power shall be temporarily exercised by the Cabinet.

Art. 63. The salary of the President of the Republic shall be fixed by-law. During the President's term of office, it may not be increased or reduced.

Art. 64. The Ministers shall have the supreme direction of all the services of the State which come under their respective Departments. They shall be responsible, each in so far as he is concerned, for the application of the laws and regulations.

Art. 65. No person may be a Minister who is not a Lebanese.

Art. 66 (*as amended October 17th, 1927*). Ministers shall be

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jointly and severally responsible to the Chamber for the general policy of the Government, and individually responsible for their personal actions. The Government's general programme shall be drawn up and put before the Chamber by the Prime Minister or by a Minister acting on his behalf.

Art. 67 *(as amended October 17th, 1927).* Ministers shall have free access to the Chamber and shall have the right to address it whenever they so request. They may be accompanied by one or more officials from their Department.

Art. 68 *(as amended October 17th, 1927).* When, in accordance with Article 37, the Chamber declares that a Minister no longer possesses its confidence, that Minister shall be so required to resign.

Art. 69 *(abrogated May 8th, 1929).*

Art. 70. The Chamber of Deputies shall have the right to arraign Ministers for high treason or for grave dereliction of their duty. The decision to arraign a Minister may only be taken by a majority of two-thirds of the members of the whole Assembly. The civil responsibility of Ministers shall be determined by a special law.

Art. 71. A Minister who is arraigned shall be tried by the High Court.

Art. 72. A Minister shall leave office as soon as he is arraigned. The Minister's resignation shall not prevent proceedings being taken or continued against him.

Part III

(a) Election of the President of the Republic

Art. 73 *(as amended October 17th, 1927).* One month at least and two months at most before the expiry of the term of office of the President of the Republic, the Chamber shall be summoned by its President to assemble for the purpose of electing the new President of the Republic.[1]

Should it not be thus summoned, the Chamber shall meet of its own accord on the tenth day preceding the expiry of the President's term of office.

Art. 74 *(as amended October 17th, 1927).* Should the Presidency become vacant through the death or resignation of the Presi-

[1] See the Provisional Constitutional Law of May 22, 1926, art. 2 (p. 302 below).—Ed.

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dent, or for any other cause, the Assembly shall meet immediately 642
and of its own accord to elect a new President. If the Chamber is 643
dissolved at the time the vacancy occurs, the electoral bodies shall be convened without delay and, as soon as the elections have taken place, the Chamber shall meet as of full right.

Art. 75 *(as amended October 17th, 1927).* When the Chamber meets to elect the President of the Republic, it shall constitute a purely electoral body and not a deliberative Assembly. It shall proceed solely, without delay or discussion, to elect the Head of the State.

(b) REVISION OF THE CONSTITUTION

Art. 76 *(as amended October 17th, 1927).* The Constitution 642
may be revised on the initiative of the President of the Republic.

In such a case, the Government shall submit to the Assembly a draft constitutional law.

Art. 77 *(as amended October 17th, 1927).* The Constitution may likewise be revised on the initiative of the Chamber of Deputies. This right shall be exercised as follows:

During an ordinary session and on the proposal of at least ten of its members, the Chamber may recommend, by a two-thirds majority of its lawful members, the revision of the Constitution. The articles and questions referred to in the recommendation must be specifically enumerated and defined.

The President of the Chamber shall transmit the recommendation to the Government, requesting it to prepare a draft constitutional law.

Should the Government approve the Assembly's recommendation, it shall prepare the respective draft law and submit it to the Assembly within four months; if the Government does not agree with the Assembly, it shall return the recommendation to the latter for further discussion. Should the Assembly maintain its recommendation by a majority of three-fourths of its lawful members, the President of the Republic may either accede to the Assembly's request, or issue an order for its dissolution, and proceed to new elections within three months.

Should the new Assembly decide that revision is necessary, the

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PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTIONAL LAW PROVIDING FOR THE POSSIBILITY OF RE-ELECTING HIS EXCELLENCY THE PRESIDENT OF THE REPUBLIC[1]

MAY 22, 1948

642 The Chamber of Deputies has passed and the President of the
643 Republic hereby promulgates the abovementioned law in the following terms:

Art. 1. Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 49 of the Constitution, it shall be lawful, as an exceptional case, to re-elect the President of this Republic now in office for a second term; but it shall not be lawful to re-elect him for a third term until six years have elapsed from the date of expiration of his second term of office.

Art. 2. Notwithstanding the provisions of Article 73 of the Constitution and as an exceptional case the Chamber of Deputies shall be convened at a summons of the President of the Republic within a month from the date of the promulgation of this Constitutional Law for the purpose of electing a President of the Republic. The term of office of the elected President shall begin from the date of the termination of the term of office of the President now in office.

[1] English translation and information through the courtesy of Professor M. F. Abcarius, American University of Beirut, and Captain Lawrence J. Evans, Jr., United States Army, Beirut.—Ed.

In Lebanon the preparations for the elections took longer to complete. The main question at issue was that of the distribution of seats in the new Chamber. It was agreed that the Chamber should consist only of elected members, not as previously of a majority of elected and a minority of nominated ones; but Dr. Tabit's suggestions for allocating seats between the sects were opposed by the Moslems. M. Helleu, who had succeeded General Catroux as Delegate-General in June, was compelled to replace Dr. Tabit by Petro Trad; and finally an agreed settlement was reached by which the Christian sects would have 30 seats and the Moslems 25.

Elections were held at the end of August. As in previous elections, the differences between the candidates were largely personal; but there was also a conflict of principle involved, the more extreme supporters of Lebanese independence, with Emile Edde as their most prominent figure, being opposed by the more moderate advocates of autonomy, led by Bishara al-Khuri, and the Arab nationalists. The former were completely defeated in spite of the support given them by the French authorities. On September 21st the Chamber met and elected Bishara al-Khuri President of the Republic by 44 votes to nil.

The new President asked Riyadh as-Sulh to form a Ministry. A Sunni Moslem, by origin from Southern Lebanon, Riyadh as-Sulh had for long been recognized as one of the leaders of the Arab nationalists in Lebanon, and had been an associate of Shukri al-Quwatli in the 'Istiqlal' group.

The new Ministry was composed as follows:—

Prime Minister and Minister of Finance	Riyadh as-Sulh.
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice and Education	Habib Abu Shahla.
Minister of the Interior and of Posts and Telegraphs ..	Camille Shamun.
Minister of Foreign Affairs and Public Works	Salim Taqla.
Minister of Defence and Hygiene	Amir Majid Arslan.
Minister of Food Supply and National Economy	Adil Usayran.

of the minority problem contained in it was satisfactory. When the Treaty was ratified, it would firmly establish on a contractual basis a French influence which the too-long maintenance of an authoritarian régime might in the long run compromise.

3

In Lebanon the signature of the Franco-Lebanese Treaty was welcomed by the Maronites and some other sections of the population. The Sunnis, however, regarded it as a blow to their aim of reunion with Syria; their anger found expression in communal clashes in Beirut and elsewhere at the end of 1936. In spite of their opposition, however, steps were immediately taken to carry out the policy of the Treaty by re-establishing self-governing institutions. The Constitution of 1926 was restored in January, 1937; the Chamber met, and Khair ad-Din al-Ahdab, a Sunni, formed a Ministry. But it soon became apparent that the signature of the Treaty and the revival of constitutional forms had not affected the essential nature of Lebanese political life, which continued to be dominated by sectarian issues.

A new electoral law was passed in 1937, replacing the existing Chamber by a new and larger one, two-thirds elected on a sectarian basis and one-third nominated. The elections of November, 1937, were marked by corruption on an extensive scale; and the Chamber which resulted from them, and which remained in being until 1939, was remarkable only for the bitterness and complexity of its internal dissensions. The Ministries of the Amir Khalid Shihab and Abdullah al-Yafi succeeded those of Khair ad-Din al-Ahdab, and none of them had any notable legislative or other advance to show.

The consequence of this was a general loss of interest and faith in the constitutional system as it existed in Lebanon. It was not simply that the established leaders and the parliamentary parties, the Unionists, Constitutionalists and so on, ceased to possess even so limited a hold over public opinion as they had perhaps had; more than that, Lebanese began to ask themselves what purpose was served by the existence of a costly Parliament, filled with landowners and lawyers, wasting its time in internecine quarrels and showing no effective interest in the country's welfare. Had not Lebanon been better ruled under the simple system which had existed

11: Hourani 8-4 (no date) 1946 MD1 Syria MD/ LEBANON 46

L 648 There flow from this a certain number of rights and obligations, among them in particular those stipulated below.'

The remainder of the proclamation was substantially the same, with minor and verbal variations, as the proclamation of Syrian independence.[1]

This declaration was received lukewarmly by the greater part of the population. It was open to objection on various grounds. Those who advocated the union of Lebanon with Syria regarded the proclamation as a repudiation of the promise contained in Catroux's statement of June 8th, that the Syrians and Lebanese would be free to form themselves into separate States or to unite into a single State. They objected also to the assertion that Lebanon was politically and territorially an indivisible unit. A similar statement had appeared in the Syrian proclamation and had there been open to no objection; but in the Lebanese proclamation it was taken to imply that any modification of the frontiers between Syria and Lebanon was out of the question.

Furthermore, all those who were opposed to the maintenance of French control, whether they were believers in Lebanese, in Syrian or in Arab nationalism, resented the references to France's 'mission' in the Levant and the statement that the future treaty would be negotiated on the basis of the Treaty of 1936.

L 645 These criticisms were not lessened when it was announced that a Ministry had been formed, with Ahmad ad-Da'uq as Prime Minister, and composed of colourless personalities without any claim to represent the population.

12

S 648 The British Government approved of the Free French policy of proclaiming Syrian and Lebanese independence, and gave its formal recognition to both the newly independent States, in the shape of letters of congratulation sent by His Majesty King George VI, to the Syrian President on October 27th, 1941, and to the Lebanese on December 26th.

In February, 1942, Major-General Sir Edward Spears, who had been connected with the Free French movement since its beginning, and had been in the Levant as head of the 'Spears Mission' since 1941, was appointed first British Minister to the Syrian and Lebanese Republics.

[1] For the French text, see Appendix A13.

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The members of the Ministry were respectively Sunni Moslem, Greek Orthodox, Maronite, Greek Catholic, Druze and Shi'i. Thus the convention which had grown up that the Cabinet should include representatives of all the more important sects was respected. The Ministers, however divided though they might be in religious allegiance, were united in desiring on the one hand a greater measure of self-government for Lebanon, and on the other closer relations between Lebanon and Syria.

17

Iraq recognized the independence of Syria in August and of Lebanon in October. In September the Egyptian Government announced its decision to recognize Lebanese independence and to establish legations in Damascus and Beirut. The Sa'udi Arabian Government also declared its intention to set up a legation in Damascus. These three Governments showed in this and in other ways their satisfaction with the restoration of constitutional rule in the Levant States.

These steps made possible a serious attempt by the Syrians and Lebanese to define their relations with each other, with France, with the other Arab countries and with the United Nations.[1]

[1] More recent events are summarized in the Postscript.

648 of November 11th with the exception of that which declared
669 the constitutional amendments null and void.

5

S 648 The acute crisis was now over, but the problem from which it had sprung was still unsolved. When the Lebanese Chamber re-assembled, the Premier asserted his Government's view
L 648 that the reforms of November 8th were still in force. Moreover, the Syrian authorities lost no time, once the tension in Lebanon was relaxed, in taking parallel action. At an extraordinary session of the Syrian Chamber on January 24th, 1944, the President of the Republic and the Deputies took an oath of allegiance to a new Constitution which comprised Articles 1-115 of the existing text. The effect of this was to annul Article 116. Earlier, on December 1st, the Syrian Premier had declared that Syria did not recognise the Mandate, and was not willing to conclude a Treaty as a condition of the transfer of powers which properly belonged to her; had demanded the surrender by the French of all the attributes of sovereignty, under those limitations only which were necessitated by the state of war; and had affirmed that the Syrian and Lebanese Governments were in agreement on the administration of the common interests.

The C.F.L.N. left these claims and assertions unchallenged, and announced that General Catroux would again go to Beirut, this time for the purpose of negotiating with the two Governments on the transfer of powers. The negotiations resulted in an agreement, concluded on December 22nd, which provided that the powers previously exercised by French authorities in the name of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments should be transferred to their control. They would take over the services included in the category of Common Interests as from January 1st, and other powers by specific agreements still to be concluded. Thus, by the beginning of 1944, the two States had survived a sharp test of their will to independence and had extended the range of their autonomous administration.

6

S In the course of the year 1944 there were a number of
L changes in the political situation in Syria and Lebanon.
645 Some of these changes were of no more than local importance.

Thus, in October the Ministry of Saadullah al-Jabiri in Syria was replaced by that of Faris al-Khuri, who had previously been President of the Chamber; the change was made for internal political reasons, and the new Government was composed largely of the same Ministers and followed the same general policy as its predecessor. In April, 1945, the Ministry was reconstructed. In Lebanon, too, there was a ministerial change: in January, 1945, the Government of Riyadh as-Sulh was replaced by that of Abdul-Hamid al-Karami, a Sunni Moslem deputy from Tripoli.

A change affecting the structure of the Syrian Republic took place in September, with the incorporation of the province of Jebel Druze fully in the Syrian State. It had already been formally incorporated in February, 1942, but had preserved a special administrative and financial régime which was now abolished. This step was taken at the request of the Administrative Council of Jebel Druze. A similar step was not taken in the Alawi province; although there was a party in favour of it, the forces of separatism were still strong, and the situation was complicated by the existence of disorder and unrest fomented by Sulaiman Murshid and his associates.

Other changes of greater importance, because they affected more immediately the problem of Franco-Lebanese and Franco-Syrian relations, were the transfer of power to the Syrian and Lebanese Governments and the financial agreement of February, 1944:

(i) In accordance with the agreement made by General Catroux with the two Governments on December 22nd, 1943, a series of particular agreements was negotiated during 1944, and by the end of the year almost all the services in question had been formally handed over, including the Customs Administration, the Financial and Economic Services, the control of the tobacco monopoly and concessionary companies, the Press Censorship, the Bedouin control and the 'Sûreté Générale' (although a French 'Sûreté aux Armées' was retained). These transfers gave the two Governments almost all the attributes of independent governments. At the end of 1944 the only important attribute which had not been transferred was the control of the local levies, the 'Troupes Spéciales'.

[For the text in French of the Electoral Law of 1950 for Lebanon see 57: Davis, Ml Middle East, category 116, pp. 307-319.]

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...ppo and to his obvious affinities with General Naguib of Egypt whom he visited later in the year.

The threat of Zionism is considered very real in Syria and Shishakli has declared that Syria has not given up hope of a revision of the present position. Between March and May 1951 a flare-up over Lake Huleh brought an offer of troops and to Syria, but hostilities between Syria and Israel were localized and stilled without leading to a general outbreak of war. All Syrians wish Israel ill; fear of Israeli expansion remains real and is fostered by the Government.

In internal politics, the most progressive measures which have yet been considered are land reform and the partition of state lands. There is little unrest among the people, who generally want to live their lives without undue government interference. Nationalism of two kinds exists: a nascent patriotism that has for the first time the support of the rulers, and a narrow anti-pluralism that, while less extreme than in Egypt, is more pronounced in Syria than in Lebanon.

(2) LEBANON

Lebanon is a republic of which the Chamber of Deputies was till 1951 elected by direct manhood suffrage but in that year women were permitted to vote in the election. By convention, the President of the Republic must be a Christian and is normally a Maronite, the Prime Minister must be a Sunni Muslim and the President of the Chamber a Shi'i Muslim. The table on p. 486 above shows the division of parliamentary seats between the religious sects; a scrupulous observance of these quotas is evident even in the civil service establishment. The existence of a Christian majority is held to be essential for the survival of Lebanon as a separate state and so, in June 1951, it was found convenient to extend the franchise to Lebanese abroad (of whom the majority are Christian) and to increase the number of deputies from 55 to 77, but in November 1951, under a new electoral law, the number was reduced to 99. The Muslim rate of natural increase is higher than that of the Christians and it is probably for this reason that no census has been taken since. In other ways the constitution and administration are similar to those of Syria already described.

Internal Politics

As in Syria, a European type of political party system has not yet evolved and the struggle has been not only between different cliques of ruling families backed by great commercial wealth, but also between these rich groups on the one hand and

the judges and the persons amenable to their jurisdiction, shall be exercised by the courts of various classes and degrees. The limits of the judges' powers, the conditions governing the exercise of these powers and the irremovability of judges shall be fixed by law. Judges shall be independent in the exercise of their functions. The decisions and judgments of all courts shall be rendered and executed in the name of the Lebanese people.

Art. 21. Every Lebanese citizen who has completed his twenty-first year and fulfills the conditions laid down by the electoral law shall be an elector.

CHAPTER II—THE LEGISLATIVE POWER

Art. 22 *(abrogated October 25, 1927.)*

Art. 23 *(abrogated October 25, 1927.)*

Art. 24 *(as amended October 25, 1927, and January 21, 1947.)* The Chamber of Deputies shall consist of elected members. Their number and the manner of election shall be determined by the electoral laws in force.

Art. 25 *(as amended January 21, 1947.)* Should the Chamber of Deputies be dissolved, the instrument ordering dissolution must call upon the electors to take part in new elections, which must be held in accordance with Article 24 and within a period not exceeding three months.

CHAPTER III—PROVISIONS RELATIVE TO THE CHAMBER

Art. 26 *(as amended October 25, 1927.)* The Chamber and the Executive Power shall sit at Beirut.

Art. 27 *(as amended October 25, 1927, and January 21, 1947.)* A member of the Chamber shall be deemed to represent the whole nation. No binding mandate may be imposed upon him by his electors.

Art. 28 *(as amended October 25, 1927, and May 8, 1929.)* A Deputy may also at the same time discharge the functions of Minister. Ministers may be selected either from among the members of the Chamber or from persons outside the Chamber.

Art. 29 *(as amended October 25, 1927.)* The cases in which persons are disqualified from becoming Deputies shall be determined by law.

Art. 32 (as amended January 27, 1947). The Chamber of Deputies shall alone be competent to decide on the validity of the election of members. No member may be invalidated except by a majority of two-thirds of the votes of the whole Assembly.

Art. 33 (as amended October 27, 1946). Meetings of the Chamber outside the period of session fixed by law shall be unlawful and ipso facto null and void.

Art. 34 (as amended October 27, 1946). The Chamber shall hold two ordinary sessions each year. The first shall open on the first Tuesday following March 15th and shall terminate at the end of the month of May. The second shall open on the first Tuesday following October 15th. It shall be primarily devoted to the discussion and adoption of the budget. It shall last until the end of the year.

Art. 35 (as amended October 27, 1946). The ordinary sessions shall begin and end automatically on the dates fixed in Article 34.

The President of the Republic may convene the Chamber in extraordinary session. The date of the opening and termination of extraordinary sessions shall be fixed by Decree.

The agenda shall be fixed in the Decree summoning the Chamber to assemble.

The President of the Republic shall be required to summon the Chamber of Deputies to assemble at the request of an absolute majority of its lawful members.

Art. 36 (as amended October 27, 1946). The Chamber shall not be validly constituted unless the majority of its lawful members are present.

Decisions shall be taken by a majority vote. Should the votes be equal, the question under discussion shall be rejected.

Art. 37 (as amended October 27, 1946). The discussions of the Chamber shall be public. Nevertheless, at the request of the Government or of five of its members, the Chamber shall meet in private. It shall decide later whether the discussion on the same question is to be continued in public.

Art. 38. Votes shall be given verbally or by the members rising or remaining in their seats, except in the case of elections, when a secret vote shall be taken. In the case of all draft laws and when

37 Docs 3-4 (no date) 1953 MI Middle East
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§46 §47 the question of confidence is raised, the vote shall always be taken by roll-call and verbally.

Art. 37 (as amended October 17, 1927, and May 8, 1929). Every Deputy is fully entitled during ordinary and extraordinary sessions to call upon Ministers to justify their action.

A proposal of this kind may not be discussed and voted upon until at least five days after it is submitted to the Assembly and communicated to the Minister or Ministers concerned.

Art. 38 (as amended October 17, 1927). No bill which has been rejected by the Chamber may be re-introduced during the same session.

Art. 39 (as amended October 17, 1927). No member of the Chamber may be prosecuted or steps taken for his arrest in respect of opinions expressed or votes given by him during the term of his mandate.

Art. 40 (as amended October 17, 1927). During the session, no member of the Chamber may be prosecuted or arrested for a criminal offence without the authorization of the Chamber, unless he is taken in the act.

Art. 41 (as amended October 17, 1927, and January 21, 1947). In the event of a vacancy occurring in the Chamber, the seat shall be filled within two months. The new member's term of office shall terminate with the expiry of his predecessor's term of office. The vacancy shall not be filled if the mandate of the Chamber has less than six months to run.

Art. 42 (as amended October 17, 1927). General elections for the renewal of the Assembly and the designation of appointed Deputies shall take place within the sixty days preceding the expiry of their mandate.

Art. 43 (as amended October 17, 1927). The Chamber shall draw up its own rules of procedure.

Art. 44 (as amended October 17, 1927, and January 21, 1947). Every time a new Chamber is elected and at the opening of the October session, the Chamber, under the presidency of its oldest member, the two youngest members acting as secretaries, shall elect separately, by secret ballot and by an absolute majority of the votes cast, a President, Vice-President and two Secretaries. At the third

57; Davis S-4 (no date)[1955] MI Middle East
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ballot, a relative majority shall be sufficient. Should the votes be equal, the oldest candidates shall be elected. §43

Art. 45 *(as amended October 17, 1927).* Members of the Chamber shall only vote if they are present at the meeting; voting by proxy shall not be allowed.

Art. 46 *(as amended October 17, 1927).* The Chamber alone has the right to maintain order at its meetings through its President.

Art. 47. *(as amended October 17, 1927).* All petitions to the Chamber must be made and submitted in writing. They may not be presented in person or at the bar of the Chamber.

Art. 48. *(as amended October 17, 1927).* The remuneration of members of the Chamber shall be determined by law.

CHAPTER IV—THE EXECUTIVE POWER

Art. 49 *(as amended October 17, 1927, May 8, 1929, and June 21, 1947).* The Chamber of Deputies shall elect the President of the Republic by secret ballot and by a two-thirds majority of the votes. After the first ballot, an absolute majority shall be sufficient. The President shall be elected for a term of six years.* He may be re-elected only after an interval of six years. No person shall be eligible for the office of President of the Republic unless he fulfils the conditions of eligibility for the Chamber of Deputies. §43 §43

Art. 50. Before assuming office, the President of the Republic shall take an oath of fidelity before Parliament to the Lebanese Nation and the Constitution, in the following terms:

"I swear by Almighty God to observe the Constitution and laws of the Lebanese People and to maintain the independence of the Lebanon and its territorial integrity."

Art. 51 *(as amended October 17, 1927).* The President of the Republic shall promulgate laws after they have been adopted by the Chamber. He shall supervise their execution and for that purpose he shall have the power to issue regulations, but not to modify the actual laws or set aside their provisions.

He shall have the right to pardon. Amnesties may not be granted except by law.

Art. 52 *(as amended October 17, 1927, and November 6, 1943).* The President of the Republic shall negotiate and ratify treaties. He

*See the Provisional Constitutional Law of May 21, 1926, art. 1 (p. 308 below).—Ed.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

In Lebanon the preparations for the elections took longer to complete. The main question at issue was that of the distribution of seats in the new Chamber. It was agreed that the Chamber should consist only of elected members, not on previously of a majority of elected and a minority of nominated ones; but Dr. Tabit's suggestions for allocating seats between the sects were opposed by the Moslems. M. Helou, who had succeeded General Catroux as Delegate-General in June, was compelled to replace Dr. Tabit by Petro Trad; and finally an agreed settlement was reached by which the Christian sects would have 50 seats and the Moslems 25.

Elections were held at the end of August. As in previous elections, the differences between the candidates were largely personal; but there was also a conflict of principle involved, the more extreme supporters of Lebanese independence, with Emile Eddé as their most prominent figure, being opposed by the more moderate advocates of autonomy, led by Bishara al-Khuri, and the Arab nationalists. The former were completely defeated in spite of the support given them by the French authorities. On September 21st the Chamber met and elected Bishara al-Khuri President of the Republic by 44 votes to 26.

The new President asked Riyadh as-Solh to form a Ministry. A Sunni Moslem, by origin from Southern Lebanon, Riyadh as-Solh had for long been recognised as one of the leaders of the Arab nationalists in Lebanon, and had been an associate of Shukri al-Quwatli in the "Istiqlal" group.

The new Ministry was composed as follows :—

Prime Minister and Minister of Finance	Riyadh as-Solh.
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice and Education	Khalil Abu Shahla.
Minister of the Interior and of Posts and Telegraphs	Chevalier Chamoun.
Minister of Foreign Affairs and Public Works	Sabri Tayla.
Minister of Defence and Hygiene	Amin Majid Arslan.
Minister of Food Supply and National Economy	Adil Osayran.

of the minority problem contained in it was satisfactory. When the Treaty was ratified, it would firmly establish on a contractual basis a French influence which the far-long maintenance of an authoritarian régime might in the long run compromise.

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In Lebanon the signature of the Franco-Lebanese Treaty was welcomed by the Maronites and many other sections of the population. The Sunnis, however, regarded it as a blow to their aim of reunion with Syria; their anger found expression in communal clashes in Beirut and elsewhere at the end of 1936. In spite of their opposition, however, steps were immediately taken to carry out the policy of the Treaty by re-establishing self-governing institutions. The Constitution of 1926 was restored in January, 1937; the Chamber met, and Khair ad-Din al-Ahdab, a Sunni, formed a Ministry. But it soon became apparent that the signature of the Treaty and the revival of constitutional forms had not affected the essential nature of Lebanese political life, which continued to be dominated by sectarian issues.

A new electoral law was passed in 1937, replacing the existing Chamber by a new and larger one, two-thirds elected on a sectarian basis and one-third nominated. The elections of November, 1937, were marked by corruption on an extensive scale; and the Chamber which resulted from them, and which remained in being until 1939, was remarkable only for the bitterness and complexity of its internal dissensions. The Ministries of the Amir Khalid Shihab and Abdallah al-Yafi succeeded those of Khair ad-Din al-Ahdab, and none of them had any sensible legislative or other advance to show.

The consequence of this was a general loss of interest and faith in the constitutional system as it existed in Lebanon. It was not simply that the established leaders and the parliamentary parties, the Chamber, Constitutionalists and so on, ceased to possess even so limited a hold over public opinion as they had perhaps had; more than that, Lebanese began to ask themselves what purpose was served by the existence of a costly Parliament, filled with landowners and lawyers, wasting its time in sectarian quarrels and showing no effective interest in the country's welfare. Had not Lebanon been better ruled under the simple system which had existed

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tional Education conducts a few schools with complementary classes, two normal schools (one for men and one for women), a School of Arts and Crafts including a course in agriculture, and a conservatory of music.

The Lebanese public educational system, therefore, is by itself incomplete. Only by relating it to the systems of private and foreign schools—which roughly fall into two types, the French and the American-British—does it become a complete, though diversified, system. The description of education in Lebanon will have to follow a somewhat different pattern than the one used for the other school systems. A description of the organization, administration, and finance of public education will be followed by a description of the public primary and special schools and the public examinations. Next, there will be a description of the French, American, and British schools, which set the pattern for most if not all private schools, and the account will end with a consideration of the various types of private schools.

The Administration of Public Education

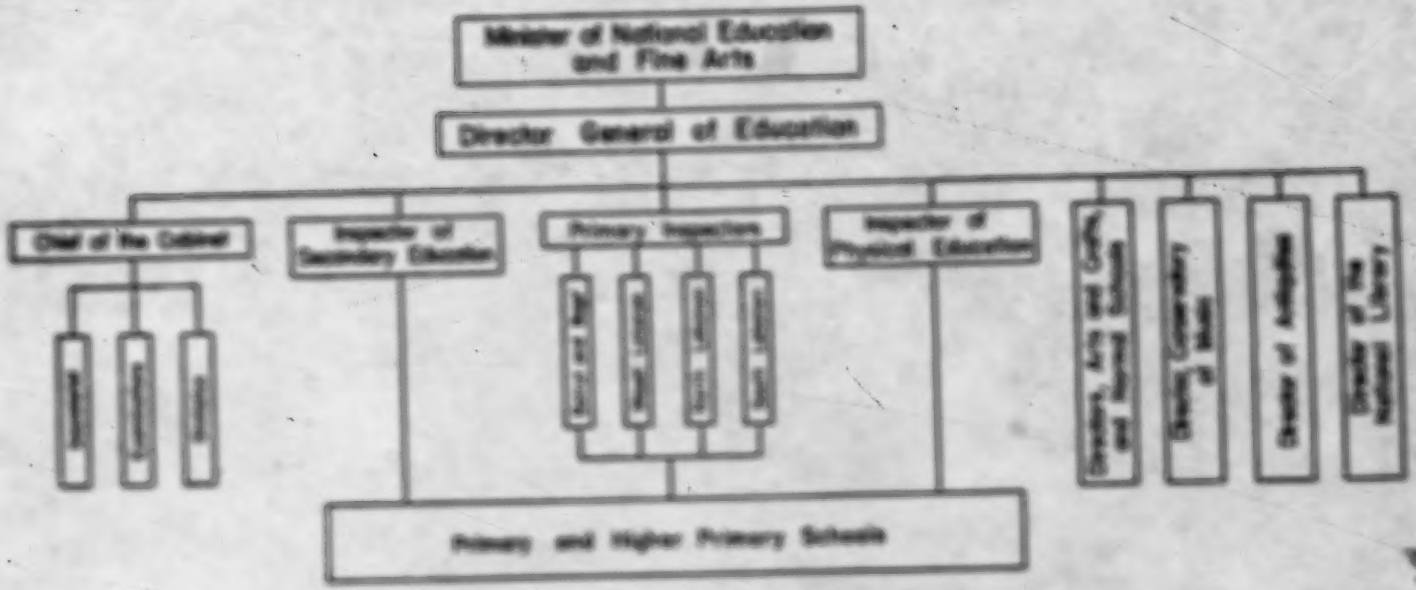
The administration of public education in Lebanon is centralized and is entrusted to the Ministry of National Education and Fine Arts. This is sketched in Chart XIII. The head of the Ministry is a member of the Council of Ministers and is responsible to the Lebanese Parliament. For the last few years the Minister of National Education has also occupied another ministerial chair, usually that of foreign affairs. He has, therefore, been able to give only part of his time to the Ministry of National Education.

Under the Minister is the Director General of Education, who is the permanent executive. At the time of the visit of the Commission of the American Council on Education, the Director General was also occupying an administrative position in the executive department of the Republic, and was giving only part of his time to his functions at the Ministry of Education.

The burden of the work of the Ministry of National Education, therefore, fell on the shoulders of the Chief of the Cabinet of the Ministry of Education who seemed in effect to be doing the main work of the Director General. During several visits by the Commission to the office of the Minister in an effort to secure material for the present study, it found him in the process of supervising the preparation, administration, and correction of the public examinations, and working on the new decree concerning private schools and the passage of the decrees embodying the new

Chart XIII

LEBANON: ADMINISTRATIVE ORGANIZATION OF THE MINISTRY OF NATIONAL EDUCATION AND FINE ARTS, 1946



44:Matthews and Akrawi E, C-3 (1945-1949)1949 MI Middle East
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programs of study. His office was usually full of inspectors, heads of schools and other establishments of the Ministry, and of teachers and others who were trying to transact business with him in his official capacity.

The Chief of the Cabinet's office consists of three sections: (1) the Secretariat, which includes clerks and typists, one of whom acts as an accountant, while another has charge of the files and archives of the Ministry; (2) the Examinations Section, with two clerks, one of whom has charge of the stores; (3) the Statistical Section, with two clerks in charge.

Such is the constitution of the purely administrative side of the comparatively small central office of the Ministry in Beirut. The regional administration is in the hands of the four primary inspectors who have charge of the four regions into which Lebanon is divided for purposes of educational administration. These are: North Lebanon with Tripoli as a center; Mount Lebanon, which is the central portion of Lebanon facing the sea, with Ba'abdah, the old capital, as a center; Beirut and Bekaa', which includes those sections of the country lying on the east side of the mountain range, with a center at Ma'allaqah Zahlah; and South Lebanon, which includes the southern provinces on both sides of the range, with a center in Sidon. Each region is headed by a chief, who, in addition to his duty of inspecting public and private schools, is in charge of all the administrative work. These regional offices are small, with the result that the administrative work of the inspector tends to reduce his inspectorial or supervisory work to a minimum.

Two other inspectors have their headquarters in the Ministry of National Education—the Inspector of Secondary Education and the Inspector of Physical Education. Since there are only a few incomplete public secondary schools, which in reality are upper primary schools (*écoles primaires supérieures*), the work of the Inspector of Secondary Education is primarily the inspection of private and foreign secondary schools. As in the days of the French mandate, when the foreign schools enjoyed a privileged position and were inspected by officials from the High Commissioner's Department of Education, the duties of an Inspector of Secondary Education have not been heavy. However, with the adoption of the new decree concerning private and foreign schools emphasizing the right of supervision by the Ministry of Education, the duties of the Inspector of Secondary Education are likely to grow. As his title implies, the duties of the Inspector of Physical Education are to supervise and encourage physical education and games, scout activities, and various forms of sport inside and outside the schools.

44 Matthews and Akrawi 8, C-3 (1945–1948) 1949 ME Middle East
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Four schools, situated in Beirut, are directly connected with the Ministry. These are the School of Arts and Crafts which includes a section on agriculture, the Normal School for Men, the Normal School for Women, and the National Conservatory of Music. The Directorate of Antiquities and the Directorate of the National Library complete the list of the institutions directly connected with the Ministry of National Education.

Educational Finance

The support of public education comes almost entirely from the central budget of the government. Table 71 shows the growth of the educational budget in selected years of the last quarter of a century. This budget, which includes that of the Directorate of Antiquities, has ranged between 5.6 to 8.4 percent of the total budget of the state. The influence of wartime inflation can be seen from the almost sevenfold jump in the educational budget between 1941 and 1945, while in the corresponding period the number of schools increased from 287 to 308 and the enrollment from 21,056 to 30,113.

It was not possible to obtain the salary scale for public-school teachers. A scale set down by a government decree to serve for private and foreign schools fixes salaries at figures probably not very different from those paid in the public schools. The system of classifying teachers as instructors, assistant instructors, and teachers is almost identical with the public-school system. Instructors must be holders of university degrees, assistant instructors must have the *baccalauréat* or the Lebanese teaching certificate, and teachers must hold the Lebanese *brevet* or its equivalent. Monthly salaries for instructors range from £L75 to £L335 ($34 to $161), for assistant instructors from £L45 to £L85 ($20 to $39), and for teachers from £L35 to £L55 ($16 to $25). Salaries are paid for twelve months.

During World War II, cost-of-living allowances were added for government officials and teachers. These ranged from 250 percent for salaries that were £L40 a month or less, to 45 percent for the highest salaries paid by the state. In addition, married teachers received £L14 each for the wife and first child, and £L10 for each additional child up to five children.

A pension plan for government officials allows half the average salary for the last three years after thirty years of service. A person who has been in government service for thirty years and who has attained the age of fifty-five may ask to be retired or may be sent to retirement by the government after due investigation by a committee. Sixty-five is the latest age for retirement, though under special circumstances a person may be allowed to serve on a yearly basis up to the age of seventy.

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II. Lebanon

(Visited 1 - 15 December 1958)

1. The total area of Le ..non is about 4,500 square miles, the population being estimated in 1960 at one and a quarter million, of whom a high proportion live in the principal towns. For many years there has been considerable migration to foreign countries, and it is said that as many Lebanese live abroad as are to be found in their native land. 131 162 167

2. Lebanon is mainly a fruit-growing agricultural country, but pipelines from Middle East oil fields are being laid across the country to connect with newly constructed installations and harbours on the coast. In due course this development may influence the economy of the country. 241 345

3. Great hopes of agricultural expansion - to be accompanied, it is claimed, by schemes of rural community development - are based upon the Litani Dam and irrigation project. At the time of our visit this project was under discussion between the Government and the United States Technical Cooperation Administration (Point IV), but matters had not advanced sufficiently to justify our attempting to follow in detail the intentions with regard to community welfare centres. 241 [illegible] 185

4. The agency of the Lebanese Government responsible for social Welfare has only recently (1951) been raised to the status of Ministry. Until ver recently, there had been a change of government and the new Minister of Social ... were also held two other portfolios. The Director-General of the Department ... had not been continuously in office over the past years. No reply had been received by the relevant Department to the Secretary-General's request (at the end of 1951) for information on community welfare centres. Background information was difficult to obtain. A decree which would have permitted the provision of multi-purpose community centres and enabled government support to be given to such or by way of services, had been promulgated in 1951 (Appendix I). The decree had not, however, been put into operation. The initiative in instituting or developing such multi-purpose activities as we had the opportunity of seeing at Chhoura, Anjar and Jibmalil had come mainly from voluntary agencies. [illegible] 185

5. We visited the Chhoura Intermediate Centre and Anjar project on the 4th and 10th of December. The purpose of the original centre was to provide for Armenian refugees from World War I and in the earlier stages both the Near East Foundation and the Armenian Homenetmen Homenetmen Corporation shared responsibilities for financing and management of settlements in this area. More recently, the Near East Foundation decided to concentrate on activities in Syria and Greece and brought the work at Chhoura to a close. Mr. Peridekis of the Near East Foundation, who had had a long experience between the wars in community organization in Bulgaria before coming to Chhoura, then transferred to the Homenetmen Corporation. With his wife, he now supervises the various activities in a group of villages situated to the South Valley between Beirut and Damascus. These activities include control of malaria, recreational programmes, organization of marketing, provision of workshops and plants, poultry breeding, milk co-operatives and educational projects. 961 185

6. At the time of our visit an international lecturer in co-operative organization (Point IV) was in progress. The co-operative milk marketing scheme appeared to be successful and to make a useful contribution to the milk supply of Beirut. The housing provided for the settlers and the general appearance of the village at Anjar were satisfactory. Most of the male village of Anjar-Anjar were Kurdish and the language used was Armenian. In a former Armenian school known there was a primitive embroidery and rug [illegible]

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ANNEXE 1

Lebanese Republic

Decree No. 649
For the Establishment of Social
Centres in Rural Areas

The President of the Lebanese Republic, etc. etc.
On the motion of the Minister of Social Affairs

Decrees the following:

Article 1. Rural Social Centres to be established as determined by the Minister of Social Affairs - their function will be to carry out all the social services in the rural areas.

Article 2. The social centre shall consist of: a hall to be used for meetings and lectures, rural library, office for the social worker, clinic for vaccination and treatment of out-patients, with laboratory, dispensary, maternity and child care, an institute for delinquent children, literacy classes; workshops for rural industries; public baths and laundry, rural club and public playground; stable for bulls, a demonstration field of three dunams, for ploughing and demonstrating new methods of agriculture.

Article 3. All expenses of a rural social centre will be paid out of the funds allotted for this purpose in the budget of the Ministry of Social Affairs.

Article 4. The Ministry of Social Affairs, in accordance with the customary regulations, shall have the right to acquire the land or property on which the rural centre is built.

Article 5. The Ministry for Municipal Improvements shall design and undertake the work needed for the construction of these centres, on behalf of the Ministry of Social Affairs, in accordance with the prescribed regulations.

Article 6. The Ministries of Social Affairs, Agriculture, Economics, Health and Public Works shall contribute to the furnishing and equipment of the rural social centres the articles which each Department is concerned to provide. To facilitate the establishment of social centres, existing equipment may be transferred to a rural centre which will be a prototype.

Article 7. The social centre shall be administered by an official of the Ministry of Social Affairs. Each Ministry shall have on the centre a separate section through which it provides its particular services. The Council of Ministers will decide the programme of work for the social centre, the number of officials, the requirements and qualifications of candidates for the posts.

Article 8. A unified budget for the social centre shall be drawn up and approved by the Council of Ministers. It shall classify the expenditure and apportion it between the different Ministries, according to the functions undertaken by each.

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Article 9. If any Agricultural District desires to establish a local social centre, it can make a formal request for such a centre after depositing one-third of the cost of construction and providing a site for the building. The Council of Ministers may decide to grant the request in accordance with legislation to be prescribed for this purpose.

Work shall not start until the necessary financial provision has been approved for the centre in the budget of the Ministry of Social Affairs.

Article 10. This Decree is to be published and promulgated when the need arises.

[illegible] President Bechara Khalil El Khoury

Issued for the President of the Republic

The Minister [illegible] Abdallah El Yafi

Minister of Social Affairs: Fuad Abaad

Minister of Interior: Abdallah El Yafi

Minister of Agriculture: Yousef El Sawda

Minister of National Economics: Fuad Abaad

Minister of Finance: Philip Taklia

Minister of Health and Public Aid: Nadim El Jamal

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651 652 system of private schools. The amount spent on defence declined, but the share fell from 22.7 per cent of total expenditure in 1947 to 17.0 in 1954. Similarly, although expenditure on public works increased, their share declined from 13.8 to 13.4 per cent.

Development projects

During the period 1947 to 1954, inclusive, government expenditure on development totalled £L 308 million. Of this £L 177 million was spent through the ordinary budget and £L 131 million through the Development Works Fund, a reserve constituted from the budget surpluses of the war and post-war years.

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Until the creation of the Board of Economic Planning and Development, in February 1953, all development projects were planned and executed by the government departments concerned, principally the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Agriculture. The Board, which consists of five ex-officio and seven appointed members, is charged with examining the country's economic resources and possibilities, establishing a general development plan and suggesting procedures for financing it. Execution is, however, entrusted to the departments concerned. 1/

[312] 652 Irrigation and power

Expenditure on irrigation and drainage from both the ordinary budget and the development fund totalled about £L 31 million in the period 1947 to 1954. This expenditure has resulted in the irrigation of 27,000 hectares, an increase of 13% per cent over the previously irrigated area; an additional 800 hectares has been irrigated by a private concessionaire. The projects carried out have been on a small scale.

The principal irrigation projects being carried out or under consideration are the following: Qualoun, Akkar, Tamaniah, Litaniani and Litani projects, which cover between them an additional 45,000 hectares of land. The [illegible] projects are the Tamaniah, Qualoun, Nahr Ibrahim and Litani projects. The Litani project, on the Litani River, was begun in 1953 and at present comprises 1,800 hectares; it is to be extended to another 2,500 hectares. In 1954, [illegible] were estimated at £L 11 million, of which £L 2.3 million had been spent by the end of 1954. Completion is scheduled for 1957.

1/ Rule 1, Decree, The Organic Statute of Lebanon. This represents £L 2 per cent of total expenditure during this period; the figures for 1953 to 1954 are budget estimates.

2/ On 9 November 1954, a Ministry of Economic Planning was established. It incorporates the Development Board, the Bureau of Statistics, the Bureau of Public, the Bureau of Trade and Control of All Companies and Associations and the Bureau of Mines. To these are added a secretariat and two newly created bureaux dealing with co-ordination and expenditure (Economic Commerce Weekly, 7 February 1955).

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six hydroelectric stations, with an aggregate capacity of 171,000 kilowatts. 1/ The scheme calls for construction of three major dams, five others, 210 kilometres of irrigation canals, 41 kilometres of tunnels and 12 kilometres of high tension transmission lines. The cost of the dams is estimated at £L 80 million, that of the power plants at £L 105 million and that of the transmission system at £L 28 million; total costs, including irrigation, are put at £L 342 million. Construction is planned over a period of twenty-five years. Annual operation, maintenance and equipment charges are estimated at about £L 20 million. Benefits are calculated at about £L 12 million increase in the annual gross value of crops and a net average annual return of £L 19 million from the sale of power.

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Six important measures have been taken to get this project under way. A draft law has been presented to Parliament, providing for formation of a national electricity and water corporation, with a capital of one million shares of £L 100 each. Fifty-five per cent of the capital will be held by the Government, and 20 to 30 per cent will be reserved for Lebanese citizens. An individual may own more than 100 shares. The corporation would plan and execute all future irrigation work and power development in Lebanon, present concessionaires having the option of continuing until the end of their term of concession or of exchanging their concessions for shares in the corporation. The corporation's concession is for sixty-nine years.

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In July 1954, a National Litani Office was created, as an autonomous government agency charged with implementing the Litani project. In September, tenders were invited from engineering firms to act as consulting and supervising agent for the Office. There are indications that the Office is unlikely to implement the first phase of the project, which calls for a dam [illegible] at Qaroun, a diversion tunnel to the Nuari River, and a dam on the Nuari, two hydroelectric stations, with an aggregate capacity of 37,000 kilowatts, and the irrigation of 5,700 hectares above Qaroun. The cost of this phase is estimated at £L 177 million. 2/ The International Bank for Reconstruction and Development has sent a team of experts to evaluate the project, and it is hoped that a loan will be forthcoming.

[illegible]

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Transport projects have absorbed the greater part of government expenditure on development in the post-war period. Between 1945 and 1954, inclusive, expenditure through the ordinary budget on "roads, ports, buildings and other works" amounted to £L 113 million, out of a total of £L 173 million. In the years 1949 to 1953, inclusive, expenditure from the Development Funds

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1/ The output of these stations is estimated to range from a maximum of about 700 million kilowatt-hours to a minimum of about 480 million. In an average year, output is estimated at 620 million. The hydroelectric plants are to be supplemented by thermal stations with a capacity of [illegible],000 kilowatts. The cost and output of these stations are not included in the figures given above.

2/ [illegible], 26 July 1954, 1 September 1954, and 25 October 1954.

[For data on international relations leading to the independence of Lebanon and observations on nationalistic movements within Lebanon during the French Mandate, see Category IIk, pp. 78-129; and 272-286.]

[illegible], 718, 648, 664

[illegible]
Syria — [illegible]
Israel [illegible]
Jordan [illegible]
Iraq [illegible]
Lebanon [illegible]

//For an account of the formation and growth of the Arab Successor States after World War I, the Arab Nationalist Movement, relations between the Arab countries and the great Powers, see H. Sonné, [illegible] Middle East, category 116, pp. 77-87.//

[For a survey of the political history of Lebanon before and during the French mandate, and information on westernization, pan-Arabism, and nationalism in Lebanon, see Ph Hitti, 1633 Syria, category 11b, entire source.]

GOVERNMENT TRANSACTIONS

This section covers certain transactions of the Lebanese Government and of other governments and international agencies in Lebanon, not already mentioned either under merchandise trade, foreign travel or transportation. Specifically are included as a debit the Lebanese Government's expenditures abroad on diplomatic and consular representations, its contributions to international institutions, its scholarships to Lebanese students abroad, and its foreign debt payments; on the credit side, are listed the receipts from government credits abroad, consular receipts, royalties paid by concessionaires, local expenditures of international agencies, and the diplomatic, consular and cultural expenditures of foreign governments in Lebanon. In the latter, however, are not included those governments' expenditures for economic or technical assistance as these constitute technically "transfers", i.e., are transactions for which there is no quid pro quo whatever (cf. p. 48).

1. Debits

(a) The Lebanese Government's diplomatic and consular expenditures abroad can be easily ascertained from the final budget accounts; they are stated at L.L. 1.7 million in 1951 and L.L. 1.9 million (including payments made on the government year's account) in 1952. These figures include Lebanon's annual financial contributions to international agencies. These contributions are so small that it has not been thought worthwhile to list the items.

(b) Government scholarships to Lebanese students abroad, together with small educational grants, totalled L.L. 0.4 million in both 1951 and 1952. These include appropriations from the ministries of National Education and Agriculture and from the Directorate of Civil Aviation.

(c) In 1951, Lebanese interest on the borrowed to the official, oil and dollar reserves had to continue payment on the con-

[illegible] monetary transfer (i.e., 25%) of the quota of its subscription to the capital of the International Monetary Fund. For this purpose it had to repurchase from the Fund Lebanese currency for $14.06 million, or L.L. 3.5 million at the 1963 rate of exchange. As this transaction brought Lebanon's gold and dollar contribution to the required proportion of its quota, no further repurchase was necessary in 1963.

(ii) In 1963 and 1963, the Lebanese Government made yearly payments of L.L. 3.3 million to France in part settlement of a debt of L.L. 19.8 million which arose in 1946 as a result of the transfer to Lebanon of French property located on its territory. An annual instalment of L.L. 3.7 million was also owned to the British Government in payment for the Tripoli-Beirut Railroad. Total foreign debt payments were then L.L. 6.3 million a year.

(iii) Total debts under government transactions were, therefore, L.L. 9.6 million in 1963 and L.L. 9.3 million in 1963.

3. Credits

(i) When, as a result of the suspension of the Lebanese currency from the System in 1956, there [illegible] country's currency in circulation on its territory, Lebanon was left with a balance of L.L. 60.0 million. The Syrian Government agreed in 1963 to settle this balance in five equal semi-annual instalments. The first one (L.L. 6.0) was paid in October of that year. The Lebanese Government has no other credits abroad.

(ii) Lebanon's [illegible] receipts (i.e. income from fees, taxes and other dues charged by its consulates abroad) amounted to L.L. 6.0 million in 1963 and L.L. 6.4 million in 1963 and are so recorded in the final budget accounts.

(iii)(iv) The same accounts show that total receipts paid by foreign concessionaires (mainly oil) were L.L. 1.3 million in 1963 and L.L. 1.3 million in 1963. Other local expenses of these companies, for current operations, maintenance or expansion, are shown separately (cf. pp. 43-45).

(v) Expenditures of foreign diplomatic missions in Lebanon are difficult to estimate, as no information on the subject is released either by the Lebanese Government or by the

[illegible] normally necessary for an emigrant, presumably in order to obtain foreign exchange regulations in his country of residence, to request a third person who may be coming to Lebanon, or is doing business with Lebanon to pay a given sum to his relatives. Such payments naturally are not entered in bank accounts.

[illegible] It has been impossible to determine emigrants' transfers (i.e., the money they take with them) or funds subsequently sent to them. All the surveys that have been undertaken to date do not indicate anything on that point. A few bankers, known to be in relation with emigrants, were interviewed for that purpose. While refusing to give definite estimates, most of them assured again that annual transfers could not have exceeded L.L. 4 million in 1951 and L.L. 5.7 million in 1952: the difference between the two years reflecting the decline in emigration (cf. Table III).

c. Charitable and Cultural Institutions

[illegible] There are many charitable and cultural institutions in Lebanon, both Lebanese and Foreign which receive donations from abroad. A list of these institutions has been prepared, and a questionnaire sent to each requesting information on the total sum received in kind and in cash, with breakdowns for cash donations according to foreign currency received.[1] Almost all the listed institutions answered, and reported total donations of L.L. 16.5 million in 1951 and L.L. 13.3 million in 1952 (cf. Table III).

d. Governments

[illegible] Under this heading has been included American aid, under the Point IV cooperative programme and the French technical assistance. Both programmes were started in 1951 and have been expanding ever since. Actual expenditures under these programmes did not exceed L.L. 9.2 million in 1951 and L.L. 5.5 million in 1952. These figures, however, do not include the salaries paid by the foreign government concerned to the ever technicians employed under the aid programmes. The salaries have already been included under government transactions (cf. p. 38).

[illegible] See Appendix 4

the palace. Near the residence of the Pasha stands the principal mosque of Belgrade. It is appropriated to the use of the soldiers of the garrison, but is in very bad repair, the plaster having peeled off in large masses from the body of the building, as well as from the minaret by its side. Internally, the whole building is as ruinous as on the outside. Close to the gate which leads into the square stands a tomb, which a former pasha erected to the memory of his daughter, who has the reputation of a saint amongst the Turks. The tomb itself stands in a small apartment with glazed windows; and half a dozen wreaths of flowers strewed on the floor or hanging over the tomb, carried the imagination back to Père la Chaise, and the pot-hook immortelles of a French cemetery. Behind this and a second quadrangle are barracks for the accommodation of about four thousand men, and in a low irregular building in the main square are, at this moment, confined three hundred and sixty Druse prisoners. Their numbers, however, are fast diminishing: a disastrous fortress, a black hole almost as bad as that of Calcutta, and a sun at times hardly less powerful, are converting their sentence of imprisonment into one of death.

However strongly our sympathies are called forth for the suffering Christians of the Lebanon, I confess that the treatment which the Druse chieftains have received has always appeared a shocking instance of the capricious tyranny and injustice which are found throughout Turkey. These chieftains have but too faithfully complied with the traditions of their country and with the

9: Doctor M-S (ca. 1861) 1862
EFS Serbia EFS
Lebanon MF 1
Syria MF 6
Middle East-Turkish Royal MF 2

barbarous instigation of the Government, and it is hard that their fidelity should be rewarded with the cruel punishment which they are now suffering merely to enable that same Government to set itself right in the eyes of Christian Europe. Had it not been for the interference of England and France, it cannot be doubted but that the murder of the Slavonic Christians would have been tacitly approved or even actually rewarded by the Porte; but the authorities which at first prompted and then connived at the massacre of the Christians, have been allowed to purge themselves by visiting the consequences of their sin upon the heads of the instruments of the wrong. Turkey is governed not by acts of parliament, nor even by the hatti-sherifs and firmans of the Porte, nor by treaties made with foreign powers, but by public opinion and the Koran; and so long as the Koran, which is the very foundation of all authority in Turkey, prescribes or encourages acts of outrage towards unbelievers, it is hard that obedience to its dictates should, in order to satisfy the Western powers, subject men to the cruel and continuous torture under which the Druse chieftains are at this moment groaning and dying.

The government of five of the six fortresses which have been reserved by treaty to the Turks, together with the diplomatic intercourse with the Servian authorities, is at present divided between two Pashas, one of whom, Ashir Pasha, possesses the chief rank and authority, and resides in the palace within the fortress of Belgrade. To him is intrusted the conduct of the

of a governor for Lebanon before the latter was displaced by the French (whose historic interests in Lebanon had been recognized by the British Government in the correspondence with the Sherif Hussein). While Faisal and Lawrence were pressing the Arab case to the Paris Peace Conference, the French were consolidating their military hold on the Levant. Eventually Faisal and Clemenceau came to a provisional agreement for an autonomous Syrian state under the tutelage of France (as conceded by Britain in the secret Sykes–Picot Agreement of 1916, which had not been communicated at the time to the Sherif and his sons); but French tutelage was not acceptable to the Damascus politicians who in March 1920 proclaimed Faisal King of an independent Syrian state. In the following month, however, the French obtained Britain's agreement, at the San Remo Conference, to their exercising a Mandate over Syria as well as Lebanon; the new Mandatory dislodged Faisal's little army at Maisalun on 25 July 1920 and entered into possession of Damascus, from which Faisal fled into exile.

The French Mandate, 1920–45

Since Crusader times, France had been interested in protecting the Christians of the Levant, and the twentieth century gave her the added incentive of creating a counter-balance to Britain's growing influence in the Middle East. The Maronites welcomed the French, and the latter accordingly expanded the small area of the Sanjaq of Lebanon to include the cities of Beirut, Tripoli, and Sidon, as well as the Biqa, so as to give this 'Greater Lebanon' the largest possible area in which there would be no danger of a Muslim majority. The French applied to Syria the principle of *divide et impera* and four separate states were set up: that of the Alawis (Jebel Ansariya, including Latakia); that of the Jebel Druze, and Damascus and Aleppo (in 1925 combined into a single state of Syria). The French further encouraged separatism in the Jezira, and designated the area of Antioch and Alexandretta (in which the largest linguistic community was the Turkish) as an autonomous sanjaq.

The majority of Syrians never readily accepted French rule and risings occurred in the Ansariya, near Aleppo, and near Deir ez-Zor; these were soon put down but a greater rebellion began in the Jebel Druze in 1925 and spread to Damascus and to Hama. The French bombarded Damascus in October 1925 and in May 1926 but did not succeed in completely quelling the revolt until August 1927. Thereafter negotiations for a treaty stumbled through the years, punctuated by disturbances, broken off from time to time and marked throughout by intense-

Syria etc.

were on both sides. In Syria (and to a lesser degree, in Lebanon) the possibility of long-term cooperation between the nationalist politicians and the Mandatory was frustrated alike by the attitude of most French officials and by that of the local urban populations who, though they later signed the 1936 treaty, desired full self-government.[1] The advent to power in France of the Front Populaire in 1936 eased the situation: treaties with Syria and Lebanon were negotiated whereby the Mandate was to be transformed into an alliance with independent states, but under which France could still maintain troops in the Levant. However, the French Parliament was unwilling to ratify the Syrian treaty under the lengthening shadow of the impending Second World War, and Syrian indignation was increased when the cession of Hatay (Alexandretta, afterwards renamed Iskenderun) to Turkey by the League of Nations, effectively completed the process. Leading Syrian politicians refused to cooperate with the French on these terms, and on the eve of the outbreak of war the French High Commissioner once again suspended the Syrian constitution and governed the country through French and Syrian officials; the same procedure was applied to Lebanon after the outbreak of war.

When metropolitan France fell in 1940 the Mandate was carried on by the Vichy Government until the latter's acquiescence in the use of the Levant airfields by the German air force occasioned the intervention of British and Free French forces in June 1941. After a short but bitter campaign, the Vichy forces signed an armistice in July 1941. In the struggle between the Allies and the Axis and between Vichy and de Gaulle the Syrians and Lebanese took no part, but their independence had been promised by the Allied Governments. On behalf of the Free French, General Catroux, in a statement on 8 June 1941, proclaimed the end of the Mandate, but in fact the Free French regarded themselves as trustees for France's position, seeking to maintain them by installing Syrian and Lebanese supporters of France in the seats of authority. The Free French had, however, eventually to yield to the demand for popular elections, which was supported by the British Government as soon as the victory at el-Alamein (October 1942) had finally removed the threat of Axis invasion from the Middle East. In Syria the elections of 1943 brought into office the National Bloc with Shukri al-Quwatli as President of the Republic and Saadullah Jabri, Jamil Mardam, and Faris al-Khouri as parliamentary leaders. In the Lebanese elections the same year the leader of the 'Constitutional Bloc',

[1] For details, see A. H. Hourani, Syria and Lebanon (London, 1954, 1946).

Bishara al-Khouri, became President with the pro-Arab Riyad as-Sulh as Prime Minister; these nationalists were not satisfied with mere titular sovereignty but claimed the reality of independence, and in November 1943 a Free French coup to force against them was averted only by a British intervention, endorsed by the United States Government. The Free French were then constrained to transfer more branches of the administration to the Syrian and Lebanese Parliaments, but retained control of the local 'Troupes Spéciales' and obstructed the proper equipping of the Syrian gendarmerie. The French intention was to make this vital conversion of authority conditional upon the conclusion of a Franco-Syrian treaty which would give France much the same strategic, economic, and cultural advantages as Britain had obtained in Iraq by the already obsolescent Treaty of 1930. In March 1945 Syria and Lebanon had been admitted as sovereign states to membership of both of the United Nations and of the League of Arab States, but Syrian nationalists were not prepared to subordinate their sovereignty to an imposed alliance with France, and the landing of a 'contingent' of Senegalese troops immediately after V-Day (in disregard of a personal appeal of Churchill to de Gaulle) was regarded in both Syria and Lebanon as clear evidence of a French resort to coercion. Sporadic outbreaks of violence between the Syrian gendarmerie and the local nationalists on the one hand and the French garrison on the other became general, and when, at the end of May 1945, the local French Commander carried out a bombardment of Damascus the British Government ordered their Commander-in-Chief, Middle East, to intervene, by force if necessary, to secure order in a region whose security was vital for British communications in the still-continuing war in the Far East. The crisis accelerated the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops, concerning which the demands of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments were supported by the Security Council; the process was completed in Syria by 17 April 1946 and in Lebanon by the end of the year.

Between the wars, the French Mandate had allowed political development in Lebanon to produce at least a façade of parliamentary democracy, with arrangements between the Muslim and Christian leaders on the division of political power and prerogatives, and the active commercial and intellectual life of Lebanon made progress with a minimum of government interference. In Syria, however, local opposition which French policy had encouraged made it very difficult for any Syrian Government to hold the people together. Even Damascus, the

Royal Institute of International Affairs [illegible]

foundations for commercial and intellectual progress were less firmly established than in Lebanon, and the Muslim leaders of the political parties were given little opportunity to acquire the technique of government. The root of the trouble was that the French were opposed to self-government and unable to refuse office to nationalist political leaders, except for short, self-defeating periods. But though they failed to foster self-government, the French did much good in both Syria and Lebanon as engineers, doctors, educators, and archaeologists, and performed a valuable service in training at least a cadre of competent civil servants.

With the end of the French Mandate there emerged two sovereign and independent Republics with many mutual and some conflicting interests. For some years the rest of the world failed to distinguish between the two, and it is still possible to find educated persons who suppose that Beirut is the capital of Syria. Syria and Lebanon are, in some senses, mutually dependent or complementary, but they are distinct and their political developments will be considered separately.

Government and Politics

(a) Syria

Under the constitution Syria is a Republic in which the legislative power is in the hands of a Chamber of Deputies numbering 114 members in 1949. The deputies are elected by direct suffrage granted to all men and to women of a certain educational standard. The representation of religious minorities is shown in the table on p. 488 above. The President of the Republic must be a Muslim and is elected for a term of five years by the Parliament; he nominates the Prime Minister who appoints his cabinet ministers. The Parliament is elected for four years but may be dissolved by the President. The constitution was suspended in 1949 by the military dictatorship and a new one on the Presidential model adopted in July 1950.

Damascus is the seat of government and there are ten provinces, each under a Governor who is assisted by a staff of civil servants representing most of the ministries. The provinces (*muhafaz*) are divided in areas, each under a *qaimqam*, who is a civil servant under the Ministry of Interior; the areas are divided into *nahiyas* under mudirs. Within a *nahiya* may be several villages, each of which is rather loosely under the control of the mukhtar who may be elected by the village or appointed by the ministry. The judiciary are independent of the legislature and

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had been fairer than in 1957 and the Opposition had gained seven seats. Abdullah al-Yafi became Premier in June 1957 and remained in office until his place was taken by another Constantinople, Ismet as-Sulh, in February 1958. Opposition to government by the party was still growing, and it is perhaps surprising that no more effective resistance had been made before. In August 1957 the followers of Jumblat and of Chamoun held a meeting at which the Government was attacked, and, although they had only a few seats in Parliament, they gained widespread popular support. The suppression of the Premier was not confined to the Opposition, for not long afterwards Ismet as-Sulh made a speech attacking him and his family. as-Sulh then resigned and the ministries were taken over and administered by civil servants. On 15 September the Opposition parties called a general strike and succeeded, with the aid of the chief of the armed forces, General Fuad Shihab, in bringing about the resignation of the President. General Shihab assumed interim powers as Prime Minister but he refused the presidency and, when the Chamber elected Camille Chamoun to be President, the General resigned to fulfil his pledge that the army would not interfere in politics. The new President found it hard to choose a Muslim Prime Minister who would enjoy the support of the Socialist Party and then at the end of September turned to Khalid Shihab, who had no political affiliations, and requested him to form a Government.

Shihab resigned on 28 April 1959 and was replaced by Sabi Barut but at the end of May President Chamoun dissolved Parliament. Elections were held in July under a new electoral law [promulgated by the President in the autumn of 1957], which reduced the number of deputies from 77 to 99, gave the franchise to women subject to certain educational qualifications, and made voting compulsory for men. Kamal Jumblat's Socialist Party won no seats and the Constitutional Bloc remained the strongest group, but no less than 19 independent deputies were returned. A new government was formed on 18 August by Abdullah al-Yafi, who himself became Minister of the Interior, of Defence and of Information, as well as Prime Minister. The other ministers, members of the Chamber of Deputies, had played no part in Lebanese political life during the previous twelve months.

External Problems and Relationships

Lebanon's attachment to the Western Powers as opposed to Russia is far more assured than that of Syria. The history of the Christians of Mount Lebanon leads them to seek close ties with

Europe and with the United States; but Lebanon has not moved out of step with the Muslim states around her, and she has followed the Arab League line over Palestine and in Egypt's quarrel with Britain and has not agreed to join a Middle East defence organization. She has, however, received arms and military training from Britain and has gladly accepted Point Four aid from the United States.

The main issue of external policy which exercises the Lebanese is the extent of the country's co-operation with Syria and the other Arab states. Some Christians advocate withdrawing the frontiers of the Republic to those of the old Sanjaq of Lebanon together with Beirut; some Muslims want Lebanon to reunite with Syria, and between these extremes discussion will continue. The disagreement with Syria is economic rather than political, but it might gain political significance if Lebanon were to feel isolated to the point at which she felt compelled to come to terms with Israel. At the moment, this is unlikely because Lebanon's friendship with the NATO Powers is a good security against possible incursions of enemies or friends.

Armed Forces[1]

Syria has compulsory military service of eighteen months and, since Shishakli's advent, the draft net is being cast over many who previously escaped. The armed services consume each year a growing share of the budget—in 1951 it may well go past one-third of the total—and in 1950 there were compulsory military courses for the army. The army is grouped in five brigades, each of rather less than 10,000 men, and has tanks, armoured cars, and light, medium, and anti-aircraft artillery and searchlights. Much of the equipment came from France and, though the rest does obtainable, is of doubtful serviceableness. However, Colonel Shishakli is determined to give the army good equipment, and a factory for minor armaments exists near Damascus. German instructors are used by the army and air force and are helping to produce light armaments. The air force is part of the army; 30 aircraft have been received from Britain and the air force still operates two Dakotas taken over from Syrian airways. The armed gendarmerie had its own equipment and fought well in Palestine; it is now under army control as are the police and the force used for bedouin control.

The Lebanese army is about a brigade strong and includes a regiment of armoured troops. Lebanese officers have had connection with the British Army and there is an R.A.F. mission with the Lebanese air force who are using Dr Vampires.

[1] In the following section the two countries are considered together.

[illegible]

[illegible]

ECONOMIC SURVEY

[illegible] Aleppo, and at Rayaq and there are [illegible] handling fields.

The Ports. Since 1950 Beirut has handled [illegible] a million tonnage of cargo a year, an increase of almost [illegible] quarter of a million over the previous figure. The port is a free zone through which goods are shipped to Syria, Iraq and Jordan. But the Syrian Government hopes to divert some of the transit trade from Beirut and has, with the assistance of a loan of £6 million from Saudi Arabia, formed a company to develop Latakia in order to handle about a million tons of goods a year (in 1952 [illegible] tons were handled). Work on the extension of the port was begun by a Yugoslav firm in April 1953. French, Italian, and Russian are ports handling the oil from the pipelines and are little used for other purposes.

Wireless and Telephone. An automatic telephone exchange system covers most of Syria and an automatic exchange is planned for Beirut. Telephone links with Europe and America are available through Beirut and normal communications with the Syrian state broadcasting authority has its large transmitters and broadcasts in Arabic, French, English, and Hebrew. Near Beirut there is a station which broadcasts in Arabic, French, and English.

The 'Common Interests'

Under the Mandates, Syria and Lebanon formed an economic and customs union, the Higher Council of Common Interests, under the direct control of France, which administered customs and excise and controlled communications, navigation, and some other services. On [illegible] control was transferred to the Syrian and Lebanese Governments. The currencies were linked and interchangeable and both the Syrian and Lebanese pounds were largely backed by French francs based on a rate of 0·8p to the piastre (then worth 8p sgl). In order to maintain a good rate on the exchange brought in by oil companies the Lebanese and Syrian pounds were not devalued in 1949 to follow sterling. Exchange was controlled by one department for both countries and the note issue is in the hands of the French Banque de Syrie et du Liban.

But these links were incompatible with the difference that developed in the economic policies of the two countries when they became independent. Syria, in normal years, has a large exportable surplus of agricultural products and little wealth crude, whereas the debtor trade balance of Lebanon is main-

[illegible] See Appendix IV, p. 300 below.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] and cereals

[illegible] payments partly for her exports trade in goods and partly for her gold and currencies market. Syria adopted a controlled economy with import restrictions, protection of Syrian industries, and independence from French financial policy, but Lebanon's natural way to encourage all trade movements and to rely on these support; moreover, the two countries could not agree on the division of customs dues. After years of arguments and negotiations the economic partnership was finally established on 14 March 1950 and customs posts were established along the common frontier. Since then agreements have been drawn up despite Syrian reluctance, but little has been achieved towards the re-establishment of economic union. It is therefore necessary to consider the economies of the two countries separately.

(a) Syria

[illegible]

Over half the [illegible] of Syria is, in fact, under cultivation. Since 1938 there has been a great increase in the number of pumps and tractors in use (there were [illegible] tractors in 1938 and [illegible] in 1951), as the following table shows, the cultivated area can still be extended.

[illegible] OF THE USE OF LAND, 1951

	Syria		Lebanon	
	'000 acres	Percentage of total	'000 acres	Percentage of total
[illegible]				
Cultivated under rainfall	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Cultivated with irrigation	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Forested uplands	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Unproductive				
Forests	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Deserts	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Rivers, mountains and waste	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total area	[illegible]	100	[illegible]	100

Sources: F.A.O. Review of Food and Agricultural Situation, April 1951, Table 18 [illegible] Economic Affairs, Bureau of Statistics, Statistical Abstract, 1951-52.

[illegible]

Some progress in mechanized farming has been made in recent years, but much of the land is tilled as it was 4,000 years ago. The predominant form of land tenure is share-cropping, by tenants on estates of large and medium size. Small holdings under 25 acres prevail in areas of intensive cultivation, and in general are sufficient to maintain only 25 per cent of the rural

[illegible] CHECK AND CURRENCY

[illegible] particularly raw and other finished goods for which Lebanese merchants have agencies for the whole Levant. Another type of transit trade is the exchange and gold markets. In 1950 there was trading in precious metals to a value of £[illegible] million, which dropped in 1951 to £[illegible] and £[illegible] rose to 1952. On these transactions not only has the volume dropped but also the profit, but new rules were made in 1951 and 1952 when the margins on exchange and gold transactions were cut.

[illegible] Middle East anti-Arabian days have had effects on Lebanese commerce as it was bound, if Lebanon continues a policy of welcoming and facilitating foreign capital and merchants, there may be an influx of foreign concerns such as has already occurred as a result of the political disorders of 1951-2. (A tendency in the other direction can be seen in the taking over in March 1952 of the French Beirut electricity company.) But, on the other hand, growing nationalism, prohibitions, and intolerance in her neighbours could leave Lebanon on her own resources. Jordan and Syria are both trying to encourage their own ports and merchants at the detriment of Beirut, and Lebanon must now make her services as middleman and entrepôt more attractive and cheap so that her neighbours will continue to use them. At the same time, if these neighbours oppress Beirut too much, they might threaten Lebanon with ruin and it is conceivable that she might be compelled to attempt to win a replacement of the lost source of income in association with Israel.

Finance

The Lebanese pound of 100 piastres is covered by the French franc under an agreement of 31 January 1948, and Lebanon is a member of the International Monetary Fund and of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, with a quota of $22 million. At the end of 1951 40 per cent of the money circulating was covered by gold and a further 5 per cent by foreign currency—the gold cover has been steadily strengthened, to be 5 per cent at the end of 1950, to 27 at the end of 1951—when the gold backing amounted to £[illegible] million—and to be 6 per cent by April 1952. This increase in the gold cover results from the part-repayment of an obligation incurred by Syria in 1948, a further instalment was to be repaid in October 1952. In 1951 there were £[illegible] million in note circulation, £[illegible] million, and in 1951 £[illegible] million, but by the middle of 1952 the circulation had dropped to £[illegible] million and is estimated to amount this

[illegible]

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Lebanon MAE1

Still another important distinction is that between the old Sanjaq of Lebanon and the districts which were added to it by the French to make the Lebanese Republic, and which had formerly been part of the vilayets of Beirut and Damascus. The inhabitants of the former are mainly Maronites, Druzes and Greek Catholics; the latter include Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholics in all parts, Armenians in Beirut, Sunnis in the coastal towns, Shi'is in the south and the Biqa'. The former have a tradition—a political tradition of autonomy, a social tradition of feudalism, a tradition of religious tolerance—which binds them together and which was sufficiently strong to make the autonomous Sanjaq function successfully; the latter, however, are not part of the Lebanese tradition and do not possess any common tradition of their own. In addition, at least one of the communities, the Sunnis, and important elements in most of the others, never wanted to be incorporated in Greater Lebanon. The tension between those communities which are part of the real Lebanon and those which are not still continues.

French Policy

A State so deeply divided both in structure and in ideas as the Lebanese Republic and without any unifying national spirit could not continue to exist, at least in its present form, unless there were some external power controlling it closely and interfering continually in its affairs. Until 1945, this external control was provided by the Mandatory Power. Her policy was directed towards making Lebanon a bulwark of French influence. This aim had led to the creation of an independent Lebanon and the extension of its frontiers. It also inspired the attempts to maintain a Christian majority in spite of the extension of the frontiers and the more rapid increase of the Moslem population: this was one of the reasons for the settlement of the Armenian refugees around Beirut. Every attempt was made to attach the Christians more closely to France: by the rapid and systematic spread of French culture, by favouring the Christians in political and administrative matters and by playing upon their fears of Moslem persecution. An analogous appeal was made to the heterodox Moslems, although to a less extent; and even with the Sunnis an attempt was made to Gallicize them by means of education.

Among the Christians preference was given to the Uniates and more particularly to the Maronites, who regarded themselves and were generally regarded as the dominant element in the life of the

Republic. At the same time, however, an attempt was made to keep the other sects hopeful and satisfied enough to prevent them trying to break up the Republic. This was done by the careful distribution of posts, large and small, among members of the different sects, and by the encouragement of Lebanese particularist feeling.

Sectarianism in Politics

In a country divided so fundamentally and in so many different ways, it has not been possible to create any genuine sense of solidarity. From its beginning, at least until 1943, the Lebanese Republic was only held together by the control and constant intervention of France; within the framework provided by that control, sectarian feeling maintained and even increased its strength.

The Constitution of the Lebanese Republic, promulgated in 1926, provided for a political organization which should take into account the sectarian divisions of the country. It laid down two principles. The first was that all Lebanese citizens were equal before law, possessed of the same rights and duties, and equally admissible to all public offices, without any distinction (Articles 7 and 12). The other was that, at least provisionally, the confessions should be equitably represented in public offices and in the Ministry, in so far as that did not detract from the welfare of the State (Article 95).

All parts of the political organization of the State show the influence of these principles. Thus the President of the Republic has always been a Christian. To counterbalance this, the Prime Minister has usually been a Sunni Moslem, and the other Ministries have been distributed among the confessions. The Chamber of Deputies, during periods when it has been functioning, has been so composed as to represent the confessions roughly in proportion to their numerical strength; deputies have been elected by their co-religionists, organized for the purpose on a confessional as well as a geographical basis.

In matters of appointments and promotions in the public service, the equitable representation of the sects is a more important consideration than merit, in the minds not only of those who make appointments but also of the public, and more especially of the leaders of the different communities, who watch closely to see that the balance is not overturned.

Lebanon, and then the way will be open for close relations, particularly in the economic sphere. As against this, those who hold either of the first two views look forward to a time when Lebanon will be a province, or most an autonomous province, of a Syrian or Arab State. The adherents of the fifth view, however, hope to see Lebanon a member-state of a Syrian or Arab federation, with the same status and freedom of action as other member-states. 23 9 | 8 6

Developments since 1941

From 1918, when the Lebanese Republic was established and its political machinery began to function, until 1941 there was no essential change in the structure of Lebanon. In 1936, it is true, a Franco-Lebanese Treaty was negotiated which provided for the complete independence of Lebanon after a number of years, but it was not ratified. 5-8 ●

In 1941, soon after the occupation of the Levant States by Allied Forces, General Catroux proclaimed the independence of Lebanon in a document which stated, among other things, that the Government of Lebanon would guarantee equality of civil, religious and political rights among all its nationals without any distinction.

In 1943 the first steps were taken to carry out the policy of independence by the holding of elections for the Chamber. The composition and actions of the Chamber and of the Ministry which emanated from it showed that a considerable change had taken place in the ideas and positions of the different sects during the past few years.

(i) The greater part of the politically conscious Lebanese desire an extension of autonomy, and are no longer willing to tolerate as great a measure of foreign interference in their internal affairs as under the French Mandate.

(ii) There is an increasing number who wish to end the French connexion altogether. This group is composed of two sections: first, those who still want foreign protection but believe that France is no longer capable of giving it, and therefore look to Great Britain to replace her; secondly, those who repudiate the whole idea of protection and believe that the only security for the special position of Lebanon lies in the good will of the neighbouring countries.

(iii) Many Arab nationalists who formerly desired the reduction

[illegible]

[illegible] Lebanon in the Arab World

[illegible] Lebanon in its old frontiers or even the closest complete abolition of its autonomy now desire to preserve the enlarged Lebanon at least as a temporary expedient: Greater Lebanon with its large (and increasing) Muslim population is much less whole-heartedly separatist than a smaller entity Muslim Lebanon would be, and in addition it provides the possibility for the development of a non-sectarian Arab nationalism. For the same reasons, many Lebanese nationalists now desire to return to the smaller Lebanon, with its large Christian majority.

All these problems were involved in the Franco-Lebanese crisis of November 1943. As a result of that crisis Lebanon secured a greater degree of self-government. A further step was taken in 1944, when representatives of the Lebanese Government participated in the conference of Alexandria which laid the foundations of the League of Arab States. The Protocol issued at the end of the conference in October contained a special appendix guaranteeing the independence of Lebanon within its present frontiers on condition that the Lebanese Government pursued the policy of independence which had been adopted in 1943. In 1945 agreement was finally reached on the withdrawal of British and French troops from Lebanon, whose independence thus became virtually complete. The deeper problems, however, of the structure of Lebanon and its relation to the outside world still remain.

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MANDATE FOR SYRIA AND THE LEBANON

[illegible]

The Council of the League of Nations:

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have agreed that the territory of Syria and Lebanon, which formerly belonged to the Turkish

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] Empire shall, within such boundaries as may be fixed by the said Powers, be entrusted to a Mandatory charged with the duty of rendering administrative advice and assistance to the populations, in accordance with the provisions of Article XXII (paragraph 4) of the Covenant of the League of Nations; and

Whereas the Principal Allied Powers have decided that the mandate for the territory referred to above should be conferred on the Government of the French Republic, which has accepted it;[1] and

Whereas the terms of this mandate, which are defined in the articles below, have also been accepted by the Government of the French Republic and submitted to the Council of the League for approval; and

Whereas the Government of the French Republic has undertaken to exercise this mandate on behalf of the League of Nations, in conformity with the following provisions; and

Whereas by the above-mentioned Article XXII (paragraph 6), it is provided that the degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory, not having been previously agreed upon by the Members of the League, shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League of Nations;

Confirming the said mandate, defines its terms as follows:

Art. 1. The Mandatory shall frame, within a period of three years from the coming into force of this mandate, an organic law for Syria and the Lebanon.

This organic law shall be framed in agreement with the native authorities and shall take into account the rights, interests, and wishes of all the populations inhabiting the said territory. The Mandatory

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[illegible]

[1] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

shall further exert [illegible] the progressive development of Syria and the Lebanon as independent States. Pending the coming into effect of the organic law, the Government of Syria and the Lebanon shall be conducted in accordance with the spirit of this mandate.

The Mandatory shall, as far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy.

Art. 4. The Mandatory may maintain its troops in the said territory for its defence. It shall further be empowered, until the coming into force of the organic law and the re-establishment of public security, to organize such local militia as may be necessary for the defence of the territory, and to employ this militia for defence and also for the maintenance of order. These local forces may only be recruited from the inhabitants of the said territory.

The said militia shall thereafter be under the local authorities, subject to the authority and the control which the Mandatory shall retain over these forces. It shall not be used for purposes other than those above specified save with the consent of the Mandatory.

Nothing shall preclude Syria and the Lebanon from contributing to the cost of the maintenance of the forces of the Mandatory stationed in the territory.

The Mandatory shall at all times possess the right to make use of the ports, railways and means of communication of Syria and the Lebanon for the passage of its troops and of all materials, supplies and stores.

Art. 5. The Mandatory shall be entrusted with the exclusive control of the foreign relations of Syria and the Lebanon and with the right to issue exequatur to the consuls appointed by foreign Powers. Nationals of Syria and the Lebanon living outside the limits of the territory shall be under the diplomatic and consular protection of the Mandatory.

Art. 6. The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no part of the territory of Syria and the Lebanon is ceded or leased or in any way placed under the control of a foreign Power.

Art. 7. The privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection as formerly enjoyed by Capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, shall not be applicable

in Syria and the Lebanon. Foreign consular officials shall, however, continue to perform their duties until the coming into force of the new legal organization provided for in Article 6.

(2) Where the Powers whose nationals enjoyed the above-mentioned privileges and immunities on August 1st, 1914, shall have previously consented the right to their re-establishment, or shall have agreed to their re-application during a specified period, these privileges and immunities shall on the application of the member be immediately re-established in their entirety or with such modifications as may have been agreed upon between the Powers concerned.

Art. 4. The Mandatory shall establish in Syria and the Lebanon a judicial system which shall assure to natives as well as to foreigners a complete guarantee of their rights.

Respect for the personal status of the various peoples and for their religious interests shall be fully guaranteed. In particular, the control and administration of Wakfs shall be exercised in complete accordance with religious law and the dispositions of the founders.

Art. 5. Pending the conclusion of special conventions agreements, the conventions in force as between foreign Powers and the Mandatory shall apply within the territory of Syria and the Lebanon.

Art. 6. The Mandatory shall ensure to all complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship which are consonant with public order and morality. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Syria and the Lebanon on the ground of differences in race, religion or language.

The Mandatory shall encourage public instruction, which shall be given through the medium of the native languages in use in the territory of Syria and the Lebanon.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the instruction and education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

Art. 7. The Mandatory shall refrain from all interference in the administration of the Council of management (Conseil de fabrique) or in the management of religious communities and moral shrines

belonging to the various religions, the necessity of which has been expressly guaranteed.

Art. 10. The supervision exercised by the Mandatory over the religious missions in Syria and the Lebanon shall be limited to the maintenance of public order and good government; the activities of these religious missions shall in no way be restricted, nor shall their members be subjected to any restrictive measures on the ground of nationality, provided that their activities are confined to the domain of religion.

The religious missions may also concern themselves with educational and relief, subject to the general right of regulation and control by the Mandatory or of the local governments, in regard to educational, public instruction and charitable relief.

Art. 11. The Mandatory shall see that there is no discrimination in Syria or the Lebanon against the nationals, including societies and associations, of any State Member of the League of Nations as compared with its own nationals, including societies and associations, or with the nationals of any other foreign State in matters concerning taxation or commerce, the exercise of professions or industries, or navigation, or in the treatment of ships or aircraft. Similarly, there shall be no discrimination in Syria or the Lebanon against goods originating in or destined for any of the said States, there shall be freedom of transit, under equitable conditions, across the said territory.

Subject to the above, the Mandatory may impose or cause to be imposed by the local governments such taxes and Customs duties as it may consider necessary. The Mandatory, or the local governments acting under its advice, may also conclude on grounds of contiguity any special Customs arrangements with an adjoining country.

The Mandatory may take or cause to be taken, subject to the provisions of paragraph 1 of this article, such steps as it may think best to ensure the development of the natural resources of the said territory and to safeguard the interests of the local population.

Concessions for the development of those natural resources shall be granted without distinction of nationality between the nationals of all States Members of the League of Nations, but on conditions

that they do not infringe upon the authority of the local government. Concession in the nature of a general monopoly shall not be granted. This clause shall in no way limit the right of the Mandatory to create monopolies of a purely local character in the interest of the territory of Syria and the Lebanon, and with a view to assuring to the territory the local resources which would appear best adapted to the local needs, or, in certain cases, with a view to developing the natural resources either directly by the State or through an organization under its control, provided that this does not involve either directly or indirectly the creation of a monopoly of the natural resources in favour of the Mandatory or its nationals, nor involve any preference that would be incompatible with the economic, commercial and industrial equality guaranteed above.

Art. 11. The Mandatory shall adhere, on behalf of Syria and the Lebanon, to any general international agreement already existing, or which may be concluded hereafter with the approval of the League of Nations, in respect of the following: the slave trade, the traffic in drugs, the traffic in arms and ammunition, commercial equality, freedom of transit and navigation, aerial navigation, postal, telegraphic or wireless communications, and measures for the protection of literary, art or industrial.

Art. 12. The Mandatory shall secure the adhesion of Syria and the Lebanon, so far as such, religious and other conditions permit, to such measures of common utility as may be adopted by the League of Nations for preventing and combating disease, including diseases of animals and plants.

Art. 13. The Mandatory shall draw up and put into force within twelve months from the date a law of antiquities in conformity with the following provisions. This law shall ensure equality of treatment in the matter of excavations and archæological research to the nationals of all States Members of the League of Nations.

(1) "Antiquity" means any construction or any product of human activity earlier than the year 1700 A.D.

(2) The law for the protection of antiquities shall proceed by encouragement rather than by threat.

Any person who, having discovered an antiquity without being furnished with the authorization referred to in paragraph 3, reports

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[illegible]

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Art. 16. The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate.

Art. 17. On the termination of the mandate, the Council of the League of Nations shall use its influence to safeguard for the future the fulfilment by the Government of Syria and the Lebanon of financial obligations, including pensions and allowances, regularly assumed by the administration of Syria or of the Lebanon during the period of the mandate.

Art. 18. The Mandatory agrees that if any dispute whatever should arise between the Mandatory and another Member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of this mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The present instrument shall be deposited in original in the archives of the League of Nations and certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all Members of the League.

Done at London on the twenty-fourth of July, 1922.

[illegible]

[illegible] The President may not exercise this right unless the budget Bills were submitted to the Chamber at least fifteen days before the commencement of the session.

During the extraordinary session, imposts, contributions, taxes, duties and other revenue shall continue to be collected as hitherto.

The expenditure for the month of January shall be based on the "provisional credits" of the expenditure for the previous financial year, plus the permanent additional and supplementary credits and minus the permanent reductions.

[illegible] The final accounts of the financial administration for the closed financial years shall be submitted to the Chamber and approved before the promulgation of the budget for the second financial year after that to which the accounts refer.

A special law shall be issued to govern the formation of an Accounting Department.

[illegible] No public loan or obligation involving a charge upon public funds may be contracted except by virtue of a law.

[illegible] No concession for the exploitation of natural resources of the country or a service of public utility and no monopoly may be granted except by virtue of a law and for a limited period.

[illegible]

[illegible] Nationals Subjects or new Statesmen there are now

Loyalty or Service

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] No provisional rules are laid for the sake of justice and economy, the conservation shall be equitably represented in public employment and in the composition of the Cabinet, such measures, however, are to cause prejudice to the general welfare of the State.

[illegible]

[illegible] (See Above) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Syria.

AN AGREED BRIDGING ARMY TO END OF HOSTILITIES IN SYRIA AND LEBANON

Admiralty Statement on Duties

[illegible]

1. General Sir Henry Maitland Wilson, G.B.E., K.C.B., D.S.O., commander in chief of the Allied forces in Palestine and Syria, acting in the name of the commander in chief of the Middle East for the first part, and

General de Montsabert, Legion of Honor, assistant to the commander in chief of the troops of the Levant, acting in the name of the French high command for the second part, have reached an agreement bringing about the end of hostilities in Syria and Lebanon, by which the hostilities stopped July 11, 1941, at 2100 G.M.T. (Greenwich mean time).

II. The Allied forces will occupy the Syrian and Lebanese territories. The French forces will be concentrated in certain areas fixed by the committee composed of representatives of the two parties. This concentration should be achieved by Tuesday, July 15, 1941, at the same hour, at which the Allied forces will move toward the occupation of certain strategic points.

Until their supervision the French troops will remain with an Allied officer personnel under the French command, which will see after their supply and with the purpose keep the existing garrison under control. Special dispositions are foreseen for the town of Beirut, where for reasons of security French troops will stay in their garrisons until relieved by British troops.

III. In order to assure the public security, the occupation of the principal Syrian and Lebanese localities will be carried out according to a program which will permit the immediate replacement of the French forces by the occupying forces.

IV. The exit and entry visas will be declared to the occupying authorities.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

9. All the bases of war will be evacuated the French forces. These will withdraw to the concentration areas which have been designated, with all arms, including mortars, machine guns, fully automatic rifles and all their ammunition. All necessary measures will be taken by the French command to avoid arms and munitions being left abandoned on the field of battle wherever they are. The French military authorities will give all necessary assistance toward removing arms which may be found in the hands of the population.

10. In consideration of the leaves of war accorded the French forces, officers and non-commissioned officers and French soldiers are authorized to keep their individual arms (rifles or carbines, revolvers, bayonets, swords or sabers). Soldiers are to keep no munitions. In each unit, for security reasons, a reduced quantity of munitions are to be left. The police will keep its arms and a reduced quantity of munitions. All other war material, including guns of the coastal batteries, anti-aircraft batteries, as well as military vehicles, are to be evacuated under control of the British authorities. These will proceed with inspection of the material and will have the right to take over material which is necessary for them. The rest is to be destroyed by the French authorities under the control of the British authorities.

11. Prisoners of the Allied forces are to be immediately freed, including those who have been transferred to France. As far as the latter are concerned, the British authorities reserve the right to hold in captivity an equal number of French officers or be in position of the same grade until the prisoners transferred to France have been liberated.

French prisoners are to be liberated when all Syrian and Lebanese territory will have been occupied and the clauses of the present armistice fully executed. They are to be given an opportunity to rejoin their units with a view toward their repatriation.

12. The obligation of joining the Allied units or being re-pressed is to be left to the free choice of each individual, civilian as well as military. Civilians who do not join the Allied units may on their demand be permitted by the British authorities to remain in the Levant.

[illegible] (See Above) [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

IX. Administrative officials and officials of the technical services and officers of special services are to remain in office a necessary amount of time to assure continuity of the administration of the country until they are able to be replaced. They then are to be repatriated if they express the desire. They are to be dismissed for a reprehensible attitude or insufficient service.

X. British authorities agree that the repatriation of French troops is to be carried out by French sea transports, provided this repatriation concerns only persons who opted for repatriation. British authorities have the right to control repatriation operations.

XI. Monetary possessions of repatriated French citizens are to be transferred according to methods to be established.

Those convicted are to receive payment on the favorable basis that applied to British subjects who recently left the Levant.

XII. French institutions (hospitals, schools, religious missions, etc.) are assured that their rights will be respected.

XIII. Administrations of public services and public utilities, including railroads, municipal transportations, electric installations and water systems, will be kept in functioning condition with their personnel and turned over intact.

XIV. All means of telephonic, telegraph and radio telegraphic communications, including wireless units, is to be turned over intact to the occupying authorities. The use of telegraph connections with France is to be assured for the French consulate on the same conditions as for other users.

XV. All port installations, naval establishments and all ships, including British vessels in Syrian and Lebanese territorial waters, are to be turned over intact to the occupying authorities.

XVI. All airplanes, all equipment and all armament installations in Syrian and Lebanese territory is to be turned over intact immediately after signature of the present convention.

The British are to be given an opportunity to utilize all airdromes and landing fields existing in Syria and Lebanon.

XVII. Stocks of fuel oil are to be delivered intact. However attention for military transportation are to be placed at the disposition of the French command.

XVIII. Money and other means of payment in circulation at

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5

Lebanon

GEOGRAPHY AND CLIMATE

Lebanon, an independent republic since 1941, was formerly part of Greater Syria. It constituted one of the Levant states purchased in 1920 and governed by France under a mandate awarded by the League of Nations. Frequently designated as the "Switzerland of the Near East," Lebanon comprises a narrow strip of land along the eastern shores of the Mediterranean which has a coastline of about 140 miles and a total area of approximately 4,000 square miles. It is less than 70 miles in depth at its widest point, and is bounded inland by Syria on the north and the east and by Israel on the south.

The topography of the region is dominated by two mountain ranges which parallel the coast and are separated by a series of depressions, part of the rift which continues through the Jordan Valley and north to the great lakes of East Africa. The Lebanon Mountains, from which the country derives its name, rise abruptly from the coastal plain. They form a continuous chain of peaks, the highest of which is Qurnet as Sawda, with an elevation of 10,131 feet. The eastern range, collectively known as the Anti-Lebanon Mountains, extends along the Syrian frontier. Both the northern portion and the southern extension, usually called Mount Hermon, contain peaks from 7,000 to 9,200 feet in height.

Between the two mountain chains lies the fertile plain of the Bekaa: it is slightly over 10 miles in width in the north, but tapers toward the south. The northern Bekaa is drained by the Orontes River, which flows from its source in the Lebanon Mountains near Baalbek northward,

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have retained close contact with their homeland, a factor which has had a profound influence on the social and the economic development of the country.

Unlike the neighboring Arab states, Lebanon is a compact territory. The density of population in the four administrative provinces, exclusive of Beirut district, averaged over 300 per square mile in 1946. It was 464 per square mile in Mount Lebanon, 356 in North Lebanon, and 291 in South Lebanon, but declined to 101 in the potentially fertile districts of the Bekaa. About 60 per cent of the inhabitants live under rural conditions in some 1,300 large or small villages. Urbanization has increased progressively within recent years, however, and almost one half of the population is now concentrated within easy access of Beirut. The city, which is not only the capital and the industrial metropolis of Lebanon but the principal port for the Levant states, had a population of 300,000 to 400,000 in 1950. Tripoli, the second largest city and the terminus of the pipeline from the oil fields in northern Iraq to the Mediterranean, had a population of roughly 70,000. Numerous towns in the southern and the central portions of the Lebanon range are popular resorts, with an annual influx of summer residents.

The fact that Beirut has become one of the leading cultural and educational centers of the Near East has stimulated the spread of education in the rest of the country. The literacy rate is consistently higher among the men than among the women: it probably averages from 75 to 90 per cent in Beirut and the neighboring districts of Mount Lebanon and from 40 to 60 per cent in the other provinces. The expansion of education has been influenced by the activity of French, American and other foreign groups, but the division between the different systems has hindered the development of a unified national program. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory, although the facilities are inadequate, especially in the rural areas of the south.

schools are maintained by the Lebanese government under the authority of the Ministry of National Education and by private, denominational and foreign agencies. There are no public secondary schools, and institutes for advanced education are maintained almost exclusively by private or foreign organizations.

There are two universities in Beirut, both of which have made substantial contributions to educational and social leadership throughout the Near and Middle East. The Université Saint-Joseph, which was founded in 1875, is operated by Jesuit orders, and some of its departments are subsidized by the French government. It has faculties of law, theology, engineering, philosophy, oriental letters and medicine, with constituent schools of dentistry, pharmacy, nursing and midwifery. The American University of Beirut was established as the Syrian Protestant College in 1866, and renamed in 1920. It is a nonsectarian, autonomous institution, sponsored by the Near East Colleges Association. The present university incorporates schools of arts and sciences, engineering, medicine, pharmacy and nursing, as well as a new school for agriculture, organized in 1952.

Vital Statistics

No reliable vital statistics are available for Lebanon. The registration of births and deaths is compulsory by law, but reporting is irregular, and the facilities for the compilation and the analysis of statistical data are inadequate. The published statistics are incomplete and of little value in the interpretation of true birth and death rates. No census has been taken since 1932, but, on the basis of the official population estimates, the birth rate was calculated at 31.3 per 1,000 population in 1947 and at 29.1 in 1948. The death rates were given at 5.3 and 6.1 per 1,000 population, respectively, figures which are obviously low.

The infant mortality rates are unknown. The general laxness in reporting births in many rural villages and the tendency to

[illegible] *A. stephensi* breeds in wells, cisterns and other accumulations of water devoid of vegetation, and is often a prominent vector in or near towns and villages, particularly in the drier sections of South Lebanon and the Bekaa. It is sometimes associated with *A. superpictus* in shaded and exposed stretches of the smaller streams. This species breeds throughout the year, but seldom appears in significant numbers before March or April.

[illegible] Numerous other types of mosquitoes are present, but, with the exception of *Culex pipiens*, they are of no known medical importance. *C. pipiens* is responsible for the transmission of dengue fever, which occurs in sporadic outbreaks. Several species of *Culex* have been recorded, including *C. territans* (= *C. pipiens molestus*), the prolific vector to occasional cases of filariasis and one of the most annoying pest varieties.

[illegible] Anopheline control measures are undertaken by several agencies, but up to the present there has been no central governmental program covering all parts of the country. The antimalaria service of the Ministry of Public Health started control operations in the Damour plain, south of Beirut, in 1941. The work, which originally combined swamp drainage and antilarval measures, has gradually been extended, with considerable success, to other portions of the littoral and to limited inland areas, especially in the populous districts to the north and the south of the capital. Larvicidal DDT sprays and residual spraying in the towns and the villages with DDT preparations or Gammexane have been used almost exclusively since 1946.

[illegible] The Near East Foundation, in co-operation with the Ministry and other agencies, carried on an extensive malaria control campaign in the central Bekaa valley from 1942 to 1951, when it closed its headquarters in Lebanon. Anopheline vectors of malaria have been almost eliminated from the major villages and about 300 square miles in the Aamiq swamp region, south of Riyak. The measures employed included drainage, the

[illegible]

[illegible] residual spraying of the village houses with insecticides, the treatment of breeding places with larvicides, the screening of permanent houses of rooms with insecticide fish, and the airplane spraying of otherwise inaccessible villages with DDT preparations. The villages protected in this manner in 1951 had an aggregate population of about 60,000.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees continued DDT residual spraying programs in camps and refugee villages subject to malaria infestation, especially in the highly endemic coastal areas in the south and in the Jordan plain near the Syrian border. In September, 1951, demonstration projects were initiated by the World Health Organization, in cooperation with the Ministry of Public Health. The programs will include systematic surveys in partially controlled and uncontrolled endemic areas, as the Jordan plain, the northern and the southern sections of the Sahara, the Ghazal around Tyre and the more remote villages in the coastal river valleys.

Flies. Flies of the family *Simuliidae* are important in all parts of the country, and undoubtedly play a significant role in the spread of bovine[illegible] and eye diseases. Several species of *Musca* occur, among which *M. domestica vicina* and *M. sorbens* are very prominent. The noble fly, *Stomoxys calcitrans*, and the stabbing variety, *Haematobia stimulans*, are also plentiful. Species of *Haematopota* are numerous. The cytotoxic-producing flies, which are serious pests for the livestock and occasionally attack man, include *Chrysomyia albiceps*, *Cochliomyia erythrocephala* and various species of *Sarcophaga* and *Wohlfahrtia*. The flies most frequently implicated in human myiasis are probably *Lucilia sericata* and *Wohlfahrtia magnifica*.

Several species of sandflies have been identified, including *Phlebotomus papatasii* and *P. sergenti*, vectors of cutaneous leishmaniasis in mankind, and *P. alexandri* and *P. major*, suspected of being vectors in

[illegible] and medical welfare control operations of the Ministry of refugee affairs.

Hospitals and Dispensaries

[illegible] Hospitals and Dispensaries. According to the official statistics for 1956, there were 15 hospitals, including maternity, in Lebanon. These institutions had an aggregate capacity of about 3,000 beds, or slightly less than 1.1 beds per 1,000 population. Fifty-six hospitals with a total of 1,274 beds were under private management, and 7 hospitals with a total of 1,216 beds were operated by foreign agencies. Eight hospitals, with a total of about 111 beds, were found by the Ministry of Public Health. They consisted of provincial hospitals of approximately 100 beds each at Nabatiya (Mount Lebanon), Saida (Sidon), Tripoli (North Lebanon) and Sour (South Lebanon), and a hospital in Beirut, a general hospital of 200 beds, a neuropsychiatric hospital of 50 beds, a maternal-disease hospital of 40 beds and a preventive hospital of 40 beds. The provincial hospitals at Tripoli and Sour were not completed, however, in 1956. In addition, the government contracted for the use of 1,200 beds in private or foreign-operated institutions, so that roughly 1,300 beds were available through the Ministry.

Special facilities included with the above hospitals were a tuberculosis preventorium of 200 beds at Dhoumit, three smaller tuberculosis sanatoria of 120 to 150 beds each, a mental hospital with 600 beds at Ashrafieh and a chronic-disease hospital and home with about 1,200 beds at Deir el Salib, all are conducted by religious or philanthropic organizations, Lebanese or foreign. The Ministry does not operate tuberculosis or mental hospitals, but subsidizes about 270 beds in private institutions for the care of tuberculous patients and 450 beds for mental cases. Within the last few years an ophthalmic hospital of 40 beds has been constructed by the government at Tripoli, in North Lebanon.

[illegible] The hospitals affiliated with the medical [illegible] schools of the two universities in Beirut are

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[illegible]

[illegible] Doctor of Science or Medicine. The teaching [illegible] is in English. In 1951, the Department of Preventive Medicine and Public Health was organized and reorganized as a regional training center in public health to serve all the countries of the Near and Middle East. The new Department, which forms the nucleus of a projected school of public health, is sponsored by the University and [illegible] Foundation, Inc. The Technical Co-operation Administration of the United States government and the World Health Organization. Its objectives include the training of different types of [illegible] personnel, the organization of facilities for [illegible] in connection with governmental agencies [illegible] and other countries, and the conduct of research and field investigations. In 1951-52, the Department offered a 1-year course for the training of sanitarians, a 1-year course in laboratory technology, a 1-year refresher course for medical technologists and a 1-year postgraduate course in public health for nurses. Plans are also under consideration for the development of short refresher courses in specialized fields for physicians and other medical personnel.

A School of Dentistry is connected with the Faculté Française de Médecine, and includes a 4-year course leading to a degree in dentistry and a 2-year course for dental mechanics. A School of Pharmacy, each requiring 4 years of study, are attached to the French and the American universities.

There are 4 schools for the training of nurses. The School of Nursing of the American University of Beirut provides a regular course of 3 years comparable with that given in approved schools in America. The school attached to the Faculté Française de Médecine, and the school opened by the Young Women's Moslem Association in Beirut in 1949, offer 3-year courses. The Lebanese Red Cross maintains a school in Beirut which has a 3-year course for nurses and a 1-year course for nursing assistants. The Kennedy Memorial Hospital in Tripoli conducts a school for the training of male and female nurses with a 3-year course of

p. 181(B)

p. 132 (4)

[illegible]

[illegible] 5)

Lebanon has no relations to the United States, France or some other Western country.

Lebanon joined the Arab League, very hesitatingly, because it wanted the League's support in its campaign for complete independence from France.

Typical of Lebanese reservations in support of Arab nationalism is the fact that the Maronites, who number 350,000 and are the largest single group in the country, have never shown opposition to the Zionist movement in Palestine. Both the Maronite archbishop of Beirut, Mgr. Ignace Moubac, and the Maronite Patriarch have come, in the past, to recognize the progress and civilization which the Jews have brought to the Middle East.

The Lebanese Jewish community is mainly concentrated in the capital, Beirut, with a smaller number living in Tripoli in the north, and in Tyre and Sidon in the south. They are as deeply rooted in the country as any other group; the Jews include prominent leading men in political circles. Like the Christian population, they have gladly accepted the influence of Western civilization. Most of them are [illegible] conversant in French and French. For many years they have suffered no restrictions in either commerce or the liberal professions, and they form a fair proportion of the middle class, some Jews holding high positions in the Government service. Jews are not confined to any special area, though most of the poorer Jews live in streets which, in former times, used to be a Jewish quarter.

As a member of the Arab League, Lebanon found itself willy-nilly [illegible] bound to take part in the invasion of Israel. Since the fighting in Palestine had started, the Government was forced to apply security measures similar to those introduced in all countries of the Arab League.

All foreign Jews, including the students at the American University and the French college, were ordered to leave the country in January, 1948. When military operations started in May, 1948, about 200 political suspects were arrested. According to a Reuter message sent from Beirut at that time, however, they included only a few Jews.

The hysterical Jew-hating which then broke out throughout the Moslem Arab countries naturally affected also Lebanese Moslems. On May 15, an anti-Jewish demonstration consisted in the early hours and a mob, armed with knives, incendiary bombs, and sticks, proceeded towards the Jewish quarter. The President of the Jewish community received a telephone call from the head of the Christian Arab community, suggesting the Jews should take steps to guard their houses.

When the mob reached the Jewish quarter, they were halted by guards who had been posted there by the Christian Arab community. At the request of the President of the Jewish community, the authorities sent armed troops, who prevented the rioters from entering the quarter.

[illegible]

[illegible] one large [illegible] the joint property of three Muslims and one [illegible] belonged.

These have sent a few residents during the months of fighting in Palestine. On one occasion shots were fired [illegible] when a mobile [illegible] of the military [illegible] Jerusalem opened a few rounds.

When leaving the agreement to Galilee, large numbers of Arab refugees entered the country and Israel forces occupied some territory in Southern Lebanon. Whatever in the Sidon area added [illegible] buildings and [illegible] refugee [illegible]. After some days however, the Government ordered the police to provide protection for the Arab and to restore the buildings to their owners. Arab were not allowed to leave the country, but special permits were issued for travelling to Syria on business.

On the advice of well-disposed Government officials, the Syrian did all they could to keep quiet and to remain aloof. The visit to [illegible] was followed but the Israeli newspapers [illegible] (The Prime Minister) to change to [illegible] (Finance). On the other hand, the Israeli [illegible] had to yield to the pressure of public opinion and to contribute considerable sums towards the Arab Palestine Fund. The total amount is estimated to be not less than £1,500,000 [illegible] (£1,000). The Arab never reached the stage where they could not carry on their occupations, and the merchants among them were always able to keep their businesses running.

As soon as the fighting was over, the Lebanese Government was the first to restore normal conditions for the Jewish population. The ban on travelling abroad was lifted, and a number of senior Jewish officials who had been dismissed were reinstated, some even being promoted. Those Jews who had fled to Lebanon from Iraq [illegible] Jews had been [illegible] to death in absentia and three other Jews, who had previously lived in Palestine, were permitted to leave the country for Israel.

There is every evidence that with the return of normal relations with Israel, the Jewish minority in Lebanon will enjoy again the freedom, the full and equal rights, and the friendly relations with their neighbours which existed before the invasion of Palestine.

[illegible]

[illegible]

is possible for the Lebanese more faithfully to perform their duty to Christendom.

Finally, the establishment of the French Mandate, and the system which has existed between the mandatory authorities and the bulk of the population, have placed a number of difficulties before those communities which have a special connection with the French. Should they cling to the French connection even at the cost of a deep estrangement from the rest of the population of Syria and Lebanon? Should they throw in their lot with their fellow-countrymen even at the cost of abandoning their connection with France? Can a middle way be found between these two difficult goals?

II

Thought about these problems, at different levels of profundity, has led the inhabitants of the Mountain to a number of alternative conceptions of the nature of Lebanon. These conceptions are often expressed in the form of historical or ethnological answers to the question whether the Lebanese are or are not Arabs; for example, there is a school of thought which emphasizes their Phoenician origin. On the basis of them, however, there is something more than an assertion of fact; there is a view of the function which Lebanon should perform, an answer to the question what her relations should be with the West and with the Arabs.

There are some who do not regard Lebanon as possessing a special mission. For them the Lebanese are simply a branch of the Arab people, distinguished from the other branches by nothing of political significance; their destiny is indistinguishable from that of the Arab people as a whole. Others do not go quite so far. They admit that history and tradition give Lebanon a slightly different character from the other Arab regions; but they do not regard this difference as forbidding the basis of a special mission or destiny in the present. It is nothing but a relic of a past age, an obstacle to be overcome before the Lebanese can fulfil their true function, which in the view of this as of the first group is to become a full part of the Arab people.

A third group believes in a special function for Lebanon, but a restricted one. It is to continue to provide an asylum for those whose religious loyalties or racial origins make it difficult for them to live in neighbouring regions. This,

9. [illegible]

The political experiments described in the last chapter [illegible] fundamentally unchanged until 1926. In two out of the four units the years 1920–1926 were on the whole marked by political tranquillity and administrative progress. In Lebanon, constitutional development was more rapid than in the other States. In 1923 the High Commissioner entrusted the Representative Council with the task of drafting a new constitution for the State. The constitution was promulgated in May, 1926. It provided for the establishment of normal republican institutions: an elected President, who by convention was always a Christian; a responsible Ministry; an elected Chamber and a nominated Senate, which after a time were combined into a single Chamber, two-thirds elected and one-third nominated. Articles 90 reserved the rights and duties of the Mandatory Power, as derived from Article 22 of the Covenant and from the Mandate; while Article 91 stated that when circumstances permitted Lebanon would apply for admission to the League of Nations, and in doing so would have recourse to the good offices of the Mandatory Power.[1] Modified in 1927 and 1929, the Constitution was suspended in 1932 because it had proved too cumbersome and expensive; the administration was carried on directly by the President of the Republic, until in 1934 the High Commissioner issued a decree provisionally re-establishing a small Chamber.

Some of the Muslim and other elements in Lebanon were immediately responsive to movements of opinion in the State of Syria and the rest of the Arab world, of which they considered Lebanon to form a part. But to a great extent Lebanese political life developed in its own way. It was dominated by the problems arising from the extension of the frontiers in 1920. Lebanon as it existed before 1914 had contained a large Christian majority; but in the Lebanese Republic established in 1920 Christians formed scarcely more than 50 per cent of the population.[2] Moreover, both Christians and Muslims were subdivided into a number of sects, the largest of which, the Maronite sect, included only 30 per cent

[1] For text of the Constitution, see P. K. and P. Thomas, *La Constitution libanaise* (Paris, 1932). Volume V, pp. 140–43.

[2] See Chapter VII.

of the population. Several of them were possessed a local predominance in some part of the Republic: the Maronites in the north, the Druzes in the south, the Sunnis in the coastal towns of Beirut, Tripoli and Sidon, and the Shi'is in the Bekaa valley and the extreme south. The consequences which are likely to flow from such a situation are clear. The political life of the Republic was deeply affected by the struggle for equality of opportunity between a number of communities, some of them so strong as to be able to dominate all the rest. Sectarian loyalties and sectarian jealousies thus continued and perhaps strengthened themselves. In addition, the dominance of the spiritual leaders over the members of their communities was perpetuated; the Maronite Patriarch, in particular, exhibited an unbalanced influence over the political life of the country.

The importance of communal difference in Lebanon was recognized by the Mandate. Article 2 stated the necessity of guaranteeing the most complete liberty of conscience and worship; the equal treatment of all inhabitants irrespective of differences of race, religion and language; and the right of communities to maintain their own schools. Article 6 required the Mandatory Power to respect the personal status and religious interests of the different sections of the population. These guarantees were reaffirmed in the Lebanese Constitution, promulgated in 1926, Article 9 of which declared: "Liberty of conscience is absolute. In rendering homage to the Most High, the State respects all confessions and guarantees and protects the free exercise of them, on condition that no harm is done to public order. It guarantees equally to populations belonging to every rite respect for their personal status and their religious interests."

These guarantees were respected by the Mandatory Power to a considerable extent. For example, the traditional jurisdictions of the communal courts were maintained in some matters of personal status, although a large proportion of such matters were transferred to the civil courts. An attempt was made in 1936 to define the whole position of the communal jurisdictions. The High Commissioner issued a decree in which the historic communities were given explicit legal recognition. Their statutes were given the force of law, and

It is doubtful if the system could have worked even as well as it did had it not been for the control and intervention of the Mandatory Power. But this again was a source of trouble. The French authorities were believed to be not altogether impartial in their efforts to hold the balance, and to show excessive favour to the Maronites and other Uniates. Thus the other communities became hostile both to France and to the Maronites. This hostility in its turn cemented the alliance between the two.

The situation just described had the approval of the majority of the Maronites, who chiefly profited by it. Many of the religious and secular notables of the other communities also did not disapprove of the conception of a Lebanon based upon sectarianism, either because they derived advantage from it or else because they could not conceive of any loyalty except that to the religious community. But the more thoughtful members of both the Maronite and the other sects, and especially the younger of them, saw the need for the creation of some sort of corporate consciousness or sense of solidarity. In the Sanjaq of the years before 1914 this had to some extent existed; it had been based upon a common way of life and a common tradition of autonomy which all alike had valued. In the new Republic this was lacking and would have to be created. On the question of what form it should take, different opinions were held, corresponding in the main to the different conceptions of Lebanon expounded in Chapter VII. Those who regarded Lebanon as an asylum for religious minorities, together with those who regarded the Lebanese as a distinct people, wished to create a specific Lebanese nationalist spirit transcending communal differences; and they wanted the enlarged Lebanon to be an independent state, protected by or in alliance with a European Power who would take an interest in it which was other than purely political. Those who looked upon Lebanon as a point from which Christian and Western influences could radiate throughout the Arab East, wished to encourage the consciousness of Lebanon as both a distinctive unity and part of a larger unity; for them, Lebanese autonomism and Arab or Syrian nationalism were not opposed to each other but complementary, and they desired to see Lebanon, with or without the restoration of its

mentioned, were to enter into force when Syria should be admitted to the League of Nations. But there was a long process to be accomplished before that should happen. First the Treaty must be signed by whatever Government issued from the elections shortly to be held in Syria. Then it would need to be ratified by the French and Syrian Parliaments. After ratification would come a transitional period of three years, during which the machinery of an independent State would gradually be constructed. Only when that period had ended would Syria apply for admission to the League of Nations.[1]

The Lebanese Treaty was in principle similar to the Syrian. The only important differences were that it was to be renewed by tacit consent at the end of twenty-five years; that the military convention placed no limits upon the employment of French forces; that the exchanges of letters contained explicit guarantees for equality of civil and political rights between all nationals, and for the equitable representation of the different sections of the population in the Government service; and that the Lebanese Government undertook to carry out a programme of administrative and fiscal reform.[2]

The signature of the Treaty was received with approval by a certain body of opinion in France. The view of the parties forming the Popular Front was expressed by M. Pierre Viénot, who had played a leading part in the negotiations. In a speech made at the ceremony of signing the Treaty, he stated that the new alliance between France and Syria did not represent a fundamental change in policy so much as a new form which the traditional relations between the two countries had taken. The Treaty defined the international position of Syria, and at the same time ensured the maintenance of France's collaboration in the economic and cultural life of the Syrian people. In another statement on the same day, he declared that while the Treaty was modelled on that between Great Britain and Iraq, in one respect France had learned by Britain's mistakes, and had provided for the protection of the minorities.

Nor was approval confined to the Left Wing. *Le Temps*, for example, in a leading article published on September 8th, declared that by the conclusion of the Treaty France had fulfilled her whole duty as Mandatory Power. The solution

[1] For the text of the Treaty, see Appendix No. [illegible].
[2] See Appendix No. [illegible].

of the minority problem contained in it was satisfactory. When the Treaty was ratified, it would firmly establish on a contractual basis a French influence which the too-long maintenance of an authoritarian régime might in the long run compromise.

3

In Lebanon the signature of the Franco-Lebanese Treaty was welcomed by the Maronites and some other sections of the population. The Sunnis, however, regarded it as a blow to their aim of reunion with Syria; their anger found expression in communal clashes in Beirut and elsewhere at the end of 1936. In spite of their opposition, however, steps were immediately taken to carry out the policy of the Treaty by re-establishing self-governing institutions. The Constitution of 1926 was restored in January, 1937; the Chamber met, and Khair ad-Din al-Ahdab, a Sunni, formed a Ministry. But it soon became apparent that the signature of the Treaty and the revival of constitutional forms had not affected the essential nature of Lebanese political life, which continued to be dominated by sectarian issues.

A new electoral law was passed in 1937, replacing the existing Chamber by a new and larger one, two-thirds elected on a sectarian basis and one-third nominated. The elections of November, 1937, were marked by corruption on an extensive scale; and the Chamber which resulted from them, and which remained in being until 1939, was remarkable only for the bitterness and complexity of its internal dissensions. The Ministries of the Amir Khalid Shihab and Abdullah al-Yafi succeeded those of Khair ad-Din al-Ahdab, and none of them had any notable legislative or other advance to show.

The consequence of this was a general loss of interest and faith in the constitutional system as it existed in Lebanon. It was not simply that the established leaders and the parliamentary parties, the Unionists, Constitutionalists and so on, ceased to possess even so limited a hold over public opinion as they had perhaps had; more than that, Lebanese began to ask themselves what purpose was served by the existence of a costly Parliament, filled with landowners and lawyers, wasting its time in interminable quarrels and showing no effective interest in the country's welfare. Had not Lebanon been better ruled under the simple system which had existed

sterling bloc. Syria, having now entered the sterling bloc, will in the economic and financial sphere and especially in that of exchange take the necessary measures to follow the general policy of the sterling bloc.

'The preceding stipulations reconcile respect for Syrian independence and sovereignty with the necessities of war. They are inspired by a single thought, that of winning the war and by this means assuring to Syria the future of a free people. They give the Franco-Syrian problem a solution which springs from the desire of Free France not to retard, in spite of the war, the accomplishment of Syrian national aspirations and the fulfilment of the undertakings of the Allies. But it is necessary that a final settlement should be substituted for them as soon as possible, in the form of a Franco-Syrian Treaty which will definitively guarantee the independence of the country.

'Long live independent Syria! Long live England! Long live France!'[1]

C

At the same time the new President of the Syrian Republic took up his duties. In October Shaikh Taj was able to announce the formation of a Government, at the head of which was Hasan al-Hakim, a well-known financial expert and a former collaborator of Dr. Shahbandar. Among the members of the Ministry were an Alawi and a Druze, but none of the leaders of the Bloc.

The declaration of independence and the formation of a Government aroused no enthusiasm among the population. The nationalists preferred to wait before giving their approval, to see what steps Free France would take to render her undertakings effective. They also objected to the appointment of the President instead of his choice by a freely elected Chamber; and in particular they disapproved of the appointment of Shaikh Taj.

II

L

The independence of Lebanon was proclaimed two months later, on November 26th, 1941. General Catroux's proclamation ran as follows:

'Lebanese,

'The proclamation which I addressed to you on June 8th in the name of General de Gaulle, Chief of Free France, and

[1] For the French text, see Appendix A 14.

which Great Britain supported by a special simultaneous declaration, recognised Lebanon, under the guarantee of a treaty to be concluded with a view to defining Franco-Lebanese reciprocal relations, as a sovereign and independent State.

"As the native for the French liberal tradition and anxious to honour the engagements undertaken towards you, Free France, at the moment of entering the Levant, began with acts of emancipation, in spite of the war and the exceptional circumstances which it imposed: she made you free and independent.

"Your aspirations are satisfied. It is now a matter of organising your independence. As far as I am concerned, I have two tutelary duties. The first is to confide the work of installing and directing the régime to a man fully qualified to accomplish this difficult task in present circumstances. After very extensive consultations both with individuals and with public opinion throughout the whole extent of the territory, I have understood that the hopes of the Lebanese nation are fixed upon His Excellency M. Naccache. I have asked him to remain in power with the title and prerogatives of President of the Republic, and to govern by means of a ministry which will be responsible to him and in which the just representation of all the regions and communities which form the Lebanese nation will be assured.

"I assure President Naccache, as well as the Lebanese community, of my friendship and entire support.

"The second task is to define the spirit and forms of the collaboration to be established between Lebanon and Free France, while awaiting the conclusion of a treaty of alliance and friendship.

"In recognising your independence, France is inspired solely by her traditional friendship with Lebanon, by her tutelary mission in this country throughout the centuries, and by the privileged position which she has thus acquired. Her aid remains assured to Lebanon in all things, in the spirit of the Franco-Lebanese Treaty of Alliance and Friendship of 1936, which received the unanimous approbation of the Lebanese population. Moreover, the circumstances of war and the occupation of Lebanese territory by the Allied forces place Lebanon temporarily in a special position.

There flow from this a certain number of rights and obligations, among them in particular those stipulated below."

The remainder of the proclamation was substantially the same, with minor and verbal variations, as the proclamation of Syrian independence.[1]

This declaration was received lukewarmly by the greater part of the population. It was open to objection on various grounds. Those who advocated the union of Lebanon with Syria regarded the proclamation as a repudiation of the promise contained in Catroux's statement of June 8th, that the Syrians and Lebanese would be free to form themselves into separate States or to unite into a single State. They objected also to the assertion that Lebanon was politically and territorially an indivisible unit. A similar statement had appeared in the Syrian proclamation and had there been open to no objection; but in the Lebanese proclamation it was taken to imply that any modification of the frontiers between Syria and Lebanon was out of the question.

Furthermore, all those who were opposed to the maintenance of French control, whether they were believers in Lebanese, in Syrian or in Arab nationalism, resented the references to France's "mission" in the Levant and the statement that the future treaty would be negotiated on the basis of the Treaty of 1936.

These criticisms were not lessened when it was announced that a Ministry had been formed, with Ahmad ed-Da'uq as Prime Minister, and composed of colourless personalities without any claim to represent the population.

II

The British Government approved of the Free French policy of proclaiming Syrian and Lebanese independence, and gave its formal recognition to both the newly independent States, in the shape of letters of congratulation sent by His Majesty King George VI, to the Syrian President on October 27th, 1941, and to the Lebanese on December 26th.

In February, 1942, Major-General Sir Edward Spears, who had been connected with the Free French movement since its beginning, and had been in the Levant as head of the "Spears Mission" since 1941, was appointed first British Minister to the Syrian and Lebanese Republics.

[1] For the French text, see Appendix A.13.

The members of the Ministry were, respectively Sunni Muslim, Greek Orthodox, Maronite, Greek Catholic, Druze and Shi'i. Thus the convention which had grown up that the Cabinet should include representatives of all the more important sects was respected. The Ministers, however divided though they might be in religious allegiance, were united in desiring on the one hand a greater measure of self-government for Lebanon, and on the other closer relations between Lebanon and Syria.

17

Iraq recognized the independence of Syria in August and of Lebanon in October. In September the Egyptian Government announced its decision to recognize Lebanese independence and to establish legations in Damascus and Beirut. The Sa'udi Arabian Government also declared its intention to set up a legation in Damascus. These three Governments showed in this and in other ways their satisfaction with the restoration of constitutional rule in the Levant States.

These steps made possible a serious attempt by the Syrians and Lebanese to define their relations with each other, with France, with the other Arab countries and with the United Nations.[1]

[1] More recent events are summarized in the Postscript.

POSTSCRIPT: THE EVENTS OF OCTOBER, 1945, TO APRIL, 1945

CHAPTER XII carried the political history of Syria and Lebanon down to the restoration of constitutional forms and the assumption of office by national Governments (in Damascus in August, 1943, and in Beirut in September).[1] From the first it was clear that the nationalists did not regard their accession to power as the end of the national struggle. Syria and Lebanon had been formally recognized as independent in 1941, and the restoration of the constitutions could be regarded as the first step towards making self-government a reality; but there were still other steps to be taken. Some of them could not, it is true, be taken before the end of the war. In his proclamations of independence, General Catroux had explicitly stated that the needs of war required Syria and Lebanon to conduct their policy in accordance with that of the Allies. The Allies must assume responsibility for the defence of the country and its war production, and the Syrian and Lebanese Governments should place their armed forces at the Allies' disposal for those purposes, as well as aerodromes, harbours and communications; and the closest collaboration should exist between the Allied Commander-in-Chief and the Free French Delegate-General on the one hand and the Syrian and Lebanese police and gendarmerie on the other. The Syrian and Lebanese Governments should also collaborate with the Allies in matters concerning the economic war, and should follow the general policy of the sterling bloc in the economic and financial spheres.[2]

Such restrictions were recognized to be necessary by the Syrian and Lebanese Governments, which looked on them as a contribution they could make to the Allied war-effort. There were, however, other limitations upon their freedom of action.

First, there were limitations upon the legislative power of the two Governments, imposed on the one hand by the power of the Delegate-General to legislate by summary decree, and on the other by certain general reservations contained in the Syrian and Lebanese Constitutions. Thus Article 116 of the Syrian Constitution stated:—

'Aucune disposition de la présente Constitution n'est et

[1] See pp. 236, 237. [2] See pp. 245, 250.

ne peut être en opposition avec les obligations contractées par la France en ce qui concerne la Syrie, particulièrement envers la Société des Nations. Cette réserve s'applique spécialement aux articles qui touchent au maintien de l'ordre, de la sécurité et de la défense du pays, et à ceux qui intéressent les relations extérieures. Pendant la durée des obligations internationales de la France, en ce qui concerne la Syrie, les dispositions de la présente Constitution qui seraient de nature à les affecter ne seront pas applicables que dans les conditions déterminées par accord à intervenir entre les gouvernements français et syrien. En conséquence, les lois prévues par les articles de la présente Constitution dont l'application pourrait intéresser ces responsabilités ne seront discutées et promulguées conformément à la présente Constitution qu'en exécution de cet accord. Les décisions d'ordre législatif et réglementaire prises par les représentants du gouvernement français ne pourront être modifiées qu'après entente entre les deux gouvernements.'

Secondly, there were a number of important administrative services which were wholly removed from the control of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments and placed under direct supervision of the Delegate-General, who administered them through a staff which was largely French in the upper ranks, but Syrian and Lebanese in the lower. They included:

i. The 'Common Interests', a number of departments dealing with matters of concern to both Syria and Lebanon. The most important of them were the customs administration, the control of concessionary companies and certain economic, financial and social services. They were financed out of the 'Funds of Common Interest', consisting almost entirely of customs receipts, which were sufficient not only to pay for these services but to provide a large surplus which was in principle divided between the two Governments.

ii. The 'Troupes Spéciales', the local Syrian and Lebanese levies. Some thousands strong, they had been in existence throughout the Mandatory period as an integral part of the French Army of the Levant, and until the outbreak of war they had been wholly paid for out of the 'Funds of Common Interest'. They now formed part of the French territorial command.

iii. The 'Sûreté Générale', the organisation responsible for

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POSTSCRIPT

internal security. It had always been in French hands, although in principle the local police and gendarmerie were under the control of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments.

iv. The control of the Bedouin.

v. The censorship of the press, which was in French hands, although there was also a British military censor. (Shortly after the accession of the new Syrian and Lebanese Governments to power, they set up their own politico censorships, which did not, however, replace that of the French, but were additional to it.)

Thirdly, in addition to these legislative and administrative limitations, there were various restrictions even on those powers which the Governments possessed:

i. Their freedom of action was restricted by the great influence of the administrative and technical 'conseillers', who, although officials of the Government and in theory subordinate to the Ministers whom they advised, were in practice almost all-powerful in the departments to which they were attached.

ii. Another restriction arose from the existence of the officers of the 'Services Spéciaux' who were stationed throughout the country. In theory they were the Delegate-General's intelligence officers, but in practice they had always exercised a virtually unlimited authority in their regions: an authority which they had enforced where necessary by means of the 'Gardes Mobiles', a semi-military police force which they had at their disposal. Among other things, the control of the frontiers was in their hands.

The nationalists had always demanded the recognition of the two Parliaments as the sole source of legislation; the transfer of the Common Interests and their similar services to the Syrian and Lebanese Governments; the abolition of the 'Services Spéciaux' officers and a curtailment in the powers of the 'conseillers'. It was clear that these demands would be pressed with vigour by the new Nationalist Governments, partly because of the principles involved but also because of concrete advantages to be gained from them. For example, control of the customs would give them power to regulate fiscal policy and thus indirectly to aid industry and trade, and would place in their hands an important source of

revenue. Control of concessionary companies would give them authority over the railway administration, the ports, the water and electricity companies and the tobacco monopoly, all of them in the hands of French companies and between them covering an important section of the country's economic life. The transfer of the "Troupes Spéciales" would make possible the creation of Syrian and Lebanese Armies.

Faced with these demands the Comité Français de la Libération Nationale (C.F.L.N.) defined its attitude sharply. In the first place, it claimed that it had inherited the Mandate from the French Republic; the Mandate conferred upon France certain obligations which neither she nor the Syrians and Lebanese were entitled to repudiate; they could only be ended or modified by the League of Nations or whatever organization might replace it. No definitive change of a radical kind could therefore be made until the League were revived or a successor to it established.

Secondly, the Committee, while admitting the possibility of a transfer of powers, sought to make it conditional on the willingness of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments to conclude with them Treaties guaranteeing on the one hand the independence of the two States and on the other the special position and interests of France. The declarations of independence had foreshadowed the conclusion of such Treaties: and it was therefore claimed that the grant of independence had been conditional upon it.

Subsequently, under the pressure of events, the Committee admitted the right of the two Governments to demand immediate legislative and administrative concessions, but emphasized that the transfer of powers should take place in a correct way. In view of the importance of the issues involved, it should only take place after negotiation and agreement with the representatives of France. Any attempt to modify the present situation by unilateral action, without such formal agreement, could only be regarded as a deliberate insult to France.

To each of these theses the Syrians and Lebanese had an answer. To the first, they replied that they had never recognized the Mandate, which had been imposed upon them against their will and without their consent being asked.

Furthermore, they did not recognise the Algiers Committee as the legitimate inheritor of the Mandatory obligations of France. Even granting, however, that Free France had inherited the Mandate, General Catroux had proclaimed the independence of the two States, not as something to be granted in the future, but as something to take effect from the moment of his proclamation. It might be that technically Free France had had no authority to end the Mandate, but in practice the Mandate had ceased to exist on the day of his declaration; and unless Free France wished to go back upon the declaration and the proclamations of independence, she was bound henceforth to treat the Mandate as virtually a dead letter.

To the second argument, that the C.F.L.N. could only make the desired concessions in return for the conclusion of treaties, they replied that the declarations of independence, while envisaging the possibility of such treaties, had in no way made the grant of independence conditional upon their being negotiated. Independence had been given unconditionally (except for the limitations made necessary by the state of war); and if Syria and Lebanon were really independent, they had a right to decide for themselves whether or not to make treaties with a foreign State, and could not be forced into it by the threat that powers which were already theirs by right would otherwise be withheld. Furthermore, they had no intention of signing Treaties if at all, until after the war, since they had no reason to believe that France would then necessarily honour treaties concluded in her name by the C.F.L.N.

As for the third argument, that the concessions demanded could only be made by means of agreements, they, too, preferred that the questions at issue should be settled if possible through agreement with the C.F.L.N. But if the Committee were unwilling, as it at first seemed to be, they could not give up their right to take matters into their own hands. What did the independence of a State mean, if it could not unilaterally alter its constitution and establish its own administrative services?

Beneath these arguments and replies there lay an intense mutual distrust and suspicion, which were the real cause of the crisis. The nationalists of Syria and Lebanon had no confidence in the willingness of France ever to grant them genuine self-government. They were afraid that unless they

11: Hourani 8-4 (no date) 1968 MEC Syria (60)
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exerted pressure nothing would be done; and that after the war, if France's strength revived, she would attempt to re-establish her position by force. It was therefore vital for them, while it was possible, to put themselves in a position in which the opposition of France to their aspirations could no longer harm them. It was particularly important to obtain possession of those administrative services which had always been used as instruments of French policy, and might still be used to obstruct the new Nationalist governments during the war and subsequently to overthrow them: the *Sûreté Générale* and the *Services Spéciaux*, the Funds of Common Interest, the Troupes Spéciales.

The French on their side regarded the claims of the Syrians and Lebanese as part of a movement which was primarily and deliberately anti-French, and of which the purpose was to take advantage of France's weakness in order to destroy French influence in the Levant. They would have preferred to make no concessions to Arab nationalism at all; but since they were bound to do so in virtue of promises already made, they would only do so in return for a guarantee of their position and interests. To give up the Common Interests and other services, the one bargaining counter they had, without obtaining such a guarantee would be a severe blow to French national prestige and to the movement of revival which since 1941 had placed a symbolic value upon Syria and Lebanon.

3

The neighbouring Arab States were deeply concerned in the struggle of Syria and Lebanon for self-government. They had always been interested in it because of ties of language and sentiment; but in 1943 the matter became even more important because of the current discussions on Arab unity. Reference has already been made to these discussions in Chapters XII and XIII. It has been mentioned that after the re-establishment of constitutional forms in Syria, Nahhas Pasha invited the Syrian Government to send representatives to discuss the Arab question with him. The Syrian delegation visited Cairo in October and held conversations on Arab unity with the Egyptian Premier; its visit aroused much public attention in Egypt, and it was generally expected that a Lebanese delegation would soon follow it to Cairo. Thus the Levant States were drawn into the movement for unity; for

political, strategic and economic reasons it was impossible to conceive of an Arab union in which they were not included; but it was clear that they could not take an effective part in that movement until they possessed self-government and effective freedom of political action. It was therefore a general Arab interest to see Syria and Lebanon possessed of self-government. More than that, if a crisis should arise over the grant of self-government, it would be vital for the other Arab countries to give what help they could to the Syrians and Lebanese, because such a crisis would be a test of the effective strength of Arab unity. In regard to Lebanon there was a special reason for going to her help: Lebanon was only half-heartedly Arab nationalist, and nothing would strengthen her Arab sentiment so much as a practical demonstration of the concern of the other Arab countries for her welfare and of the benefits she could obtain from their assistance.

4

It was in fact the Lebanese Government which first challenged the French on the issue of the transfer of powers. The new Prime Minister, Riyadh as-Sulh, made a statement of policy to the Chamber on October 7th, 1943, announcing the Government's intention to propose a revision of the Constitution. This, he said, would be purged of all provisions inconsistent with the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon, so that henceforward no authorities other than the legitimate representatives of the nation would participate in its government. During the following weeks the Government, while preparing its constitutional measure, was also engaged in controversy with the French authorities as to its right to modify the Constitution without previous agreement with the Mandatory Power. The controversy was made public by C.F.L.N. in a communiqué dated November 5th. This stated that the Committee could not recognize the validity of a unilateral revision of the Constitution; but that this decision did not affect the determination of France "to accord Lebanon complete independence by means of negotiations conducted between the two parties in the spirit of loyal and friendly collaboration which must continue as in the past to inspire the special relations uniting Lebanon and France". The Lebanese Government proceeded with the arrangements they

had made for submitting their measure to the Chamber, where it was carried by 48 votes to none on the 8th. The amendments affected the following Articles of the Constitution:

Article 1. References to the Mandatory Power and the League of Nations were eliminated, and Lebanon was described as "a sovereign State".

Article 11. French was no longer described as an official language.

Article 52. The treaty-making power was no longer to be limited by the reservations laid down in the Mandate.

Articles 50-54. These were annulled. They had provided that the exercise of the constitutional powers of Lebanese authorities should be subject to the maintenance of the Mandatory's rights and obligations; that Lebanon should eventually enter the League of Nations through the good offices of the Mandatory; that good relations would be maintained with "the neighbouring countries under French Mandate"; that disputes liable to lead to war should be submitted to the Mandatory's arbitration; and that agreements would be reached between Lebanon and France for the representation of the former, in countries where Lebanese residents were numerous, by means of attachés in French diplomatic and consular missions.

Articles 93 and 102. References to the Mandate were omitted.

On November 10th, two days after the passage of these amendments through the Chamber, M. Helou returned from a visit to Algiers. In the early hours of the following morning the Lebanese President and the majority of the Ministers were, by his order, arrested and removed from Beirut. A few hours later the Delegate-General issued decrees declaring the amendments null and void, suspending the Constitution, dissolving the Chamber and appointing Emile Edde—Bishara al-Khuri's unsuccessful opponent in the recent elections—as Head of the State and the Government.

These measures caused immediate and vigorous reactions, both in Lebanon and elsewhere. Throughout the next eleven days there was a general strike in the Lebanese towns; shops were shut, the ordinary newspapers ceased to appear and there were demonstrations in the streets. These led to clashes with

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French troops, and to the death or injury of a number of civilians. The two Ministers who had not been arrested, together with a majority of the Deputies, continued to assert their authority from a mountain retreat and began to organize an armed force.

During these critical days the Lebanese people displayed striking unity. The national cause took precedence over deep-seated sectarian conflicts, and very few even among the Maronites dissociated themselves from the united front. Eddé failed to form a political cabinet, and was forced to attempt the expedient of a council of civil servants.

Nevertheless, the country remained outwardly calm. That the Lebanese did not resort to an armed rising was due in large part to the confidence of their leaders in the value of the diplomatic support which they received from the Governments of the independent Arab States, of the United States and of Great Britain. The British attitude was defined by Mr. Law in the House of Commons on November 23rd:

> "The interest of His Majesty's Government in this dispute is twofold. First of all, we have endorsed the promises of independence given to the Lebanese people by General Catroux in 1941. His Majesty's Government have followed with sympathy and interest the subsequent development of constitutional government in the Lebanon. Secondly, the Lebanon is of vital importance to the war effort both as an operational base and from the point of view of communications. Any threat of a breakdown of law and order is therefore of direct concern to His Majesty's Government."

Impressed by the gravity of the situation created by M. Helleu's drastic action, the C.F.L.N. sent General Catroux to take charge in Beirut. He arrived there on the 19th and, having examined the situation in all its aspects, recommended the reinstatement of the Lebanese President, the release of the imprisoned Ministers and the recall of M. Helleu. Acceptance of this programme was announced in Algiers on the 22nd, and on the following day the Lebanese leaders returned to Beirut in triumph. It was at once apparent that the reinstatement of the Ministers, as well as of the President, was inevitable, and the French authorities agreed to this further concession. Furthermore, M. Chataigneau, who had provisionally taken M. Helleu's place as Delegate-General, cancelled the decrees

of November 11th with the exception of that which declared the constitutional amendments null and void.

3

The acute crisis was now over, but the problem from which it had sprung was still unsolved. When the Lebanese Chamber re-assembled, the Premier asserted his Government's view that the reforms of November 8th were still in force. Moreover, the Syrian authorities lost no time, once the tension in Lebanon was relaxed, in taking parallel action. At an extraordinary session of the Syrian Chamber on January 24th, 1944, the President of the Republic and the Deputies took an oath of allegiance to a new Constitution which comprised Articles 1–115 of the existing text. The effect of this was to amend Article 116. Earlier, on December 1st, the Syrian Premier had declared that Syria did not recognise the Mandate, and was not willing to conclude a Treaty as a condition of the transfer of powers which properly belonged to her; had demanded the surrender by the French of all the attributes of sovereignty, under those limitations only which were occasioned by the state of war; and had affirmed that the Syrian and Lebanese Governments were in agreement on the administration of the common interests.

The C.F.L.N. left these claims and assertions unchallenged, and announced that General Catroux would again go to Beirut, this time for the purpose of negotiating with the two Governments on the transfer of powers. The negotiations resulted in an agreement, concluded on December 22nd, which provided that the powers previously exercised by French authorities in the name of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments should be transferred to their control. They would take over the services included in the category of Common Interests as from January 1st, and other powers by specific agreements still to be concluded. Thus, by the beginning of 1944, the two States had survived a sharp test of their will to independence and had extended the range of their autonomous administration.

6

In the course of the year 1944 there were a number of changes in the political situation in Syria and Lebanon. Some of these changes were of no more than local importance,

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Thus, in October the Ministry of Saadallah al-Jabiri in Syria was replaced by that of Faris al-Khuri, who had previously been President of the Chamber; the change was made for internal political reasons, and the new Government was composed largely of the same Ministers and followed the same general policy as its predecessor. In April, 1945, the Ministry was reconstructed. In Lebanon, too, there was a ministerial change: in January, 1945, the Government of Riyadh as-Sulh was replaced by that of Abdul-Hamid al-Karami, a Sunni Moslem deputy from Tripoli.

A change affecting the structure of the Syrian Republic took place in September, with the incorporation of the province of Jebel Druse fully in the Syrian State. It had already been formally incorporated in February, 1942, but had preserved a special administrative and financial régime which was now abolished. This step was taken at the request of the Administrative Council of Jebel Druse. A similar step was not taken in the Alawi province; although there was a party in favour of it, the forces of separatism were still strong, and the situation was complicated by the existence of disorder and unrest fomented by Sulaiman Murshid and his associates.

Other changes of greater importance, because they affected more immediately the problem of Franco-Lebanese and Franco-Syrian relations, were the transfer of power to the Syrian and Lebanese Governments and the financial agreement of February, 1944:

(i) In accordance with the agreement made by General Catroux with the two Governments on December 22nd, 1943, a series of particular agreements was negotiated during 1944, and by the end of the year almost all the services in question had been formally handed over, including the Customs Administration, the Financial and Economic Services, the control of the tobacco monopoly and concessionary companies, the Press Censorship, the Beirut control and the "Sûreté Générale" (although a French "Sûreté aux Armées" was retained). These transfers gave the two Governments almost all the attributes of independent governments. At the end of 1944 the only important attribute which had not been transferred was the control of the local levies, the "Troupes Spéciales".

In regard to the 'Services Economiques' and certain other departments, the experiment was tried of administering them by joint Syro-Lebanese commissions; but for the most part the transferred services were administered separately by the two Governments. To the more ardent nationalists, this was an unsatisfactory element in a transfer which was otherwise to be welcomed. They complained also that the transfer was more in name than in reality, since for reasons of efficiency the French personnel of the services was retained temporarily.

In February, 1944, an Anglo-French financial agreement was signed. It named a "franc area" composed of all territories under the control of the French Committee of National Liberation, and fixed the rate of exchange at 200 francs to the pound sterling. With the agreement of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments, a special area fixed the rate of exchange of the Syro-Lebanese pound at 22.65 francs (it had previously been 20 francs), and thus prevented any change in the present rate of 2.83 Syro-Lebanese pounds to the pound sterling. The French Committee also agreed to receive certain franc assets of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments, to restore the gold formerly held by the Banque de Syrie et du Liban, and, should there be any further modification in the value of the franc, to guarantee the Syro-Lebanese pound against any resulting loss.

The agreement was widely criticized in Syria and Lebanon. It was regarded as contravening the allied declarations of June, 1941, which promised Syria and Lebanon full membership of the sterling bloc. Moreover, by weakening the link between the pound sterling and the currency of the two States, it created barriers between them and the other Arab States at a time when the movement for closer association between the Arab countries was gathering renewed strength. More important still, it was observed that the agreement was only temporary, and could be terminated by either party at three months' notice. When it should come to an end, there was a danger

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that the Syro-Lebanese currency would once more share in the precarious fortunes of the franc; and its reserves would be under the control of the French Government, which might be tempted to use this control in order to strike a hard political or financial bargain.

7

It has already been mentioned that by the end of 1944 all important services administered by the Delegation-General had been transferred to the Syrian and Lebanese Governments, with the exception of the 'Troupes Spéciales'. These troops, whose numbers had been considerably augmented since the allied occupation in 1941, and who now formed a reasonably well-disciplined and well-armed force of several thousands, were under the French territorial command. Throughout the year the two Governments pressed for their formal transfer, while making it clear that for the duration of the war they would, of course, remain at the disposal of the Allied Command. The French Government was unwilling to transfer them until the end of the war, or at least until a later stage in it, and was not prepared to give them up unconditionally but only in exchange for the conclusion of treaties of alliance with France by the Syrian and Lebanese Governments; the possession of the 'Troupes' was, in fact, their only direct bargaining-counter in their attempt to persuade the two Governments to sign such treaties.

The Syrian and Lebanese Governments for their part did not admit that the question of the 'Troupes' had anything to do with the question of the treaties. In their eyes the transfer of the 'Troupes' was a logical consequence of promises and declarations already made by the French: General Catroux, in his declarations of Syrian and Lebanese independence in 1941, had stated that the two States were at liberty to raise national armies. Moreover, the transfer of the 'Troupes Spéciales' was a necessary preliminary to any negotiations for a treaty; such negotiations could only take place on a footing of complete equality, and equality could not exist so long as the Syrian and Lebanese Governments did not possess armed forces and so long as the French held over their heads the threat of refusal to transfer the 'Troupes'.

In addition to insisting on their right to control the

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'Troupes,' the two Governments emphasized their need for them. The experience of 1936-1939 had shown what a mockery was self-government so long as the Government had not sufficient forces at its disposal to assert its will. No Government could expect obedience and respect so long as it was not able to curb the pretensions of the overmighty subject; this was particularly true of a country like Syria, where semi-feudal tenures were still to be found, localism was so strong a force, and there existed large Bedouin tribes traditionally recalcitrant to civil government and having had full opportunity to arm themselves during the war. Local disorders had already taken place among the Bedouin in the Jezirah and in the area dominated by Sulaiman Murshid. It was impossible to rely entirely upon French-controlled forces to prevent disorder, since that would be to admit that France was still the real power in the country and the Government only a façade; loyalty and obedience would only be given where real authority lay.

There was another reason for the attitude of the Syrian Government. They remembered that in 1920 the French had occupied Damascus and overturned the national Government by force; and that in 1925 the national revolt had been suppressed with the help of local levies drawn from the Circassian and other minorities. They were afraid that at some time in the future the French Government might be tempted to repeat its action and to restore its authority in Damascus with the help of the 'Troupes Spéciales', who included a large number of Circassians, Kurds and other minorities organized in separate units. Since the 'Troupes' were the only considerable armed force under French command in the Levant, their transfer to the local Governments would remove this weapon from the hands of the French.

For all these reasons the Syrian and Lebanese Governments demanded the immediate and unconditional transfer of the 'Troupes Spéciales', or else, if this were refused, their disbandment. Otherwise they would proceed with the formation of national armies. Both Governments made special appropriations for this purpose in their 1944 and 1945 budgets.

With this fundamental difference of opinion between the French point of view and that of the Syrians and Lebanese, it is not surprising that when discussions on the subject opened in the early months of 1944 they led to little result. A draft

agreement was, it is true, reached between the Syrian Government and the Delegate-General, General Beynet, but negotiations were then broken off by the French Committee in Algiers. With Lebanon a limited agreement was reached; in June it was arranged that a battalion wholly officered by Lebanese would be placed at the disposal of the Lebanese Government pending the conclusion of a general agreement. By the end of the year no further progress had been made, and the new year opened with demonstrations in Damascus in favour of the formation of an army and against what was believed to be the too indulgent attitude of the Government towards French delays.

8

A still more fundamental question, that of the conclusion of Franco-Syrian and Franco-Lebanese Treaties, became urgent during 1944.

The French Government claimed that, in spite of the declarations of independence made in 1941 and the subsequent transfer of powers, legally the Mandate still remained in force and would remain until a restored League of Nations or another international authority should bring it to an end; as in the case of Iraq, a necessary preliminary to its being brought to an end was the conclusion of treaties of alliance and friendship with the Mandatory Power. They pointed out that the declarations of independence had referred to the negotiation of such treaties, and even claimed that independence had not been granted unconditionally but only on condition that the Syrian and Lebanese Governments entered into treaties with France. They referred further to Great Britain's recognition of France's pre-eminent and privileged position in the Levant, and maintained that treaties were necessary in order to define and safeguard her position.

France's insistence on the signature of treaties had several motives. There was first her desire to preserve her political, economic and other interests in the Levant States themselves. Again, there was the fear that a withdrawal from the Levant would lower her prestige in North Africa and encourage the demands of the nationalists there. Moreover, so long as Metropolitan France was not liberated, the Fighting French were naturally reluctant to give up a particle of their position anywhere in the world where they still retained it. The

11: Stewart 5-4 (no date) 1968 MEI Syria/Leb

Liberation of France in the course of 1944 deprived this factor of its importance, and there were signs that those who had worked in the movement of resistance inside France were less interested in the Levant and less insistent on retaining their rights there than those who had been associated with General de Gaulle. (The liberation also worked in the other direction, however; it enormously strengthened the bargaining position of the French Government in their dealings with the Levant States and with the great Powers.)

There was another factor of great importance in determining France's attitude. For more than twenty years a natural process of events had been tending to draw Syria and Lebanon into the Anglo-Saxon sphere of influence, economically and culturally, no less than politically. In part this was an aspect of a world-process, the gradual extension of Anglo-Saxon influence everywhere; in part, however, it was due to local conditions, to the fact that Syria and Lebanon were integral parts of the Eastern Arab world in which British influence was dominant. The war had strengthened this tendency: on the one hand, France's power in the world had declined in proportion to that of the Anglo-Saxon powers, and on the other, the movement for Arab unity was drawing close the ties between Syria and Lebanon and their neighbours. It was, therefore, possible that if France withdrew from the Levant States her place would be taken by Great Britain, inevitably and without any deliberate British intention. France would thus have withdrawn, not in favour of Syrian and Lebanese independence, but in favour of another world Power. Even a Frenchman who believed in Anglo-French friendship and had no suspicion of British intentions could not regard this prospect with pleasure.

The treaties which the French Government contemplated were similar in principle to the Anglo-Iraqi agreement, but rather more onerous in some ways. It wanted a military convention giving it the right to use a number of naval, military and air bases, and to send a military mission to organize the Syrian and Lebanese armies; a diplomatic and consular convention giving France's representative in the Levant States precedence over other members of the diplomatic corps, and providing for the care of Syrian and Lebanese interests by France's representatives in those countries in which the States were not directly represented; a cultural agreement

safeguarding the position of the French language and culture in education; a financial agreement perpetuating the connexion between the Syro-Lebanese currency and the franc; an undertaking by the two Governments to employ French advisers and technicians in preference to nationals of other States; and adequate guarantees for the position of French schools, concessionary companies and other institutions. It is probable, however, that the more far-sighted and moderate members of the French Government did not believe they had any chance of obtaining a settlement so favourable as this, and would have been satisfied with any agreement, however tenuous, which would enable them to save their faces.

The Syrian and Lebanese Governments, for their part, were unwilling to bind themselves to France by such comprehensive treaties. They denied the French assertions that the Mandate was still in force, that it could only be extinguished after the conclusion of treaties and that the declarations of independence had been conditional on such treaties being made. Their attitude sprang partly from distrust based upon twenty years' experience of Mandatory rule, the memories of 1920 and 1925, past attempts to negotiate treaties and the cession of Alexandretta. It was due also to the belief that Syria and Lebanon had nothing to gain from such a close alliance with France. Their independence was already recognized by the world and did not need protecting. Moreover, France would not be in a position to protect them effectively, and they had not sufficient common interests with her to justify their linking their fate with hers permanently. The Anglo-Egyptian and Anglo-Iraqi Treaties were 'points of equilibrium', based upon and expressing essential common interests, not creating a new situation so much as formalizing one which already existed. But a Franco-Syrian or Franco-Lebanese treaty on the same model would not be a 'point of equilibrium', but an obstacle in the way of the natural development of the Levant States and could not therefore constitute a definitive settlement.

The Syrian and Lebanese Governments were unwilling, therefore, to sign an exclusive military convention with France; to link their currency permanently with the franc; to bind themselves to employ only French officials in their administrations; to give such cultural undertakings as would limit their freedom of action to plan their educational systems as

11: Hourani 3-4 (no date) 1968 MDI Syria

they thought fit; or in general to enter into any engagements which would place obstacles in the way of their closer association with their neighbours. Nor would they give a privileged position to any other Power. It was clear, however, that they would be willing to negotiate treaties of alliance and friendship with all the major Powers, France among them, and to take their full share in the task of guaranteeing international security, under the supervision of whatever international authority might be established. They would also be willing to recognize the position of French cultural and economic institutions functioning in the Levant States and to give guarantees for their freedom of action; for example, they would give assurances for the position of French concessionary companies and French schools, always provided that they confined themselves to their proper functions and did not use their freedom for political ends. They would also give guarantees to French officials and advisers in their service.

In the course of 1944, tentative discussions but not official negotiations took place with a view to clarifying the position of the two parties. They led, however, to no agreement between the two points of view, and at the end of 1944 the question of the treaty was no nearer settlement than it had been at the beginning.

9

The great mass of Syrian political opinion was behind the Government in its attitude towards the Army and the Treaty; if it differed from the Government, it differed in being more intransigent and less inclined to endure delays or make concessions. It was clear that, should a clash come, the French authorities could not fall back upon their old expedient of installing a 'moderate' ministry of puppets. The present governing group indeed was the most moderate that could be expected. It had already lost some of its popular support and had been severely criticized in the Chamber on account of its efforts to restrain the impatience of the people, and was only kept in power by the absence of any alternative and the personal ascendancy of the President.

In Lebanon, too, the attitude defined in the preceding section was held by the greater part of the Government and of the political public, but not so unanimously and unreservedly

11: Hourani 5-4 (no date) 1960 MDI Syria
Lebanon 1961

as in Syria ; and the external question of relations with France was complicated by various internal questions.

Before 1943, there had been a reasonably clear division of opinion in Lebanon. On the one side stood the Maronites and other Uniates, with a number of the other Christians and heterodox Moslems ; they were in favour of Lebanese independence within its present enlarged frontiers and under French protection. On the other side were the greater part of the Moslems and the non-Catholic Christians, and all, Christians and Moslems alike, who held Arab nationalist views. They were opposed to Lebanese independence under French protection, and in general desired the reduction of Lebanon to its old frontiers and the replacement of independence by autonomy inside the Syrian State.

In November, 1943, the greater part of both groups united in opposition to France : the second group because they had always been opposed to French domination and the first because, while they had wanted French protection, they were not willing to be treated as mere tools and were sincerely attached to their independence. Their resistance was successful, and resulted in the gradual transfer of powers to the Lebanese Government and a partial withdrawal of French influence. (This process had already begun, but was accelerated by the November crisis.) This, in its turn, modified the internal political balance of Lebanon. So long as French influence had been paramount, it had been used in order to maintain the predominance of the Maronite and pro-French element. Now that French influence was diminishing however, this element could no longer retain its dominant position. The Maronites did not constitute a majority of the population, and even inside the Maronite community pro-French feeling was not so strong as it had been. The way was open for other groups to secure power in Lebanon.

This change in the internal situation itself led to further changes in political feeling. The more extreme of the Maronites and Lebanese separatists hoped for the restoration of French influence, and were now willing, if necessary, to accept a reduction in the size of Lebanon which would give it once more a large Christian majority. At the other extreme were some of the Moslems, who were now willing to accept the independence of Greater Lebanon for tactical reasons : either from personal interest or in the hope that in a few years' time, when their

11: Hourani 3-4 (no date) 1948 MDI Syria (ND)
Lebanon (ND)

greater natural increase had given the Moslems a majority in Lebanon, they would be able to destroy the independence of Lebanon and incorporate it in Syria.

Between these two extremes there was a more balanced and moderate group. Although many of its members had opposed the independence and enlargement of Lebanon in the past, they were now willing to accept Lebanese independence within its present frontiers, but only on two conditions: the first that Lebanon followed a policy of real independence and was not subservient to France or any other Power, and the second that she co-operated closely with the other Arab States. This group included both Moslems and Christians. Its policy was based upon a number of considerations. Some of the Christians wanted an independent Arab Lebanon as a centre of Arab Christian civilization, others because they no longer believed in the possibility of French or other foreign protection and wanted an alternative. Some of the Moslems advocated Lebanese independence inside an Arab union as a means of gradually teaching the Christians to forget their fears of Arab nationalism. Others again, both Christians and Moslems, hoped that Lebanon might play a special part in the Arab world, as a centre of Western civilization and lay nationalism.

The possibility of a stable Lebanon depended entirely on this intermediate group. The success of this group, in its turn, depended on its discovering some basis of unity sufficient to neutralize the centrifugal force of sectarianism. The need for such unity led to an attempt to develop a specifically Lebanese Arab nationalism. It was also one of the causes, although by no means the only one, for the spread of Communism which was one of the features of the year in Lebanon, and also to a smaller extent in Syria.

None of these groups was fully organized or articulate, and the Lebanese political scene changed continuously and rapidly. One factor however remained stable: the majority of the population no longer wanted or believed in French protection, and any attempts by France to split Lebanon from Syria on the question of the treaty were bound to fail.

10

The question of Franco-Syrian and Franco-Lebanese relations was complicated by its connexion with the question of Anglo-French relations in the Levant. Great Britain's policy

in the Levant States was based upon two commitments undertaken in 1941: first, her endorsement of General Catroux's declarations of Syrian and Lebanese independence, and secondly, the Lyttelton-de Gaulle agreement, by which Great Britain recognized France's privileged and pre-eminent position over any other European power in the Levant, subject to the essential condition that Syria and Lebanon should be given independence. Behind these two undertakings there lay two interests. On the one hand, Great Britain was vitally interested in securing stable, friendly and contented régimes in Syria and Lebanon. The experience of the last decades had shown that any movement of unrest or discontent in the Levant States would have immediate repercussions in other Arab regions in which Great Britain was more directly interested. There was, moreover, a new consideration involved: as the Power which had occupied the Levant in 1941 and restored French rule there, Great Britain would be held responsible for what France did, and her intentions towards the Arab world as a whole would be largely judged by what happened in Syria and Lebanon. On the other hand, Great Britain urgently needed the friendship of France in Europe and the world; Anglo-French dissension in the Levant might react upon Anglo-French relations in the world; and such dissension was likely to arise if the French suspected that Great Britain was anxious for them to withdraw from the Levant in order to take their place. It was, therefore, of great importance for Great Britain to avoid giving any ground for this suspicion; this was the more difficult because of that natural tendency to the spread of Anglo-Saxon influence in the Levant which has already been mentioned. Syrian and Lebanese independence would in fact, and even with the severest of self-denying ordinances on the part of Great Britain, mean an extension of Anglo-Saxon influence; it was, therefore, essential for Great Britain to avoid giving the impression that she approved of this tendency and was trying to accelerate it.

It was clear from the beginning that, although it might be possible to reconcile these two interests, it would at least be difficult. From 1941 to the end of 1943, however, the need to try to reconcile them did not arise in an acute form, because the essential condition laid down in the Lyttelton-de Gaulle agreement—the establishment of Syrian and Lebanese independence—had not yet been properly fulfilled. British efforts

were therefore directed to persuading the Free French to make their declarations of independence a reality by the restoration of self-governing institutions. These efforts led to considerable tension between Great Britain and Free France. Many Frenchmen refused to believe that British insistence on the independence of the two States was due only to a desire to fulfil the promises made in 1941. Their suspicions were directed particularly against the British Minister, Sir E. L. Spears, who continued to champion the cause of the Levant States with force and enthusiasm even after he was succeeded as Minister by Mr. T. A. Shone in December, 1944. Apart from the disagreement on general policy, there were other causes of tension: the difficulties arising from the combination of a British supreme command with a French territorial command, the existence of a network of British political and security officers, the inevitable clash of two very different temperaments and administrative systems.

This phase came to an end with the restoration of national government, the Lebanese crisis of November, 1943, and the subsequent agreement for the transfer of powers. In 1944 a new phase opened: the search for a definitive settlement of Franco-Syrian and Franco-Lebanese relations. In this new phase it was no longer possible to delay the attempt to reconcile the two aspects of British policy. Short of denouncing one or other of her undertakings, only one course was possible for her. She must try to persuade both sides to make some sort of definitive agreement on paper. The exact terms of the agreement were secondary, so long as France secured such concessions as might be regarded as constituting a privileged position. What was important was that an agreement of some kind should be made and neither side should feel it had been forced out of its position or had lost prestige. To this end it was important to prevent a conflict or another crisis like that of November, 1943; and an essential means of preventing conflict was to refrain from leading either side to believe that, should a crisis come, it was certain of British support.

A definitive solution could only be reached, if at all, by free agreement; there was no question of forcing the Syrians and Lebanese to make a treaty. Nor, if a treaty was not made, could there be any question of abrogating the declarations of independence or a repetition of what had happened in 1920. On the other hand, should the French fail to secure a guarantee

of their position, there was no question of Great Britain's trying to usurp their place or profit from the wreckage of their hopes.

Finally, in all this complex situation, Great Britain must remember that she was only one of a number of interested Powers, who had their own views on the question and who had not endorsed the Lyttelton-de Gaulle agreement. While trying to secure the fulfilment of that agreement, Great Britain could not allow her policy to drift too far from that of her Allies.

This general line of policy was authoritatively defined by Mr. Churchill in his speech in the House of Commons on February 27th, 1945. Reporting on the Crimea Conference, and his subsequent meetings with Arab leaders in Egypt, he said :

> 'Finally, we had the pleasure of a long discussion with President Shukri of Syria, in which we did our utmost to enjoin a friendly attitude towards the French and to encourage negotiation for a suitable settlement with the French, affecting not only Syria but also the Lebanon. I must make clear once and for all the position of His Majesty's Government in respect of Syria and the Lebanon, and in relation to our French Allies. That position is governed by the statements made in 1941, in which the independence of these Levant States was definitely declared by Great Britain and France. At that time, and ever since, the British Government has made it clear that they would never seek to supplant French influence by British influence in the Levant States. We are determined also to respect the independence of these States and to use our best endeavours to preserve a special position for France, in view of the many cultural and historic connexions which France has so long established with Syria. We hope it may be possible for the French to preserve that special position. We trust that these States will be firmly established by the authority of the world organization, and that French privilege will also be recognized.
>
> 'However, I must make it clear that it is not for us alone to defend by force either Syrian and Lebanese independence or French privilege. We seek both and we do not believe that they are incompatible. Too much must not therefore be placed on the shoulders of Great Britain alone.

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We have to take note of the fact that Russia and the United States recognize and favour Syrian and Lebanese independence, but do not favour any special position for any other foreign country. All these and many other matters affecting the Middle East are fitting and necessary subjects for the Peace Conference, at which we must resolutely strive for final settlements of lasting peace between all the States and races comprised in the Middle East and in the Eastern basin of the Mediterranean."[1]

II

The last sentence of Mr. Churchill's statement referred to a new factor which had made itself felt in the past year. Since 1941, the United States of America had refrained from recognising the independence of Syria and Lebanon, and had made it clear that she would not give recognition until the independence of the two States became a reality. By 1944, the transfer of powers had reached a point where the U.S. Government felt itself justified in changing its attitude. In September, it formally recognized the independence of the two States. Mr. George Wadsworth, who had previously been American Consul-General and Diplomatic Agent, was appointed the first U.S. Minister to the two States.

Already, in July, the Government of the U.S.S.R. had accorded its recognition. It appointed M. Solod as its first Minister in October.

Both the U.S.A. and the U.S.S.R., at the time of that recognition and subsequently, made it clear that they recognized Syrian and Lebanese independence unconditionally and that they did not accept the privileged and pre-eminent position of France or any other Power in the Levant. In other words, they did not endorse the Lyttelton-de Gaulle agreement of 1941.

A number of the States also gave their recognition, and by the end of the year the only important Allied or neutral State which had not yet done so was Turkey. A consequence of this change in the international status of the two countries was the appointment of a number of Syrian and Lebanese diplomatic and Consular representatives in foreign countries. The formal sovereignty of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments was further emphasized by their declaration of war on Germany and Japan in February, 1945, their signature of the declaration

[1] *Parliamentary Debates*, 5th Series, Vol. 408, col. 1,290.

11: Hourani 5-4 (no date) 1948 MEI Syria AGI LEBANON MEI

of the United Nations in April and their invitation to the San Francisco Conference.

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Another development which greatly strengthened the position of the two States was the establishment of the Arab League. In the second half of 1943 and the first half of 1944 the Egyptian Prime Minister, Mustafa an-Nahhas Pasha, had held a series of conversations on Arab unity with the representatives of other Arab Governments. On their completion, he decided to summon a preparatory conference or committee to draw a plan of union. The Committee met in Alexandria on September 28th, 1944. It was attended by representatives of the Egyptian, Iraqi, Syrian, Lebanese, Transjordanian, Sa'udi-Arabian and Yemeni Governments, and by a representative of the Palestinian-Arab parties. Its work was completed by the publication on October 7th of a 'Protocol', signed by the representatives of Egypt, Syria, Lebanon, Transjordan and Iraq, and later adhered to by Sa'udi-Arabia and Yemen; the Palestinian, as not representing a Government, did not sign it.

The Protocol proclaimed the formation of a League of Arab States, composed of the independent Arab States which agreed to join it. It was to have a Council, on which the States would be represented on an equal footing. Its task would be to supervise the execution of agreements concluded between these States, to organize periodical meetings and to co-ordinate their political policies. The Council's decisions would be applicable to those who accepted them, but would be executory and obligatory in cases where disagreement arose between two members of the League and they sought the Council's intervention for its settlement. It would be forbidden to have recourse to force for the settlement of any dispute between members. Each State would have the right to conclude with other States, members or non-members of the League, treaties which were not in contradiction with the text or spirit of this agreement; no member was to follow a foreign policy prejudicial to the policy of the League or any of its members. The Council would offer its mediation in any conflict that might arise between members of the League or with non-members.

A Commission was to be formed immediately by members of the Preparatory Committee with a view to drawing up the

11: Moyen-Orient 3-4 (no date) 1948 MD1 Syria
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statutes of the Council and examining political questions which might form the subject of agreements between the Arab States. Arab States represented on the Committee would co-operate closely on economic, financial, cultural, social and other matters. Commissions of experts for each type of question would be set up to draft plans for co-operation in these matters. When all the commissions should have concluded their work, the Preparatory Committee would meet to examine the results of their studies with a view to convening the general Arab Congress.

The Committee hoped that in the future the Arab countries would consolidate these first results with others, particularly if, after the conclusion of the war, institutions were created which would unite the nations with closer and stronger ties.

The Protocol also contained two special decisions, the one relating to Lebanon and the other to Palestine. The former stated that 'the Arab States represented in the Preparatory Committee affirm unanimously their respect for the independence and sovereignty of Lebanon within its present frontiers, which have already been recognized by their Governments after Lebanon had followed a policy of independence as proclaimed by her Government in its ministerial programme, which was unanimously approved by the Lebanese Chamber of Deputies on October 7th, 1943.'

The decision in regard to Palestine stated that Palestine constituted one of the important elements in the Arab world; the rights of the Arabs could not be touched without danger to the peace and stability of the Arab world. The Committee considered that the engagements entered into by Great Britain, comprising the cessation of Jewish immigration, the safeguarding of lands belonging to Arabs and the gradual evolution of Palestine towards independence, represented acquired rights of the Arabs and their execution would be a step towards the desired aim. The Committee proclaimed its support for the cause of Palestine. While sympathizing with the sufferings of the Jews, it thought that nothing could be more arbitrary and unjust than to settle the question of the Jews of Europe by another injustice, the victims of which would be the Arabs of Palestine.

The political sub-committee of the Preparatory Committee met in Cairo in February, 1945, to draft the constitution of the Arab League. After its work was completed, the Preparatory

Committee met once more in Cairo on March 17th. It included representations of the Egyptian, Iraqi, Syrian, Lebanese, Transjordanian and Sa'udi-Arabian Governments and of the Arabs of Palestine. On March 22nd the representatives of these six Governments signed the 'Pact of the Arab League' at the first meeting of the Plenary Arab Congress. It was not signed by the Palestinian delegate, since he did not represent an Arab Government. A copy was sent to the Imam of Yemen for his adherence.

The Pact, which differed considerably from the Protocol of Alexandria and in general was less binding upon the signatories, stated that the Arab League was composed of the independent Arab States signatory to the Pact; any independent Arab State could join the League on application. The object of the League was to draw closer the relations between member-States, to co-ordinate their political action, safeguard their independence and sovereignty, and interest itself in general in questions concerning the Arab countries; also to ensure that, within the framework of the régime and the conditions prevailing in each State, a close co-operation should exist in economic and financial questions, matters of communications, cultural matters, questions connected with nationality, passports and extradition, social affairs and public health. The League would have a Council on which each member-State would have one vote. The Council would try to realize the objects of the League, supervise the execution of agreements concluded between members, and determine the means by which the League would collaborate with such international organizations as might be formed in future. There would also be special commissions for each of the questions enumerated above; representatives of other Arab States would be able to participate in these commissions on conditions to be determined by the Council.

The Pact forbade the use of force to settle disputes between member-States. Decisions of the Council would be binding in disputes not affecting the independence, sovereignty or territorial integrity of the States and in which the contending parties sought settlement by the Council. The Council would mediate in any dispute likely to lead to war between two member-States or a member-State and a third State. Decisions in cases of arbitration and mediation would be by a majority vote. In the case of aggression or the threat of it, the

11: Howard 5-4 (no date) 1948 MEH Syria A-W

State attacked could demand the immediate summoning of the Council, which would decide on the necessary steps by unanimous vote. Unanimous decisions of the Council would be binding on all members of the League, majority decisions only on those States which accepted them.

Each member-State undertook to respect the system of government of the other members and to abstain from any action tending to change that system. Member-States wishing to establish closer relations than those envisaged in the Pact might conclude agreements to this end.

The permanent seat of the League was to be Cairo, but the Council could decide to meet elsewhere. The Council would meet in ordinary session twice a year, in extraordinary session when necessary. The League would have a permanent Secretariat-General. (An Egyptian, Abdur-Rahman Azzam Bey, was appointed the first Secretary-General.) The expenses of the League would be shared by the member-States. The presidency of the Council would rotate among the representatives of the member-States.

Any member-State might withdraw from the League after a year's notice, and the Council might exclude any member which had not fulfilled its obligations, by unanimous vote. The Pact could be modified by a two-thirds majority of the member-States. The Pact was to come into force after four States had ratified it.

An annex to the Pact declared that the *de jure* international existence and independence of Palestine since her liberation from Ottoman rule could not be questioned. If, for reasons independent of her will, the external attributes of independence had not yet materialized, this could not constitute an obstacle to the participation of Palestine in the work of the Council. In these circumstances, and until she should enjoy the attributes of independence, the Council would choose an Arab representative from Palestine to participate in its work.

A further annex dealt with the participation of Arab countries not members of the Council in the work of the commissions to be set up under the Pact. The signatory States recommended the Council to go as far as possible in co-operating with them, and to make all efforts to learn their needs and understand their aspirations, and to use all political means possible to improve their conditions and secure their future.

11: Hourani 3-6 (no date) 1946

A week later, on March 31st, the Syrian Chamber ratified the Pact. It was ratified by the Lebanese Chamber on April 7th.

The formation of an Arab League, however loose, had immediate repercussions on the situation in the Levant States and will probably have further repercussions in the future. It made clear that in any conflict which might arise over the independence of Syria and Lebanon, they would have the full support of the Arab world; at the same time it provided another reason why the two States should keep their hands free and not undertake any commitments which might prevent their fulfilling their new obligations as members of the League.

The establishment of the Arab League may have particularly far-reaching consequences for Lebanon. Both at Alexandria and at Cairo the Arab States made it clear that they were prepared to go a long way to allay the fears which the thought of Arab union aroused in the minds of a section of the Lebanese Christians. The Lebanese article of the Alexandria Protocol emphasized that so long as Lebanon was willing to align her policy with that of the other Arab States she need not fear any demands upon her or claims for frontier revision, and could hope (as had been proved in November, 1943) for their support and help in her struggle for independence; while there is reason to believe that the clauses inserted into the Cairo Pact safeguarding sovereignty and freedom of action of the member-States were due to the anxiety of the Arab States to do anything possible to win the adherence of Lebanon. If their efforts should be vain, they would no doubt be forced to reconsider their attitude towards Lebanon.

APPENDIX A

TEXTS OF DOCUMENTS

1. The Mandate for Syria and Lebanon, July 24th, 1922.
2. Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between France and Syria, December 22nd, 1936.
3. Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between France and Lebanon, November 13th, 1936.
4. Exchange of Letters between Jamil Mardam Bey and M. de Tessan, December 11th, 1937.
5. Bonnet-Mardam Declaration and Protocol, November 14th, 1938.
6. Decrees of the High Commissioner in regard to the autonomy of Jebel Druze, the Alawis and the Jazirah, 1939.
7. Fundamental Principles of Future Status of Alexandretta, adopted by the League Council, January 27th, 1937.
8. Franco-Turkish Agreements on the Sanjaq of Alexandretta, July 4th, 1938.
9. Franco-Turkish Agreements on the cession of Alexandretta, June 23rd, 1939.
10. Proclamation of General Beynet concerning the Syrian Constitution, April 22nd, 1941.
11. General Catroux's Proclamation to the Syrians and Lebanese, June 8th, 1941.
12. General de Gaulle's Letter to General Catroux, June 24th, 1941.
13. Convention on the Cessation of Hostilities in Syria and Lebanon, July 12th, 1941.
14. General Catroux's Proclamation of Syrian Independence, September 16th, 1941.
15. General Catroux's Proclamation of Lebanese Independence, November 26th, 1941.
16. Agreement and Protocols on the Transfer of the Syro-Lebanese Common Interests, December 22nd, 1943-January 5th, 1944.

No. 1: *The Mandate for Syria and Lebanon, July 24th, 1922.*[1]

The Council of the League of Nations,

WHEREAS, The Principal Allied Powers have agreed that the territory of Syria and the Lebanon, which formerly belonged to the Turkish Empire, shall, within such boundaries as may be fixed by the said Powers, be entrusted to a Mandatory charged with the duty of rendering administrative advice and assistance to the population, in accordance with the provisions of Article 22 (paragraph 4) of the Covenant of the League of Nations; and

[1] Q. Wright, *Mandates under the League of Nations* (Chicago, 1930), pp. 609-11.

APPENDIX A [illegible]

WHEREAS, The Principal Allied Powers have decided that the mandate for the territory referred to above should be conferred on the Government of the French Republic, which has accepted it; and

WHEREAS, The terms of this mandate, which are defined in the articles below, have also been accepted by the Government of the French Republic and submitted to the Council of the League for approval; and

WHEREAS, The Government of the French Republic has undertaken to exercise this mandate on behalf of the League of Nations, in conformity with the following provisions; and

WHEREAS, By the aforementioned Article 22 (paragraph 8), it is provided that the degree of authority, control or administration to be exercised by the Mandatory, not having been previously agreed upon by the members of the League, shall be explicitly defined by the Council of the League of Nations;

Confirming the said mandate, defines its terms as follows:

Article 1: The Mandatory shall frame, within a period of three years from the coming into force of this mandate, an organic law for Syria and the Lebanon.

This organic law shall be framed in agreement with the native authorities and shall take into account the rights, interests and wishes of all the populations inhabiting the said territory. The Mandatory shall further enact measures to facilitate the progressive development of Syria and the Lebanon as independent states. Pending the coming into effect of the organic law, the Government of Syria and the Lebanon shall be conducted in accordance with the spirit of this mandate.

The Mandatory shall, as far as circumstances permit, encourage local autonomy.

Article 2: The Mandatory may maintain its troops in the said territory for its defence. It shall further be empowered, until the entry into force of the organic law and the re-establishment of public security, to organize such local militia as may be necessary for the defence of the territory and to employ this militia for defence and also for the maintenance of order. These local forces may only be recruited from the inhabitants of the said territory.

The said militia shall thereafter be under the local authorities, subject to the authority and the control which the Mandatory shall retain over these forces. It shall not be used for purposes other than those above specified save with the consent of the Mandatory.

Nothing shall preclude Syria and the Lebanon from contributing to the cost of the maintenance of the forces of the Mandatory stationed in the territory.

Article 5: The Mandatory shall at all times possess the right to make the [illegible] of the ports, railways and means of communication of Syria and the Lebanon for the passage of its troops and of all materials, supplies and fuel.

Article 6: The Mandatory shall be entrusted with the exclusive control of the foreign relations of Syria and the Lebanon and with the right to issue exequatur to the consuls appointed by foreign Powers. Nationals of Syria and the Lebanon living outside the limits of the territory shall be under the diplomatic and consular protection of the Mandatory.

Article 7: The Mandatory shall be responsible for seeing that no part of the territory of Syria and the Lebanon is ceded or leased or in any way placed under the control of a foreign Power.

Article 8: The privileges and immunities of foreigners, including the benefits of consular jurisdiction and protection as formerly enjoyed by capitulation or usage in the Ottoman Empire, shall not be applicable in Syria and the Lebanon. Foreign consular tribunals shall, however, continue to perform their duties until the coming into force of the new legal organizations provided for in Article 9.

Unless the Powers whose nationals enjoyed the aforementioned privileges and immunities on August 10, 1914, shall have previously consented the right to their re-establishment, or shall have agreed to their non-application during a specified period, these privileges and immunities shall at the expiration of the mandate be immediately re-established in their entirety or with such modifications as may have been agreed upon between the Powers concerned.

Article 9: The Mandatory shall establish in Syria and the Lebanon a judicial system which shall assure to natives as well as to foreigners a complete guarantee of their rights.

Respect for the personal status of the various peoples and for their religious interests shall be fully guaranteed. In particular, the control and administration of Wakfs shall be exercised in complete accordance with religious law and the dispositions of the founders.

Article 10: Pending the conclusion of special capitulation agreements, the capitulations treaties at present in force between foreign Powers and the Mandatory shall apply within the territory of Syria and the Lebanon.

Article 11: The Mandatory shall ensure to all complete freedom of conscience and the free exercise of all forms of worship which are consonant with public order and morality. No discrimination of any kind shall be made between the inhabitants of Syria and the Lebanon on the ground of difference in race, religion or language.

The Mandatory shall encourage public instruction, which shall be given through the medium of the native language in use in the territory of Syria and the Lebanon.

The right of each community to maintain its own schools for the instruction and education of its own members in its own language, while conforming to such educational requirements of a general nature as the administration may impose, shall not be denied or impaired.

Article 9: The Mandatory shall refrain from all interference in the administration of the Councils of management (Conseils de fabrique) or in the management of religious communities and sacred shrines belonging to the various religions, the immunity of which has been expressly guaranteed.

Article 10: The supervision exercised by the Mandatory over the religious missions in Syria and the Lebanon shall be limited to the maintenance of public order and good government; the activities of these religious missions shall in no way be restricted, nor shall their members be subjected to any restrictive measure on the ground of nationality, provided that their activities are confined to the domain of religion.

The religious missions may also concern themselves with education and relief, subject to the general right of regulation and control by the Mandatory or the local governments, in regard to education, public instruction and charitable relief.

Article 11: The Mandatory shall see that there is no discrimination, in Syria or the Lebanon against the nationals, including societies and associations, of any state member of the League of Nations as compared with its own nationals, including societies and associations, or with the nationals of any other foreign state in matters concerning taxation or commerce, the exercise of professions or industries, or navigation, or in the treatment of ships or aircraft. Similarly, there shall be no discrimination in Syria or the Lebanon against goods originating in or destined for any of the said states; there shall be freedom of transit, under equitable conditions, across the said territory.

Subject to the above, the Mandatory may impose or cause to be imposed by the local governments such taxes and customs duties as it may consider necessary. The Mandatory, or the local governments acting under its advice, may also conclude on grounds of contiguity any special customs arrangements with an adjoining country.

The Mandatory may take or cause to be taken, subject to the provisions of paragraph 1 of this article, such steps as it may think best to ensure the development of the natural resources of the said territory and to safeguard the interests of the local population.

department, unless this department renounces the acquisition of any such antiquity.

No antiquity may leave the country without an export licence from the said department.

(4) Any person who maliciously or negligently destroys or damages an antiquity shall be liable to a penalty to be fixed.

(5) No clearing of ground or digging with the object of finding antiquities shall be permitted, under penalty of fine, except to persons authorized by the competent department.

(6) Equitable terms shall be fixed for expropriation, temporary or permanent, of lands which might be of historical or archæological interest.

(7) Authorization to excavate shall only be granted to persons who show sufficient guarantees of archæological experience. The administrations of Syria and the Lebanon shall not, in granting these authorizations, act in such a way as to exclude scholars of any nation without good grounds.

(8) The proceeds of excavations may be divided between the excavator and the competent department in a proportion fixed by that department. If division seems impossible for scientific reasons, the excavator shall receive a fair indemnity in lieu of a part of the find.

Article 15: Upon the coming into force of the organic law referred to in Article 1, an arrangement shall be made between the Mandatory and the local governments for reimbursement by the latter of all expenses incurred by the Mandatory in organizing the administration, developing local resources, and carrying out permanent public works, of which the country retains the benefit. Such arrangement shall be communicated to the Council of the League of Nations.

Article 16: French and Arabic shall be the official languages of Syria and the Lebanon.

Article 17: The Mandatory shall make to the Council of the League of Nations an annual report to the satisfaction of the Council as to the measures taken during the year to carry out the provisions of this mandate. Copies of all laws and regulations promulgated during the year shall be attached to the said report.

Article 18: The consent of the Council of the League of Nations is required for any modification of the terms of this mandate.

Article 19: On the termination of the mandate, the Council of the League of Nations shall use its influence to safeguard for the future the fulfillment by the Governments of Syria and the Lebanon of the financial obligations, including pensions and allowances, regularly assumed by the administration of Syria or of the Lebanon during the period of the mandate.

Article 20: The Mandatory agrees that, if any dispute whatsoever should arise between the Mandatory and another Member of the League of Nations relating to the interpretation or the application of the provisions of the mandate, such dispute, if it cannot be settled by negotiation, shall be submitted to the Permanent Court of International Justice provided for by Article 14 of the Covenant of the League of Nations.

The present instrument shall be deposited in original in the archives of the League of Nations and certified copies shall be forwarded by the Secretary-General of the League of Nations to all members of the League.

Done at London on the twenty-fourth day of July, one thousand nine hundred and twenty-two.

No. 2: *The Treaty of Friendship and Alliance between France and Syria, December 1936, 1936.*[1]

Le Gouvernement de la République française et le Gouvernement de la République syrienne, Vu l'intention exprimée par le Gouvernement français devant la Société des Nations de conclure, en tenant compte de l'évolution déjà accomplie, un traité avec le Gouvernement syrien ;

Considérant les progrès réalisés dans la voie de l'affermissement de la Syrie comme nation indépendante ;

Vu l'accord des deux Gouvernements pour réaliser, suivant un programme bien précisé, toutes conditions propres à assurer l'admission de la Syrie à la Société des Nations, dans un délai de trois ans, à dater des formalités de ratification ;

Ont convenu à cet effet de conclure un traité d'amitié et d'alliance pour définir sur les bases de complète liberté, souveraineté et indépendance, les relations qui existeront entre les deux États après la cessation du mandat, et d'un fait, dans les conventions, protocoles et lettres annexes qui font partie intégrante du traité, les conditions et modalités d'application.

A cette fin, Son Excellence le Président de la République française et Son Excellence le Président de la République syrienne, ont délégué comme leurs plénipotentiaires :

S. E. le Comte de Martel, ambassadeur, Haut-Commissaire ;
LL. EE. Djemil bey Mardam, Président du Conseil, Sadallah bey El Djabri, Ministre de l'Intérieur et des Affaires étrangères, Choucri bey Kouatli, Ministre des Finances et de la Défense ;

qui, s'étant communiqué leurs pouvoirs et les ayant trouvés en due forme, ont conclu ce qui suit :

[1] Ministère des Affaires Étrangères : Rapport à la Société des Nations sur la Situation de la Syrie et du Liban, 1936 (Paris, 1936), pp. xxv–xli.

Merchandise Trade

Data on foreign trade has been taken from the Customs' records. Published normally, this data includes all merchandise trade except :-

1. Goods not constituting exchanges between Lebanon and a foreign country, such as sea food caught off coastal waters, salvaged goods, goods confiscated or abandoned, and sold by the Customs.

2. Travelers' baggage, immigrants' and emigrants' belongings, and other such items not possessing the characteristics of commodity trade.

3. Minor imports and exports of nominal value, especially those sent by post, such as merchandise samples, gifts and goods valued under L.L. 3.00, books, etc.

4. Special governmental purchases, including imports of military equipment.

5. Goods imported by foreign embassies and missions and by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA).

6. Imports of specified concessionaires.[1]

Imports are recorded at the Customs under the appropriate commodity sections and country headings ; the entries are based on the declaration of the importer and on the invoice presented when the goods are withdrawn from the warehouses. All the work is done without the use of machines. The present lack of adequate facilities not only leads to many errors in calculations, sometimes great waste in time and energy and delays publication, but also makes the preparations of new tabulations extremely difficult and time-consuming ; whenever new information has been needed, as was the case for the quarterly tabulations of trade by country, it has been necessary to go back to the original Customs registers where imports are recorded.

The major adjustments which had to be made to the Customs figures have been for (1) coverage and (2) valuation. The following discussion treats each of these categories, and indicates the nature and type of adjustments actually made.

1. These imports, as well as those of UNRWA, are recorded separately at the Customs.

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A. Adjustment for Coverage

As noted above, Customs figures of imports and exports do not include personal effects of travelers and goods of nominal value. It has not been thought necessary to make any adjustment to account for these relatively small items. However, adjustments have been made with respect to the following:-

a. Re-exports: Re-exports in Lebanon are of two types: (i) those which have paid a duty upon entering the country and have thus been recorded as imports, the duty being refunded when the goods are re-exported (cf. Table 1) and (ii) those which have been re-exported directly from the Customs warehouses (cf. Table 2). For balance of payments purposes only re-exports in (i) have been added to the Customs export figures since they already appear as imports and it has been impossible to isolate them; those in (ii) have been considered as part of the transit trade.

b. Gold: Gold movements (bullion and coins) are included in Customs statistics and are often recorded at a fictitious value; as there is no import duty on gold, the government does little to enforce proper declaration and recording. In dealing with this problem, the value of gold has been deducted from foreign trade figures, its quantity by weight determined, and revaluation made on the basis of quarterly free market gold prices. The new estimated values have then been set aside for inclusion in the final tabulation under non-monetary gold movements.

c. It was discovered that foreign banknotes imported have been inadvertently recorded as merchandise imports. Their value in 1951 amounted to over 7.3 million Lebanese pounds (cf. Table 3). This item has been isolated from the merchandise figures for inclusion under capital movements.

d. Imported motion picture films are also included in merchandise imports, being given a fictitious value. As most films are not purchased, but enter the country on a rental basis, this item has also been isolated and excluded from trade returns (cf. Table 4).

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e. Concessions: The Lebanese Government has entered into special agreements with some foreign concessionnaires thereby allowing them to import certain commodities and

equipment free of duty. These companies may be conveniently divided into two categories according to their main center of interest and operation. 437 471

i. Some companies, like the Beirut Port Company, center their activities in Lebanon.

ii. Others are branches of foreign companies undertaking particular functions which are only a part of major operations abroad. Their local concession gives them some privileges of extraterritoriality; their activities are considered as taking place outside the country, as it were, in a free zone. The Iraq Petroleum Company is in this category.

It is probably because of this distinction between the two types of companies that their imports are recorded differently at the Customs. Whereas imports of companies in (i) are combined with general imports, imports of companies in (ii) are recorded separately. For balance of payments purposes, such a distinction is meaningful: imports by foreign companies in (ii) should be excluded as they do not constitute a drain on the country's foreign exchange resources. On the other hand, imports of companies under (i) should be assimilated to private imports, as these companies, although foreign, pay for their purchases abroad from local earnings. 457[2] 481 439

f. Imports of foreign embassies and missions, and imports of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency, whether destined for consumption in Lebanon or for shipment to other countries, have also been left separate for the same reasons as for imports of concessionnaries under (ii) above.

g. It would have been good to isolate also government imports and to include them under "government expenditures". However, this proved an impossible task as ordinary government imports are usually made through private dealers and are entered as private imports in the Customs records. On the other hand, government imports of military equipment are not recorded at all at the Customs, and no estimates of their value could be obtained.

Supplementary adjustments have also been made to account for "unrecorded transactions". This expression is here used to

457 cover smuggling and genuine trade operations not declared at the
439 Customs frontiers.
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a. **Smuggling**: Smuggled goods may be conveniently divided into (i) merchandise, (ii) narcotics and (iii) gold. It was decided to estimate the value of smuggling in each one of the three categories on the basis of cases caught by the Customs authorities. All contraventions of Customs regulations are in fact entered into special registers, giving particulars on the date, place and nature of the contravention, the means employed, the quantity and value of goods seized, the fine imposed and the conditions of settlement. For 1951 there are over 6000 entries and for 1952 about 5000. However, not all these entries could be considered as willful cases of smuggling; some obviously refer to cases of violations of Customs regulations due to the trader's ignorance of these regulations. Such cases have of course been excluded from consideration for the evaluation of total smuggling. All goods seized are subsequently recorded as merchandise trade by the Customs authorities.

i) Export smuggling of merchandise in Lebanon is normally much larger than import smuggling, mainly because of the country's entrepot position. In 1951 and 1952, most of the import smuggling came from Syria and consisted mainly of tobacco, hosiery, linen, cattle and *samne* (cooking fat), the latter especially during the second half of 1952. The value of smuggled goods seized amounted to about LL. 477,000 in 1951 and LL. 510,000 in 1952. However, private conversations with Customs officials and merchants would indicate that actual import smuggling was at least five times the volume of cases detected; this would make total import smuggling of merchandise about LL. 2.4 million in 1951 and over LL. 2.6 million in 1952.

Goods smuggled out of Lebanon went mainly to Israel and Syria; the merchandise seized is estimated at LL. 133,356 in 1951 and LL. 65,028 in 1952. Customs officials believe that it would be fair to assume that only 2% of the smuggled goods were actually detected. On that assumption export smuggling of merchandise was LL. 6.7 million in 1951 and LL. 3.3 million in 1952.

ii) Very little narcotics is smuggled into Lebanon; the Cus-

toms record of detected cases (mainly of opium brought in by small boats from Turkey) is really negligible; on the other hand, a large amount of *hashish* is smuggled out of Lebanon with Egypt as the main destination. Customs registers indicate quantities seized valued at LL. 152,922 in 1951 and LL. 366,212 in 1952; it is not unlikely, however, that as in the case of merchandise export smuggling, actual traffic was at least 50 times greater, with a value of over LL. 7.6 million in 1951 and LL. 18.3 million in 1952.

iii) As gold movements are not considered a part of merchandise trade, gold smuggling is discussed in a later section, under non-monetary gold movements.

b. **Other unrecorded transactions**: These represent local purchases of small traders from neighbouring countries (e.g. Syria, Turkey and Jordan) who often come to Beirut either to fill specific orders of their customers or to replenish their stocks. The traders take back the purchased goods with them without recording them as exports at the Lebanese Customs. Articles involved in this traffic consist mainly of imported jewelry, perfumes, cosmetics, expensive women's and men's apparel and, in general, any luxury goods that can be easily carried. A private investigation among the main Beirut shops that cater for this business reveals that probably as much as LL. 5 million is spent on it annually by foreign traders.

B. Adjustments for Valuation

1. Customs statistics for imports are given CIF and exports FOB. Moreover, although all imports are paid for in foreign currency bought in the free market, the Customs Administration records them in local currency, the conversion being made at the official rate of exchange, whenever official rates exist. In fact the Exchange Office has fixed such rates for fifteen foreign currencies (cf. Table 5) whose free market value may be anywhere from 30% to 80% higher than the official rate. Only in the rare cases when an official rate does not exist, is the free market rate used as a basis for conversion into local currency.

a. **CIF Values**. As imports at the Customs are recorded CIF, an attempt has been made, in order to conform to the IMF's

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procedure, to discover their FOB value by deducting shipping and insurance costs from the recorded Customs figures. However, many importers themselves were uncertain of these costs; nor could these costs be isolated either by countries or by commodities. The same commodity would be competitively imported from many different countries and in varying bulk. It was felt that a much more intensive study of the problem was needed before the proper adjustments could be made. Moreover, as virtually all shipping and insurance activities are handled through foreign firms, their cost should normally appear as payment, the same way as the price of imports. Thus, as it was not expected that the use of CIF prices would do serious damage to the overall results, the attempt to discover FOB values was abandoned and all the calculations in this study have been made on the basis of CIF prices.

As Lebanese export prices are quoted FOB, no problem of adjustment for shipping and insurance payments arises in their valuation.

b. **Exchange Rates.** As noted above, the value of imports is almost always converted into Lebanese currency at the official rate, which varies substantially from the open market rate. For purposes of conversion into local currency, the Customs Administration considers only the currency used by the importer in making payment, and not that of the country of origin of the goods. In actual practice it has been found that invoices of imports from countries for which no official exchange rates are fixed by the Exchange Office normally bear the notation "To be paid in Dollars or Sterling". This applies sometimes also to many goods imported from countries for which there are official rates of exchange. In general it can be said that goods from the Sterling Area, the Franc Area, and the USA are paid for in their respective currencies, while the bulk of goods from other countries are paid for either in dollars or in sterling. It is on this basis that conversions into local currency are made. When doubt exists as to the actual currency used for payment, the dollar is assumed to have been used and conversion into local currency is made at the official dollar rate.

The FOB value of exports are based directly on the Cus-

toms declarations. An examination of these declarations of a period of one month indicated that no more than one per cent of the export declarations were quoted in foreign currencies. So it was not thought worthwhile to make any adjustment on that score. Export values in 1951 and 1952 are given in table 6.

c. **Multiple Rates.** The problem confronted in the application of market exchange rates to imports is further complicated by the existence in Lebanon of two free exchange rates for some currencies: the "free" rate and the "area" account rate.

In the case of sterling, for instance, the free rate is the open market rate for the purchase of sterling from a special Lebanese account which could be used for sterling imports into Lebanon. The "area" account rate represents the price at which sterling from accounts of sterling area countries are sold to Lebanese importers, for purchases from the sterling area. These accounts can theoretically be used only between countries in the sterling area (e.g. between Jordan and Great Britain); their use by a non-sterling area country, like Lebanon, represents a leakage of sterling. This contravenes no laws in Lebanon, but does evade British financial regulations. No British exporter may accept sterling area accounts in payment for exports to a non-sterling area country. In usual cases, a Lebanese merchant acquires sterling area sterling from sources in, for example, Kweit for purchases of goods from Great Britain, for delivery to Kweit. However, when the goods arrive at the free zone in Beirut, they are "side tracked" and imported into Lebanon.

Sterling area account rates are slightly lower than the Lebanese account rates in the local market (e.g. in the middle of the two year period 1951-52, £1 - Sterling Area Account - was LL. 8.80, whereas £1 - Lebanese Account - was LL. 9.16). The difference of course accounts for the continued leakages from the sterling area account. The same discrepancy applies to the French franc where a Lebanese account and a Franc area account also exist.

All efforts to isolate the amounts involved in each account have met with failure, and must wait further study

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of the foreign exchange market. For purposes of this study, the Lebanese account rates have been used for both the sterling and the French franc.

d. **The Timing Problem.** The problem of time lags between the payment for, and consequently the transfer of title to goods, and the date of actual importation introduces a serious difficulty in the computation of foreign trade returns. The resulting difference between time of payment and time of recording by the Customs vary with transportation distances, methods of trade (e.g. sale or consignment), and methods of payment (cash, instalment, and credit). The corollary problem is to determine the appropriate market exchange rate to apply to imports.

A survey was made of 51 large importers in Beirut. The sample chosen was based on the principal commodity imports according to value. The number of importers chosen from each commodity group for personal interviews closely approximated the relative value of each category of imports. In many cases, these relatively few large importers accounted for the major share of the imports of that category. Personal interviews were later made of one small importer in each category. The main questions asked related to the time interval between payment and the receipt of the goods.

The results of these interviews, plus conversations with members of various trade associations and banks, seem to indicate that no definite pattern exists in time and method of payment, especially since the end of World War II. Depending on the country, the type of merchandise, and the individual firms involved, time and method of payment ranged all the way from cash payment at the time of placing the order, to credit of up to one month after arrival of the goods. All that can be said is that, in a majority of cases, payment was made partly at time of order and partly at time of shipment. Moreover, payments seem to have been made earlier for goods originating from Great Britain and the USA, and for goods purchased by smaller firms. Credit has been more available for imports from Germany, Italy, and France, and for payments of large and long established firms. A clear case has been that of Germany,

which has been extending credit facilities in order to recapture some of its former trade with Middle Eastern countries. 457 439 651

It was decided that the market rate of exchange to be applied should be that ruling at the time the declaration was made by the importer. The use of any exchange rate ruling at a different period could not be justified on grounds of greater accuracy. Anyway, since merchandise trade is compiled on a quarterly basis, some of the timing discrepancies are cancelled out. Moreover, at a further stage of the tabulation, when conversions were made, it was found that use of an average annual market exchange rate and a quarterly one gave a difference in result of between 0.01 % to 0.02 % . Advancing or retarding the applicable monthly rates of exchange to the four quarters (e.g. using the average market exchange rate for December, January, and February instead of January, February, and March for the 1st quarter) gave an insignificant annual difference.

e. **Conversion Factors.** In the conversion from the official to the real value of imports, the following procedure has been adhered to :-

i) Daily open market quotations of the principal currencies have been recorded, and bi-weekly, monthly, and quarterly averages of each currency computed.

ii) A conversion factor has been calculated for each currency, based upon the average quarterly exchange rate and the official rate (cf. Table 7).

iii) The figures obtained from the Customs, once adjusted for better coverage (except for smuggling and other unrecorded transactions) as suggested in section A above, have been reclassified by currency areas and on a quarterly basis.

iv) The appropriate conversion factor has then been applied to each class, thus giving the real value of imports (cf. Table 8).

2. There is another form of undervaluation for which adjustment must be made. Importers have a tendency to undervalue their Customs declarations in order to reduce their tariff

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payments. An attempt was made to assess the importance of this undervaluation from the Customs' contravention registers. However, it was noticed that detected cases of undervaluation were very infrequent (2-3 %, of total contraventions) and that, when a case was detected, the amount of undervaluation was not stated. Mr. G. Mennassa suggests that all imports should be revalued 5 %, upwards to account for undervalued declarations[1]; talks with Customs officials and merchants, however, would indicate that such a revaluation would be excessive, especially if made on the basis of import prices recalculated at the open market rate of exchange. A 2 %, revaluation would seem more appropriate, being LL. 8.5 million in 1951 and LL. 8.9 million in 1952.

Estimates of the undervaluation of exports are more difficult to come by. It is reported that most exporters put fictitious values on their Customs declarations; this is often done at the request of the foreign importers in order to reduce their Customs payments. As no export duty is ever imposed, the responsible authorities do not seem to insist on exact declarations and do not penalize faulty ones even when detected. Informed guess-estimates of the degree of export undervaluation vary between 10 and 30 %. An average of 15 %, may not, therefore, be too excessive; this would mean an undervaluation of LL. 13.8 million in 1951 and LL. 12.5 million in 1952.

Conclusion: The Merchandise Trade Balance

The Customs trade figures show a trade deficit of LL. 214.8 million in 1951 and LL. 248.1 million in 1952, the imports and exports (including reexports) figures being, respectively, LL. 320.7 million and LL. 105.9 million in 1951 and LL. 347.0 million and LL. 98.9 million in 1952. However, when adjustment is made for coverage and valuation as explained in sections A & B above, the net merchandise trade deficit becomes LL. 311.5 million in 1951 and LL. 332.1 million in 1952, imports being LL. 436.4 million and LL. 454.2 million and exports LL. 124.9 million and LL. 122.1 million, respectively.

1 G. Mennassa, *Plan de Reconstruction de l'Economie Libanaise*, Beirut 1948, Appendix 2.

NON-MONETARY GOLD MOVEMENT

Following the general IMF concept, non-monetary gold movement is here used to mean private gold imports and exports. Government (official) gold transactions and gold transit are treated separately. 457* 651● 439

Lebanon allows the free importation of gold, whether bullion or coins; but gold exportation is subject to licensing. In 1951-52 licences were used very restrictively and covered only very small shipments of gold jewelry and ornaments to Saudi Arabia. There was a short-lived exception in the first two quarters of 1951, where the exportation of gold coins was authorized.

A good deal of the imported gold goes into the Government's official reserves, as currency backing, or is locally consumed in the making of jewelry and ornaments. It is estimated that an average of 30 kilograms is so consumed weekly (or about 1 ½ tons a year). The balance goes into private hoards. When possible, it is smuggled out of the country. Sometimes, as in 1951, when sales profits are high because of an expanded foreign demand or of large government purchases, there may even be net private dishoarding. [306]

It has not been possible to determine accurately the quantity or value of private hoards; they are, however, known to be fairly large. As in other countries in the Near and Far East, gold is still in Lebanon the best alternative to land as the most popular medium in which savings are accumulated. Estimates of private hoards vary between 5 and 10 tons, to which should be added a large amount of gold jewelry. Such jewelry often consists of no more than gold coins mounted on, or connected with, a gold chain to a bracelet or neck piece. [454]

A. Gold imports

Gold imports in Lebanon consist of gold bars and coins. Quantum and value records of these imports are kept at the Customs. The value records, however, are extremely unsatisfactory

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as they are based on the importer's declaration and more often than not the value declared is fictitious. As gold imports are duty free, the Customs officials do not check carefully on these declarations. It has been necessary, therefore, to reassess the value of imports. This has been done by applying to the recorded quantum of imports the quarterly average gold prices in the open market.

Such a revaluation was easy for imported gold bars as their net weight could be clearly determined by the Customs entries; their fineness, although not indicated in these entries, could be ascertained from that of similar bars usually handled in the Beirut gold market. The revaluation of gold coins, however, presented more serious difficulties. The Customs records do not indicate the various types of coins imported. It has been, therefore, impossible to ascertain their free market prices at the time of importation. Under the circumstances it was thought best to assume that all coins imported were gold sovereigns (King George) and to estimate their value on the basis of prices ruling in Beirut. [1]

Revalued Customs figures show imports of LL. 37.8 million in 1951 and LL. 51.7 million in 1952 (cf. Tables 14 & 15). To these should be added the gold that is smuggled in. This gold comes mainly from French Africa where gold exports are forbidden. To estimate the value of smuggled gold, use has been made, as in the case of goods and narcotics contraband, of the Customs contranvention files (cf. pp. 10-11). These files show that LL. 65,000 worth of smuggled gold was caught in1951 and LL. 26,660 in 1952. Both these figures express values calculated at the official rate of exchange; if adjusted to reflect free market quotations, they would be LL. 111,900 and LL. 44,286. Assuming, as before, that only one-fifth of all the import smuggling was actually detected, total gold smuggling would be about LL. 560,000 in 1951 and and LL. 222,000 in 1952, thus making overall gold imports LL. 38.2 million in 1951 and LL. 51.9 million in 1952.

In order to compute non-monetary gold imports, the Government purchases must be deducted from the above figures. As no direct information is available regarding these purchases, they have been assumed to be the same as the increases in the Government official reserves, i.e., LL. 23.9 million in 1951 and LL. 15.4 million

1 This assumption is justified by the fact that the sovereign is the most readily accepted and commonly handled coin in the local open market.

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in 1952.[1] Thus non-monetary gold imports were LL. 14.3 million in 1951 and LL. 36.5 million in 1952.

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B. Gold Exports

Except for the two first quarters of 1951 when the exportation of gold was authorized, no gold export is recorded at the Customs. A great deal of gold, however, is known to be smuggled out of the country. The total value of this traffic can only be inferred from the detected cases of contraband.

In 1951, as exportation was allowed during the first six months, smuggling was naturally restricted and the cases of detected contraband were consequently relatively few. The Customs files report seized quantities valued at LL. 730,265 at the official rate, or LL. 1.2 million at the free rate. Assuming again that only one-fifth of the traffic was detected, its total value would be about LL. 6 million. To this should be added regular exports which are recorded at the Customs at LL. 8 million (cf. Table 16). This latter figure should be revalued to account for the undervaluation of export declarations. If adjusted to cover the same degree of undervaluation as for merchandise export (cf. p. 16), gold exports would be LL. 9.2 million; and consequently total gold sales (including smuggling) would amount to LL. 15.2 million in 1951.

In 1952, as no exports were licensed, smuggling expanded. This is indicated by the large increase in cases detected. Value of gold seized amounted to LL. 1.3 million at the official rate, or LL. 2.5 million at the free rate, i.e., more than double the cases detected in 1951. It is likely, however, that as the large quantities involved led to greater care by the smugglers, only one-tenth of the traffic was detected. Thus total traffic may well have been around LL. 25 million.

C. "Net" Movement

In 1951, non-monetary gold imports were LL. 14.3 million and foreign sales LL. 15.2 million. As an additional 1 ½ tons of gold is normally consumed annually for industrial purposes (i.e., LL. 7.5 million at the prices ruling in 1951) there was, therefore, "net" dishoarding of LL. 8.4 million which came from private reserves. It should be remembered, however, that during the same

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[1] International Financial Statistics, International Monetary Fund, Washington D.C., U.S.A.

*457 period, official gold reserves increased by LL. 28.9 million. Thus
*651 there was a "net" accumulation of gold of LL. 25.5 million.
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In 1952, there was a "net" inflow of non-monetary gold of LL. 4.6 million, imports being LL. 36.5 million, local consumption again 1 ½ tons, i.e., LL. 6.9 million at the then ruling price and exports LL. 25.0 million. The surplus served to swell private hoards. During the year, however, official reserves increased by LL. 15.4 million only; thus total gold accumulation was LL. 20 million, i.e., only LL. 4.6 million more than in 1951.

9.5 **Total taxes (other than income and excise) in year previous to interview. Table 126**

LCI

Respondents were asked what taxes they had paid other than income and excise taxes. Income tax returns are available to the government and were not thought worthwhile to include. Excise taxes are too hidden for respondents to know well enough. Thus the returns are primarily for rent taxes.

The estimate of the total population taxes from the sample runs to about 150,000 L.L. This is probably an underestimate. At any rate the project has no confidence in the figures due to the vagueness of the area covered in the question and the interviewing hazards inherent in the subject of taxes.

9.6 **Cost of clothing purchased in month previous to interview. Table 127**

SRL

Respondents were asked the amount of clothing purchased in the preceding month. Both item and cost were recorded as a check. The estimate of total population expenditure per family on clothing per year is 34,234,000 L.L. or 603 L.L. per family. However, the income is distorted by the heavy incidence of purchases in the over 300 L.L. per month category which constitutes fifty-four percent of the total sample expenditure and is probably entirely for the prosperous classes. Forty-four percent made no purchases at all.

9.7 **Family expenditures on transportation in month previous to interview. Table 128**

Transportation expenses amounted to an estimated total for the population per year of 34,438,000 L.L. Seventeen percent spent no money on transportation, while for those who did spend money on transportation the modal group was under 5 L.L. per month. The mean, distorted by those spending nothing, is L.L. 28.

9.8 **Miscellaneous monthly expenditures** p. 26(A)

Table 126

Total Taxes Other than Income and Excise in Year Previous to Interview

Taxes	Number	Percent
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]
None	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]

4.53 In matters of finance, the mukhtar must give the tax-collectors 4.57 any assistance needed in locating taxpayers or in seizing their property in case of default.[1] Under the computerization of the tax system in 1968 the mukhtars may be called upon to collect the taxes themselves. In fact this was therefore one of the reasons adduced for having these officials appointed by the central government instead of elected. When entrusted with the collection of taxes, the mukhtar is entitled to a commission of two and one-half per cent of the amount collected, provided they secure over 30 per cent of the amount due according to their tax lists. If more than 70 per cent of the amount due is collected, they receive an additional commission of 1 per cent. Failure to collect 30 per cent of the amount due makes them liable to dismissal from office without right of re-appointment for a period of five years.[2]

The mukhtar is responsible for posting the allocation of the harvest tithe determined by the council.[3]

4.55 In matters of land registration, the mukhtar is responsible for certifying to the Land Transfer Office any cases arising within their jurisdiction.[4]

The mukhtar must assist the judicial authorities in carrying out duly authorized raids or seizures. He is responsible for serving any court summons or warrants to persons within his jurisdiction. Authority is entrusted to the mukhtar to assess the damages to crops or communal forests when the amount does not exceed five gold pounds. Such assessments serve as the basis for judgement.[5]

The mukhtar is responsible for the execution of all instructions emanating from the Department of Agriculture. He must furnish any information or reports required by that Department.[6]

The mukhtar must notify the government of any cases of contagious disease, of the existence of plants of deleterious and of any cases of accidents from poisoned food. In times of epidemics he is empowered to take the necessary precautions for preventing the epidemic until the central authorities assume control.[7]

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1. Cf. the Ordinance, loc. cit., Art. 36.
2. Cf. the Law, March 17, 1968, Laws 1968, No. 9, Art.
3. Cf. the Ordinance, loc. cit., Art. 46.
4. Ibid., Art. 31.
5. Ibid., Art. 34.
6. Ibid., Art. 35.
7. Ibid., Art. 36.

Appendix E.

BUDGET OF BEIRUT — 1929

REVENUES

Chapter I.

	L. Syrian
Tax on buildings	88,500
Tax on [illegible]	14,700
Vehicle tax	44,100
Dog tax	200
	L. Syr. 147,500

Chapter II.
Indirect Taxes.

Liquor tax	12,500
Tax on use of sidewalks	7,000
Tax on coffee houses, cookeries, cinemas, and theatres	9,000
Tax on land entries	40,000
Tax on port entries	187,000
Tax on slaughtering	12,532
Tax on tanning	16,315
Tax on weighing	16,000
Tax on auctions	19,900
Tax on animal sales	3,548
Tax on inflammables (storage)	3,000
Tax on building permits	11,000
Gasoline tax	25,000
Tax on motor transport	80,000
Tax on taxi stands	7,200
Tax on inflammables (consumption)	35,000
Miscellaneous	8,400
	L. Syr. 484,500

Chapter III.
Revenues from Municipal Domains.

Rents and miscellaneous	3,000
	L. Syr. 3,000

Chapter IV.
Miscellaneous Revenues.

	L. Syr.
[illegible]	[illegible]
Tax on houses of prostitution	[illegible]
Fines	[illegible]
Interest on bank funds	[illegible]
Miscellaneous	[illegible]
	L. Syr. [illegible]

Chapter V.

Tax on side walk construction	[illegible]
Tax on special paving permits	[illegible]
	[illegible]
Grand Total	L. Syr. [illegible]

EXPENDITURES

Chapter I.
Administration and Salaries.

Administrative service	[illegible]
Bookkeeping	[illegible]
Technical service	[illegible]
Fire service	[illegible]
Inspection service	[illegible]
Sanitary service	[illegible]
Guardian service	[illegible]
Reserves	[illegible]
	L. Syr. [illegible]

Chapter II.
Material.

Rents and repairs of furniture	[illegible]
Furniture, newspapers, printed matter	[illegible]
Cleaning and sprinkling	[illegible]
Lighting	[illegible]
Fire service	[illegible]
Water	[illegible]
Expenses allowed on works	[illegible]
Assessors	[illegible]
Guardians	[illegible]
	L. Syr. [illegible]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[illegible]

4.83
4.87

Chapter VI.
Miscellaneous Expenses.

[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Care of gardens	[illegible]
Repairing bunds, drain and cutting roads	[illegible]
[illegible]	[illegible]
Miscellaneous	[illegible]
	L. Rs. [illegible]

Chapter VII.
Reserve.

	L. Rupees
Emergency reserve	[illegible]
	L. Rs. [illegible]
Grand Total	L. Rs. [illegible]

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refinery is running on imported crude oil at about a quarter of its capacity. There exists an IPC refinery at Tripoli which treats over half a million tons of crude a year (10,000 barrels a day) for the needs of Syria and Lebanon which it cannot fully supply; accordingly, its extension has been under discussion. Construction has begun on a refinery for 7,000 barrels a day at Homs for Mediterranean Refining Company (Caltex Texas Corporation), but while the Syrian market is still too small to justify the erection of a refinery, the Syrian Government nevertheless wishes to have a refinery established in the country to meet its own needs, and negotiations to this end with IPC and with the World Bank have recently taken place.[1]

Under the Barcelona Convention of 1921 dues are not leviable on transit trade, but the two countries draw, under their agreements with the pipeline companies, a sizable revenue from petroleum apart from the indirect benefits caused by employment by the oil companies. At the time of writing the agreements between the two Governments and the two oil companies are under review but no precise details are available, though the two Governments began by demanding that they should receive jointly a half share of the saving which the companies made by using the pipelines instead of having to transport their oil to the Mediterranean by tanker. Even if this principle were accepted, the difficulty would remain of establishing a satisfactory formula for calculating the saving. The agreement with Tapline is believed to provide Lebanon with about £3-4 million a year. The oil companies bring foreign exchange into Syria and the Lebanon and the currency is surrendered to the Governments at the official rate but can thereafter be resold at the rate applying to the free market which may bring to the Governments a profit of a third. The problem is that Syria and Lebanon are, in fact, not oil-producing states and, although their needs and desires for foreign money may be as great as Iraq's, it is difficult to see how they can expect to obtain from petroleum the same revenue as do the states where it is produced.

Communications

In general, roads provide a cheaper and quicker means of transport than the railways which are mostly running at a loss. The railway lines are:

The Hejaz Railway. A narrow (3 ft. 7 in.) gauge track runs from the centre of Damascus to Deraa (88 miles) and thence

[1] See *Petroleum Press Service*, February 1955, p. 59.

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figure until February 1953. The cost of living has likewise risen considerably; during the war it rose about sixfold, reaching a peak in 1945. It then decreased steadily until the autumn of 1950, when the Korean boom in raw material prices brought fresh inflationary pressures into Lebanon through her growing commercial and entrepôt trade, and persisted until early 1952. This fresh rise in prices was also caused by the rise in food prices (imported and home grown) following the bad harvest of 1951. Although early in 1953 prices had not resumed their pre-Korean level, they had declined steadily.

The following figures showing the indices of wholesale prices and the cost of living illustrate the salient movement in prices (1948 = 100).

	1939	1940	1950 July	1951 March	1951 June	1951 Dec.	1952 June	1952 Dec.
Wholesale prices	13	134	98	104	96	86	80	77
Cost of living	20	103	84	95	96	94	91	85

(Source: IMF, *International Financial Statistics*, September 1952.)

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Budgetary expenditure and receipts have also increased considerably, partly resulting from the rise in prices but also from greater commitments. The main increase in expenditure has been for defence, for the Palestine conflict and its aftermath, and for education. The sources of revenue have undergone a marked change: whereas customs provided 60 per cent of the revenue in 1939, they now contribute only 25 per cent, and new indirect taxes on general consumption now provide the major share, about 50 per cent. A measure to increase direct taxation was introduced in September 1951 in the form of a tax on agricultural income based on a 'presumptive' assessment value at progressive rates of tax. As yet its full effect is not known. The budget estimates for 1952 were: expenditure £L94·25 million, and receipts £L94·16 million; further details are given in table 2 on p. 502 below. The 1953 budget was expected to be of the order of £L110 million.

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The division between the Syrian and the Lebanese currencies became effective at the end of January 1948 and this introduced an agio between the two currencies. At first this favoured Lebanon, but in 1951 the Syrian pound was the higher and then, in 1952, the Lebanese pound returned to a premium of from 0·6 per cent to 0·7 per cent. The exchange rates of foreign currencies are given in table 3 on p. 503 below.

International Trade

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In defiance of the gloomy prophecies of economists, Lebanon continues to flourish with an adverse trade balance, which in

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COTTON IN LEBANON

There are said to be five cotton gins in the country, all owned by textile mills. Several are new gins, including one new one. 248

No one expects cotton acreage to climb appreciably, even though cotton normally returns more money to the farmer than other general crops, particularly in years of high prices. Government agricultural officials and technical assistance people agree that farmers are simply more interested in other crops and the country as a whole considers food crops more important.

The consensus is that the crop may expand by a few thousand bales if the price is favorable.

COTTON TEXTILES

The cotton spinning industry has about 70,000 spindles, of which 54,000 were operating in early 1953. The weaving industry reports 900 power looms, about 200 hand looms, and a number of small knitting mills operating at capacity. The spindles and most of the power looms are located in six mills which are privately owned by Lebanese industrialists. Most of these spinning mills were built in the late thirties. Some installed second-hand equipment though the majority bought new equipment from Germany, France, United Kingdom, and Japan. Spinning capacity has remained fairly stable during the past few years but knitting and weaving capacity has expanded considerably. 268 [678]

Until the dissolution of the customs union with Syria in 1950, the industries of the two countries were complementary. Lebanon sold from 50 to 60 per cent of its yarn to Syria and bought cloth. The imposition of duties by Syria and the expansion of the Syrian spinning industry virtually stopped this trade. The Lebanese now want to install more looms to balance their mills and consume the output of yarns. Expansion of the cotton textile industry is expected to be along these lines. [643] [409]

At present the cotton textile industry is protected by import duties which average about 30 per cent ad valorem. There are complaints by some local industrialists that this is not adequate. Others maintain that relatively low wages and comparatively high machine efficiency enable them not only to operate successfully in the domestic market but also to compete to a limited extent on the foreign market. These two opinions, reported by the American Vice Consul in Beirut who has studied the industry, likely reflect the range of efficiency. [461]

Cotton yarn exports in 1951 totaled 600 tons in counts from 12s to 40s. This went primarily to Rumania, Pakistan, Cyprus, Aden, Egypt, and Belgium. In the same year the country exported 1,137 tons of cotton cloth, mainly coarse gray goods to Italy, Sudan, Iraq, and other neighboring countries. Imports of piece goods at 1,500 tons were almost equal to exports. Imports for the most part were dyed and printed goods in the specialty lines. 437

Normally Lebanese mills use about 60 per cent Syrian cotton and the balance local and Egyptian. The sources in 1951 were: Syrian, 60 per cent; Lebanese, 20 per cent; Egyptian, 10 per cent; and American, 10 per cent.

312 425 inal permit regulations so specify, permits for the agricultural use of water may be renewed for a period of 40 years.

Concessions. The projects envisaged above require permits even when they are projects of public utility. Such permits may not be issued for terms of more than 75 years.

A set of specifications prescribing conditions under which water may be drawn, the periods of use, measures for the care of water, the maximum power of the water fall, the deadline for the completion of the construction works, the term of the concession, the water reserves to be maintained, the financial conditions, the disposal of these works upon expiration of the concession and a clause allowing for the eventual repurchase of the project shall accompany the concession.

● [65] *Fees and Royalties.* Royalties shall be paid for permits and concessions to the state (Article 14).

312 654 *Government Intervention.* Rules and regulations on expropriation of land and water for public purposes shall be applicable to concessionaires, and the state may exert such rights as well as alter or demolish, against payment of an equitable indemnity, legally-erected construction works (Article 17).

Servitudes and Indemnities

312 423 The beneficiary of a permit or concession may take advantage of all servitudes in the execution of the work; namely, servitudes on occupation of private property, the strengthening of dams, the submersion of banks and of tracts of land, etc. The government may, where no friendly agreements have been reached on specific points, authorize the concessionaire to avail himself of the above servitudes provided he deposits a guarantee against possible damages.

Article 18 stipulates the indemnity to be paid by a concessionaire wishing to make use of certain servitudes as well as the arbitration procedure to be followed to settle disputes which may arise.

The concessionaire has the right to repurchase private ti-

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 M1 Middle East
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interfered with operations, which were resumed in 1947. The Company gave up its concession in August, 1951.[10]

In 1954 it was reported in Damascus that the annual internal consumption of petroleum was about 350,000 tons and that the Government was negotiating with Tapline and I.P.C. to build two refineries near Damascus, the cost of which was to be deducted from the Government's revenue from the two companies.

So far Syria has failed to discover oil in her territory, but the Tapline and I.P.C. pipelines have become important sources of income to the Government and the cause of constant friction between it and the oil companies. From 1947 to 1952 the increase in the income from pipelines was considerable, but the local agitation for higher royalties has been continuous and, in the spirit of the prevailing practice in the area, a demand for a 50 per cent profit-sharing arrangement is constantly being echoed.

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Lebanon signed an agreement with I.P.C. in 1931 under the same conditions as the other countries. The first pipeline ran through her territory for only seventeen miles. The northern branch of the line terminated at Tripoli where a farm of fifteen 93,000-barrel tanks was built. The loading fee at Tripoli was 2 pennies per ton.

In 1947 Lebanon signed the agreement with Tapline mentioned above, and that same year I.P.C. agreed to pay Lebanon transit fees amounting to £45,000 annually. A new agreement with I.P.C. was signed in 1952, raising the transit fees to about £450,000 annually. A new agreement was also signed with Tapline in 1952; it provided for a basic increase in transit fees, for $3 per ton up to 200,000 tons for petroleum products consumed in the country; an increase in the loading fee at Sidon; and annual contributions of $21,000 for the maintenance of the public highways used by the Company's vehicles and $17,000 to the municipalities of Beirut and Sidon in consideration of services.[11]

[10] A. H. Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon* (London, 1946), 316; Longrigg, *Oil in the Middle East*, 91-93.

[11] United Nations Department of Economic Affairs, *Review of Economic Conditions in the Middle East 1951-52*, 58, hereafter cited U. N. *Review of*

64: Shwadran S-4 (no date) 1955 Mi Middle East
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The Chamber of Deputies refused to ratify the agreement and unanimously adopted a resolution demanding that the Government undertake immediate negotiations with all oil companies for the revision of oil agreements.[34] The companies refused to respond to the demands of the Government. At the end of December 1953 the Justice Ministry informed Premier Abdallah al Yafi that it was impossible to take any legal action against Tapline and I.P.C. to oblige them to discuss the question of an increase in royalties.

Attempts were made to present a united front of Syria, Lebanon and Jordan in their demands for higher royalties, but apparently with little success. At the end of May 1954 it was reported from Beirut that the Syrian and Lebanese Governments had agreed to send a joint note to the companies asking for an increase in the royalties, but up to the beginning of 1955 no new agreements had been signed.[35]

REFINERIES

In 1940 the French High Commissioner for Syria and Lebanon built an emergency refinery at Tripoli under an agreement with the Iraq Petroleum Company that he was to own and operate during the war emergency but that was to be turned over to I.P.C. at the end of hostilities for the crude oil which the Company was to supply. The transfer was made on January 1, 1946. Three years later the refinery's quarter of a million barrel capacity was doubled.[36]

A second refinery in Lebanon, the Mediterranean Refinery, was inaugurated in February 1955. It is located at Sidon, built at a cost of about $20 million, and has a capacity of about 6,000 barrels daily. It is owned by the Mediterranean Refining Company which is in turn owned by the partners of Aramco.

Summary and year: *Le Commerce du Levant*, May 21, 1952; *The New York Times*, May 18, 1952; Longrigg, *Oil in the Middle East*, 248; *The Christian Science Monitor*, Dec. 19, 1952. Direct payments by I.P.C. and Tapline in 1952 amounted to £15,500,000; local expenditure by Tapline was £17,800,000 and by I.P.C. about £10,000,000. U. N., *Economic Developments, 1953 to 1954*, 168.

[34] The magnitude of the flow of oil through the terminals of I.P.C. and Tapline in Lebanon is illustrated by the 1953-54 figures. The total for both terminals in 1953 was 22,519,831 tons; in 1954, 22,968,708 tons. In the latter year Saudi Arabian oil amounted to 13,894,761 tons, and Iraqi oil to 7,210,947 tons. *Le Commerce du Levant-Beyrouth Express*, Mar. 14, 1955.

[35] *Mideast Mirror* (Cairo), 19, May 22, 1954.

[36] U. S. Senate, *International Petroleum Cartel*, 97.

Other sources of income were developed, however. Although the breakup of the Ottoman Empire and the erection of tariff barriers in the successor states handicapped Lebanon's transit trade, Beirut continued to be an important distributing centre. In this it was helped by the enlargement of its harbour and by the construction of a good network of roads. These improvements, together with the development of public utilities and hotels, attracted to Lebanon an increasing number of Middle Eastern tourists.

In agriculture, the most important development was the expansion in the acreage planted to olive and fruit trees, and the improvement in quality. The tariff protection gradually accorded after 1928 also stimulated industry. At the outbreak of the Second World War, some 20,000 persons were employed in factories and small workshops, including craftsmen engaged in such traditional seasonal occupations as silk reeling. 1/

During the Second World War, the large-scale expenditure of Allied troops raised incomes and prices, 2/ and the reduction of imports further stimulated industrial production. This increase was achieved with existing equipment, since no machinery could be imported.

Another result of the war was the improvement of communications. The forced savings due to inflation and the shift to profits took the form of francs and sterling balances held by Lebanese individuals and institutions.

Post-War Period, 1945 to 1954

Since 1945, the national income of Lebanon has increased considerably, and available data indicate a rise in consumption. The dissolution in 1950 of the customs union 3/ with Syria, which had constituted Lebanon's most important market, caused a setback, compensated in recent years, it appears, by the over-all growth.

Emigration, which had almost ceased during the war years, recovered in the post-war period. In recent years it has averaged over 5,000 per annum, 4/ compared with an annual natural increase of about 15,000. Emigration was, however, offset by an influx of over 100,000 Palestinian Arab refugees in 1948 and 1949. The maintenance of these refugees by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees has largely shielded the Lebanese economy from their impact, though many have found employment in the country while a few brought some capital with them and started new enterprises.

1/ The number of industrial establishments rose from 400 in 1930 to 900 in 1939, according to Mustafa el Hamaly, "Min al hirfa ila al sinaa", in Mubahesat al Qadma (Beirut, 1955).

2/ From 1940 to 1944 inclusive, Allied expenditure in Lebanon and Syria totalled £76 million (sterling). From 1939 to 1945 inclusive, Lebanon and Syria had a surplus of £67 million Lebanese-Syrian pounds on current account. The wholesale price index in Beirut rose from 100 in June 1939 to a peak of 1,205 in January 1945.

3/ See chapter 7.

4/ Emigration in 1951 totalled 4,077, in 1952 it was 2,725 and in 1953 it was 3,315 (Le Commerce du Levant, 9 October 1954, Beirut). A significant proportion of emigrants went to the Persian Gulf area.

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brought some capital with them and started new enterprises. Another important factor was the impact on Lebanon of the development of Middle Eastern petroleum resources, an impact which exceeded that exerted on any other non-producing country in the region. Three pipelines have their terminal in Lebanon: two Kirkuk-Tripoli lines, completed in 1934 and 1949, and the line connecting the Arabian oilfields with Sidon, completed in 1950. A refinery was built in Tripoli and another near Sidon. Lebanon has also benefited from the location of offices of oil companies in Beirut. In addition, it has received many tourists, as well as some capital, from the oil producing countries and has supplied exports to these countries: for example, fresh fruit and vegetables sent by air or truck or, more recently, by refrigerated ships. Finally, royalties paid to the Government by the oil companies for pipeline use have increased in recent years.

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The development of transit trade has also contributed to the national income. The increase in such trade was made possible by enlargement and improvement of the port of Beirut shortly before the Second World War, development of inland communications, provision of refrigerated storage and other storage facilities and extension of the free zone in the harbour from 8,000 square metres in 1939 to 75,000 in 1952 and 106,000 in 1955. Although the development of Latakia has diverted some of Syria's trade, Beirut still handles a substantial proportion of that trade as well as a large fraction of that of Jordan, which previously passed through Haifa. The opening of a new airport in Beirut, in 1950, has also stimulated transit of goods and passengers.

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In recent years, Beirut has been the centre of a large and widespread gold trade. The relaxation and subsequent disappearance of exchange controls has also greatly increased the importance of Lebanon as an international financial centre. Tourism has increased in scope and continues to play a significant part in the country's economy.

Agriculture

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Despite large-scale emigration to the cities and abroad, nearly half the Lebanese population still earn a livelihood in agriculture. Since agriculture accounts for less than one fifth of the national income (see table 43), per capita income in agriculture is well below the average in other sectors. The possibilities for raising agricultural income by extending cultivation are, however, very limited. According to the latest estimates, of the total area of 1,038,000 hectares, 375,000 hectares consist of rocky, waste or built-up areas; 74,000 consist of forests; 115,000 are judged to be cultivable, though at present uncultivated; and 375,000 are under cultivation. Of the cultivated area, 48,000 hectares are irrigated and 325,000 are rainfed, but irrigation projects under way or due to be undertaken in the near future will bring 54,000 hectares of rainfed land under irrigation. 1/ The reclamation of the 115,000 hectares judged to be cultivable would involve heavy capital outlay, since most of this land is mountainous. Hence, in recent years, efforts have been mainly concentrated on intensifying agriculture.

1/ Figures from an unpublished paper prepared in the Ministry of Agriculture in 1950. Cultivated land per capita of agricultural population is thus only about 0.4 hectare, of which less than a fifth is irrigated.

457 3.42 in 1953. In 1954, after having appreciated rapidly, the pound remained stable around 3.20 to the dollar, partly owing to sales of foreign exchange by the Exchange Stabilization Fund, which feared that further appreciation might impair the country's competitive position. It seems clear, however, that no systematic attempt is being made to stabilize the exchange rate in view of the small size of Lebanon's foreign reserves 1/ and the great volume of exchange operations that take place in the Beirut market.

Public Finance

651 652 The war-time rise in incomes and prices led to an increase in both revenue and expenditure, a rate of increase which was, however, below that of the wholesale price index. Revenue rose from £L 6.1 million in 1939 to £L 35.9 million in 1945 and expenditure from £L 7.9 to £L 58.2 million. In every year, there was a surplus, the total for 1939 to 1944, inclusive, being £L 22.6 million. In the post-war period, there was a sharp rise in both revenue and expenditure. Except in 1950, every budget showed a surplus, the total for 1945 to 1952, inclusive, being £L 127.5 million. At the end of 1952, the Reserve Fund stood at £L 62.5 million. 2/ There is no internal or external debt.

Important tax reforms were carried out in the war and post-war periods. A progressive general income tax was introduced in 1944, which was modified in 1949; income from commercial and industrial activities are taxed at from 5 to 32 per cent, income from non-commercial activities at from 4 to 37 per cent and salaries at from 2 to 10 per cent. In 1952, a tax on agricultural income was introduced, with rates ranging from 2 to 35 per cent; it will take effect in 1955. As table 49 shows, the reforms have appreciably increased the amount raised through direct taxes, but these taxes still play a minor part in government revenue; customs and excise duties account for about one-half of revenue and the addition of other indirect taxes brings the share to nearly two-thirds.

On the expenditure side, the most striking increase in the post-war period was in education, expenditure for which rose from 8.1 per cent of the total in 1946 to 12.6 in the 1954 estimates; this is due to the active part played by the Government in recent years in supplementing the still predominant

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1/ The gold and foreign exchange reserves held by the Government and the bank of issue fell from $74.1 million at the end of 1948 to $58.5 million at the end of 1950. Thereafter, there was a slow rise to $65.2 million at the end of 1953 and a more rapid increase to $77.0 million at the end of October 1954; of the latter $58.8 million consisted of gold, $12.4 million of French francs and $5.8 million of other foreign exchange. These reserves included the cover of the note issue, which accounted for practically all the gold (International Monetary Fund, International Financial Statistics).

2/ Ministry of Finance, Closed Accounts for 1952 (Beirut).

Table 49. Lebanon: Principal Items in Government Budgets, 1939 and 1948 to 1954
(Millions of Lebanese pounds)

Item	1939	1948	1949	1950	1951	1952	1953 a/	1954 a/
Revenue:								
Direct taxes on income and wealth b/	1.20	9.73	12.93	12.89	14.46	17.87	15.20	..
Taxes on land and animals		1.28	1.09	1.09	1.01	0.83	0.83	..
Registration duties c/		6.41	7.00	7.66	8.77	10.48	10.48	..
Customs duties	4.35	25.38	28.09	30.51	33.53	36.77	34.30	38.75
Other indirect taxes d/		29.09	32.77	33.97	37.60	42.57	37.58	..
Other receipts	1.65	6.77	7.24	7.09	9.73	17.68	14.47	..
Total	7.20	79.66	87.12	93.21	109.10	126.76	112.68	125.4[illegible]
Expenditure:								
Education	0.50	5.69	6.77	7.86	9.56	9.96	13.59	13.51
Health	0.28	3.73	4.52	4.52	4.56	4.66	5.81	6.27
Defence	-	13.51	17.32	14.56	17.08	17.42	19.06	20.32
Public works e/	1.14	17.30	17.56	20.33	17.95	14.77	15.92	19.66
Other expenditure	4.45	29.84	36.93	36.93	40.90	41.70	58.60	61.64
Total	6.57	70.07	83.40	84.20	90.05	88.51	113.08	125.4[illegible]
Balance	0.63	8.59	3.72	-1.31	19.05	38.25	-0.38	-

Source: United Nations Bureau of Economic Affairs, Fiscal Branch.

a/ Estimates.

b/ Taxes on wealth and income include income tax, tax on buildings and other taxes.

c/ Registration duties include registration fees, stamp duties and judicial and notary fees.

d/ Other indirect taxes include internal consumption taxes, tobacco monopoly and other taxes.

e/ Including expenditure of the Ministry of Public Works and, from 1951, public works appropriations of the Ministry of [illegible].

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system of private schools. The amount spent on defence doubled, but the share fell from 21.7 per cent of total expenditure in 1947 to 17.0 in 1954. Similarly, although expenditure on public works increased, their share declined from 13.8 to 13.4 per cent.

Development projects

[647] During the period 1947 to 1954, inclusive, government expenditure on development totalled L. 388 million. Of this L. 175 million was spent through the ordinary budget and L. 139 million through the Development Works Fund, [1] a reserve constituted from the budget surpluses of the war and post-war years.

Until the creation of the Board of Economic Planning and Development, in February 1955, all development projects were planned and executed by the government departments concerned, principally the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Agriculture. The Board, which consists of five ex-officio and seven appointed members, is charged with assessing the country's economic resources and possibilities, establishing a general development plan and suggesting procedures for financing it. Execution is, however, entrusted to the departments concerned. [2]

[312] Irrigation and power

652 Expenditure on irrigation and drainage from both the ordinary budget and the development fund totalled about L. 31 million in the period 1947 to 1955. This expenditure has resulted in the irrigation of 27,500 hectares, an increase of 135 per cent over the previously irrigated area; an additional 800 hectares has been irrigated by a private concessionaire. The projects carried out have been on a small scale.

The principal irrigation projects being carried out or under consideration are the following: Hasbeh, Aishar, Tamaneah, Qrantina and Litani projects, which cover between them an additional 45,000 hectares of land. The main power projects are the Tamaneah, Qrantina, Nahr Ibrahim and Litani project. The Hasbeh project, on the Litani River, was begun in 1947 and at present irrigates 1,200 hectares; it is to be extended to another 2,300 hectares. In 1948, total costs were estimated at L. 11 million, of which L. 6.3 million had been spent by the end of 1950. Completion is scheduled for 1955.

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[1] Najib S. Hasbani, The Fiscal System of Lebanon. This represents 21.6 per cent of total expenditure during this period; the figures for 1952 to 1954 are budget estimates.

[2] In November 1954, a Ministry of General Planning was established. It incorporates the Development Board, the Bureau of Statistics, the Bureau of Prices, the Bureau of Fuels and Control of Oil Companies and Petroleum and the Bureau of Mines. To these are added a secretariat and two newly created bureaux dealing with co-ordination and supervision (Foreign Commerce Weekly, 7 February 1955).

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figure until February 1953. The cost of living has likewise risen considerably; during the war it rose about sixfold, reaching a peak in 1945. It then decreased steadily until the autumn of 1950, when the Korean boom in raw material prices brought fresh inflationary pressures into Lebanon through her growing commercial and entrepôt trade, and persisted until early 1952. This fresh rise in prices was also caused by the rise in food prices (imported and home grown) following the bad harvest of 1951. Although early in 1953 prices had not resumed their pre-Korean level, they had declined steadily.

The following figures showing the indices of wholesale prices and the cost of living illustrate the salient movements in prices (1948 = 100).

	1938	1945	1946	1947	1948	1949	1950	1951
Wholesale prices	21	179	174	194	196	188	210	218
Cost of living	21	165	174	188	196	194	211	224

(Sources: UNO, International Financial Statistics, September 1952.)

Budgetary expenditure and receipts have also increased considerably, partly resulting from the rise in prices but also from greater commitments. The main increase in expenditure has been for defence, for the Palestine conflict and its aftermath, and for education. The sources of revenue have undergone a marked change: whereas customs provided 60 per cent of the revenue in 1939, they now contribute only 23 per cent, and new indirect taxes on general consumption now provide the major share, about 30 per cent. A measure to increase direct taxation was introduced in September 1951 in the form of a tax on agricultural income based on a 'presumptive' assessment value at progressive rates of tax. As yet its full effect is not known. The budget estimates for 1952 were: expenditure £L.94·03 million, and receipts £L.94·16 million; further details are given in table 2 on p. 322 below. The 1953 budget was expected to be of the order of £L.110 million.

The division between the Syrian and the Lebanese currencies became effective at the end of January 1948 and this introduced an agio between the two currencies. At first this favoured Lebanon, but in 1951 the Syrian pound was the higher and then, in 1952, the Lebanese pound returned to a premium of from 0·6 per cent to 0·7 per cent. The exchange rates of foreign currencies are given in table 3 on p. 323 below.

International Trade

In defiance of the gloomy prophecies of economists, Lebanon continues to flourish with an adverse trade balance, which in

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Four schools, situated in Beirut, are directly connected with the Ministry. These are the School of Arts and Crafts which includes a section on agriculture, the Normal School for Men, the Normal School for Women, and the National Conservatory of Music. The Directorate of Antiquities and the Directorate of the National Library complete the list of the institutions directly connected with the Ministry of National Education.

Educational Finance

The support of public education comes almost entirely from the central budget of the government. Table 71 shows the growth of the educational budget in selected years of the last quarter of a century. This budget, which includes that of the Directorate of Antiquities, has ranged between 5.6 to 6.6 percent of the total budget of the state. The influence of wartime inflation can be seen from the almost sevenfold jump in the educational budget between 1941 and 1945, while in the corresponding period the number of schools increased from 307 to 398 and the enrollment from 21,898 to 30,113.

It was not possible to obtain the salary scale for public-school teachers. A scale set down by a government decree to serve for private and foreign schools lists salaries at figures probably not very different from those paid in the public schools. The system of classifying teachers as instructors, assistant instructors, and teachers is almost identical with the public-school system. Instructors must be holders of university degrees, assistant instructors must have the *baccalauréat* or the Lebanese teaching certificate, and teachers must hold the Lebanese *brevet* or its equivalent. Monthly salaries for instructors range from £L75 to £L155 ($34 to $61), for assistant instructors from £L45 to £L85 ($20 to $39), and for teachers from £L35 to £L55 ($16 to $25). Salaries are paid for twelve months.

During World War II, cost-of-living allowances were added for government officials and teachers. These ranged from 250 percent for salaries that were £L40 a month or less, to 45 percent for the highest salaries paid by the state. In addition, married teachers received £L14 each for the wife and first child, and £L10 for each additional child up to five children.

A pension plan for government officials allows half the average salary for the last three years after thirty years of service. A person who has been in government service for thirty years and who has attained the age of fifty-five may ask to be retired or may be sent to retirement by the government after due investigation by a committee. Sixty-five is the latest age for retirement, though under special circumstances a person may be allowed to serve on a yearly basis up to the age of seventy.

TABLE [illegible]

Central or [illegible] Estimates, [illegible]*

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
						[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]							
Administration	£[illegible]	£[illegible]	£[illegible]	£[illegible]	£[illegible]	£[illegible]	[illegible]
Primary education	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Technical education	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Agricultural education	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Fine arts education	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Teacher education	—	—	—	—	—	[illegible]	[illegible]
Antiquities	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
National library	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Concerts and awards	—	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total education budget	£[illegible]	£[illegible]	£[illegible]	£[illegible]	£[illegible]	£[illegible]	[illegible]
[illegible]							
Total state budget	£[illegible]	£[illegible]	£[illegible]	£[illegible]	£[illegible]	£[illegible]	
Percent allotted to education							
from state budget	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	

*In [illegible] pounds (£L) are quoted [illegible] (£E).

[illegible]

[illegible] Government shall be obliged to carry out the Assembly's recommendations and submit the draft law within a period of four months.

(c) Procedure of the Assembly

[illegible] Art. 78 (as amended October 25, 1972). When a draft constitutional law is submitted to the Chamber, it shall, until a final vote is taken, confine itself to revision.

It may only discuss and vote on articles and questions specifically enumerated and defined in the draft submitted to it.

Art. 79 (as amended October 27th, 1972). When a draft constitutional law is submitted to the Chamber of Deputies, it may only be validly discussed and voted upon when a majority of two-thirds of the lawful members of the Chamber are present. Decisions shall be taken by a majority of two-thirds of the lawful members of the Assembly.

The President of the Republic shall be required to promulgate the constitutional law under the same conditions and in the same form as ordinary laws. He may request a further discussion of the law within the time-limit for promulgation. In that case also, the decision shall be taken by a two-thirds majority.

Part IV

The Various Powers

(a) [illegible]

[illegible] Art. 80 (as amended October 27th, 1972). The High Court shall consist of seven deputies elected by the Chamber of Deputies and of the eight highest Lebanese magistrates in order of rank or, should their rank be equal, in order of seniority, under the presidency of the magistrate of highest rank.

The sentences of the High Court shall be rendered by a majority of six votes. The procedure to be followed by this Court shall be determined by a law.

(b) [illegible]

[illegible] Art. 81. (as amended January 17th, 1947). Taxes shall be established for purposes of common utility. Taxes may only be levied in the Lebanese Republic in accordance with a uniform law which shall apply to the whole territory without exception.

[illegible] Service S-4 (no date)[illegible] MS Middle East
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Art. 80. No tax may be modified or removed except by virtue of a law.

Art. 81. Each year at the beginning of the October session the Government shall submit to the Chamber of Deputies, for examination and approval, the general budget estimates of State revenue and expenditure for the following year. The budget shall be voted upon article by article.*

Art. 82 (*as amended October 1926, 1927*). During the discussion of the budget and draft laws involving the opening of supplementary or extraordinary credits, the Chamber may not increase the credits proposed in the budget estimates or above-mentioned draft laws, either by amendment or by means of an independent proposal. The Assembly may, however, adopt laws involving further expenditure after the close of this discussion.

Art. 83 (*as amended October 1926, 1927, and January 10, 1927*). No extraordinary credit may be opened except by a special law.

Nevertheless, should unforeseen circumstances arise making urgent expenditure necessary, the President of the Republic may, by Decree adopted with the approval of the Cabinet, open extraordinary or supplementary credits or effect any transfers of credits. These credits may not exceed 15,000 pounds per item. The measures thus decreed shall be submitted to the Chamber for ratification at the first ensuing session.

Art. 84 (*as amended October 1926, 1927*). If the Chamber of Deputies has not given a final decision on the budget estimates before the expiry of the session devoted to the examination of the budget, the President of the Republic shall convene an extraordinary session to terminate at the end of January for the purpose of continuing the discussion on the budget. If at the end of this extraordinary session the budget has not been finally voted, the President of the Republic may, by a Decree adopted with the approval of the Cabinet, give effect to the budget estimates in the form in which they were submitted to the Chamber.

* The word "valeur" arises in the form of [illegible] such as Department of Defence, Department of Finance etc. (Information through the courtesy of Professor M. S. Ghazzaly, Beirut.)—Ed.

57:Davis S-4 (no date) 1953 ME Middle East
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642 The President may not exercise this right unless the budget
643 estimates were submitted to the Chamber at least fifteen days before the commencement of the session.

During this extraordinary session, imposts, contributions, taxes, duties and other revenues shall continue to be collected as hitherto.

The expenditure for the month of January shall be based on the "provisional twelfth" of the expenditure for the previous financial year, plus the permanent additional and supplementary credits and minus the permanent reductions.

Art. 87 (as amended October 17th, 1927). The final accounts of the financial administration for the closed financial years shall be submitted to the Chamber and approved before the promulgation of the budget for the second financial year after that to which the accounts refer.

A special law shall be issued to govern the formation of an Accounting Department.*

Art. 88. No public loan or obligation involving a charge upon public funds may be contracted except by virtue of a law.

Art. 89. No concession for the exploitation of natural resources of the country or a service of public utility and no monopoly may be granted except by virtue of a law and for a limited period.

Part V

642 643 PROVISIONS RELATIVE TO THE MANDATORY POWER AND THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS

Arts. 90 to 92 (abrogated November 9, 1943).
Art. 93 (abrogated January 01, 1947).
Art. 94 (abrogated November 9, 1943).

Part VI

PENAL AND TRANSITORY PROVISIONS

643 *Art. 95 (as amended November 9, 1943).* As a provisional measure and for the sake of justice and concord, the communities shall be equitably represented in public employment and in the composition of the Cabinet, such measure, however, not to cause prejudice to the general welfare of the State.

* According to information received through the courtesy of Professor M. S. Giacaman, Beirut, this paragraph, which is not in the text published by the League of Nations, appears in the original Arabic text.—Ed.

ne peut être en opposition avec les obligations contractées par la France en ce qui concerne la Syrie, particulièrement envers la Société des Nations. Cette réserve s'applique spécialement aux articles qui touchent au maintien de l'ordre, de la sécurité et de la défense du pays, et à ceux qui intéressent les relations extérieures. Pendant la durée des obligations internationales de la France, en ce qui concerne la Syrie, les dispositions de la présente Constitution qui seraient de nature à les affecter ne seront pas applicables que dans les conditions déterminées par accord à intervenir entre les gouvernements français et syrien. En conséquence, les lois prévues par les articles de la présente Constitution dont l'application pourrait entraver ses responsabilités ne seront discutées et promulguées conformément à la présente Constitution qu'en exécution de cet accord. Les décisions d'ordre législatif et réglementaire prises par les représentants du gouvernement français ne pourront être modifiées qu'après entente entre les deux gouvernements."

Secondly, there were a number of important administrative services which were wholly removed from the control of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments and placed under direct supervision of the Delegate-General, who administered them through a staff which was largely French in the upper ranks, but Syrian and Lebanese in the lower. They included:

i. The "Common Interests", a number of departments dealing with matters of concern to both Syria and Lebanon. The most important of them were the customs administration, the control of concessionary companies and certain economic, financial and social services. They were financed out of the "Funds of Common Interest", consisting almost entirely of customs receipts, which were sufficient not only to pay for these services but to provide a large surplus which was in principle divided between the two Governments.

ii. The "Troupes Spéciales", the local Syrian and Lebanese levies. Some thousands strong, they had been in existence throughout the Mandatory period as an integral part of the French Army of the Levant, and until the outbreak of war they had been wholly paid for out of the "Funds of Common Interest". They now formed part of the French territorial command.

iii. The "Direct Collection", the organisation responsible for

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the social services of technical assistance - whether the latter were effected under Point IV or from United Nations funds. In consistently accord with the Department the possibility of a concurrent development of community social welfare with the help of United Nations technical assistance, e.g., by instituting appropriate leadership courses and education in citizenship. Further consideration of the suggestion was practical but there are reasons which militate against progress on these lines. First, we understand that there is a general impression in informed circles that assistance to governments, whether for social or economic projects, is or may be made available under Point IV under more favourable conditions than those applying to United Nations technical assistance (this specifically refers to the proportion of local expenditure to be borne by the recipient government). Second, Afghanistan does not wish to the local press stressed the view as widely held in the country that the provision of financial aid, chiefly in the form of capital, is just as essential, perhaps more essential, than foreign technique. Third, the circumstance unfavorable to an underdeveloped country of too many schemes of economic and social development, all of which are unfortunately desirable but which, cumulatively, are beyond the present budgetary and administrative resources of the country are only places an unbearable load upon the machinery of government. In any case to separate for capital expenditure as a main study reason to get. It would be impossible if any priority of requests for technical assistance that had to take place as a result of a tactful recognition of this truth were to operate to the prejudice of fully considered schemes of community welfare development, particularly where such schemes had been designed as demonstration projects to become self-supporting in the near future.

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(2) Experienced sociologists, working mainly with foreign agencies operating in the Lebanon and other Middle East countries, have urged the desirability under present conditions of establishing with outside financial aid and, if necessary, under foreign direction, pure community welfare demonstration centres. In these centres, as they see the position, the whole process of self-help in meeting the economic, health, educational and social needs of a representative region (rural, community might be demonstrated and gradually fulfilled. Whatever practicable, and as soon as practice, local officials (administrators, doctors, teachers, agronomists and other technicians) would be encouraged to participate in the organization and management of the demonstration centre, even to the extent (it was suggested by one authority consulted) of requesting the part-time services of these officials by supplementing the pay which they already receive from public funds. Leaders of the local community would, as the work progressed, be encouraged to form management committees for the various activities. In this way, it was thought practicable, on the basis of actual experience, to arouse interest in, and create a wider public support for the objects by the government of the moment, leading, in course of time, to the establishment under official auspices of other centres and, ultimately, to a self-supporting basis. As more later to see the term, paragraphs (3)-(5) the practical application of this philosophy on a modest scale under the auspices of the New York Foundation.

(3) We, however, believe technical assistance to specialists to governments only, and should be given only on their request. It is not easy to devise a means whereby plans or demonstration projects of private agencies for developing community welfare and allegiance loss, self-government can be brought within the scope of the present system. Further, it would manifestly be improper to invite the organizations to submit any privately sponsored applications for assistance in establishing semi-private community welfare centres to be assisted until the Government has itself supported such a request through official channels. We understand, however, that in the operation various foreign voluntary agencies are able to give a measure of assistance for the purpose.

ent farmers. Large holdings, owned by absentee landlords and worked according to the share-tenancy system, predominate, however, in the Bekaa valley, in the 'Akkar plain and in the province of South Lebanon.

A diversity of crops is grown in different parts of the country. The subtropical climate of the coastal plains permits the cultivation of citrus fruits and bananas, while olives, grapes, apricots and other fruits flourish on the terraced mountain slopes. Cereals and legumes are the chief crops of the Bekaa, but cotton, tobacco and numerous types of vegetables are also produced. Large numbers of goats, as well as sheep, cattle and other livestock, are raised, primarily as food or draft animals. Sericulture is carried on in many mountain villages, but the competition of artificial silks has contributed to its decline within recent years. The government encourages the expansion of agriculture through the promotion of co-operative credit and marketing facilities. There are no experimental farms or research stations, but instruction in modern methods of farming is provided by the agricultural division of the government's vocational school in Beirut and by the American University.

The mineral resources of the region are negligible. Small deposits of lignite, located in the hills above Beirut and Tripoli, are worked intermittently. Salt is also extracted in evaporating beds along the coast north of Beirut. The development of modern industry received some impetus during the war years 1941-45, but is handicapped by the scarcity of raw materials and the limitations of the internal market. Numerous small plants exist for the processing of consumer goods, including the manufacture of textiles, cement, soaps, distilled liquors, leather goods, cigarettes, olive oil and various foodstuffs. The Iraq Petroleum Company has recently established a refinery at Tripoli, the terminus of its pipeline from the oil fields in the Kirkuk region. The chief exports are olives and olive oil, textiles, silk, fruits and petroleum products.

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Most of the expansion described above has been carried out by private initiative but, in addition to providing irrigation, the State has assisted agriculture in many ways. Of these the most important has been the provision of credit. The Société de Crédit agricole et industriel, founded in 1936 by the Banque de Syrie et du Liban on the request of the Government, has, in recent years, advanced loans totalling LL 6 to 7 million per annum, the greater part of which is guaranteed by the Government. In 1954, the Government established an agricultural and industrial bank, with a capital of LL 30 million; it is hoped that this bank will be able to meet a larger proportion of Lebanon's agricultural credit requirements. 1/ Another service has been the distribution of imported seed wheat to farmers: in 1953, 100 tons were distributed and the 1954/55 programme provided for 1,700 tons, at a cost of LL 450,000, as well as chemical fertilizers, at a cost of LL 800,000. 2/ Other projects undertaken by the Government include grain storage and citrus packing facilities, which are being established with United States aid, and experimental stations set up with the aid of the United States and French Governments. In 1953, the investment works of agriculture over the following five years were put at LL 125 million, of which LL 50 million were for irrigation, LL 35 million for credit, LL 5 million for the mechanization of certain cultivation, LL 10 million for the building of silos for grain and LL 25 million for transport and for processing industries. 3/ Some of this investment - for example, mechanization and investment in transport and industry - is being carried out by private enterprise and a considerable part of the balance by the Government (see below).

Industry

In the immediate post-war years, Lebanese industry was favoured by the scarcity of imported consumer goods, but this advantage was offset by the great shortage of raw materials and the difficulty of renewing equipment or obtaining spare parts. Moreover, military orders, which had absorbed a large fraction of industrial output, declined to insignificant proportions. In the course of 1946 and 1947, foreign competition increased sharply. This was met by a considerable rise in investment, especially in the food processing and textile industries, and a renewal of equipment. The increase in productive capacity resulted in greater output in 1948 and 1949. In 1950, many Lebanese industries were severely hit by the ending of the customs union with Syria. Industry in general, however, was aided by the war in Korea, which reduced foreign competition, and subsequently by greater skill in the Lebanese market, facilitated by increased tariff

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1/ Agricultural indebtedness is believed to total between LL 70 and LL 80 million the bulk of which was obtained from money-lenders and small private banks at a rate of interest around 30 per cent. "Proceedings of the Agricultural Credit Conference", Beirut, 12-15 October 1953.

2/ Lebanese Delegation to Fourth Regional Conference of the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, Beirut, 13-17 September 1954, "Improvement the principle statistics of agriculture".

3/ Four Years, op. cit.

LEBANON MEI

457 Until recently, it is probable that the profits realized abroad by foreign companies operating in Lebanon outweighed income accruing from Lebanese foreign investments and businesses operating outside the country. During and after the Second World War, however, both the latter increased substantially, and Lebanon is now a net creditor on investment account. Transfers of profits out of Lebanon were estimated at LL 11.0 million in 1951 and LL 9.0 million in 1952, while incomes accruing from foreign securities and businesses, local bank abroad and businesses operating outside Lebanon, have been put at approximately LL 15.0 million and LL 25.0 million, respectively. 1/ Little information is available regarding capital movements. It is known that in 1949, owing to unsettled political conditions, an appreciable amount of Syrian capital entered Lebanon and that a certain amount was brought in by Palestinian Arab refugees. During the past few years, a considerable amount of capital from Kuwait and Saudi Arabia has also been invested in real estate in Lebanon, or been deposited in Lebanese banks. In 1952, there was an influx of capital from Egypt, which partly accounts for the large figure shown in table 47. In September 1951, Lebanon repurchased $500,000 worth of its currency from the International Monetary Fund. There has been some Lebanese investment in Syria.

Monetary control and public finance

453 The increase in production, and still more in commercial and financial activity, noted above as accompanied by a development of the banking system. The number of banks operating in Beirut rose from seven in 1947 to twenty-one in 1950; the properties of Lebanese banks increased more than correspondingly, but they still play a minor role in the financial structure. 2/ There has been a large increase in bank deposits, from LL 27.3 million in 1948 to LL 227.1 million in 1951 and, after a decline to LL 180.8 million in 1953, LL 300.2 million in 1954. This has led to a marked reduction in interest rates. 3/ A significant proportion of the increase in deposits represents foreign capital which viewed Lebanon either for greater security or, more recently, for short-term investment in commercial and financial transactions, including the transit of gold bullion; moreover, in recent years, several foreign firms have opted freedom to Lebanon or agreed to it their main agencies for the Middle East.

1/ Ibid., pages 77 & 78.

2/ Foreign banks which have recently opened branches in Lebanon include, in addition to Bar Paris, Egyptian and Palestinian establishments operating in 1947 Belgian, British, Iraqi, Italian, Netherlands and Swiss services have (Le Commerce du Levant, 7 July 1954). In April 1954, a law was passed supervising the British financial market. This required decisions on gold, trade of foreign exchange to register as members of the Beirut Exchange or to comply with all transactions within the Exchange, under rules to be drawn up by an administrative committee chosen by them (Le Commerce du Levant, 10 May 1954).

3/ The market discount rate fell from 5.5 per cent in 1947 to 5.0 in 1948, 4.25 in 1953 and .50 at the end of September 1954 (International Monetary Fund, International Financial Statistics).

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The post-war trend of prices was downward. Between 1945 and 1950 prices fell rapidly from the high level they had reached at the end of the war. The outbreak of hostilities in Korea temporarily reversed this trend, but, owing to tighter credit and control of inventories and duties on imports of stock, by the summer of 1951 the downward movement was resumed until 1954, when the index of wholesale prices levelled off. The main factor bringing down prices seems to have been the large deficit in the balance of trade which, during the first half of the period under review, was probably not covered by invisibles. 1/ Another factor was the budget surpluses, which from 1945 to 1950 inclusive, totalled LL 127.5 million. After 1950, however, the improvement in the balance of payments, together with government purchases of gold in the local market, which were intended both to increase the owned of the note issue and to counter the deflationary trend, checked the downward movement, and hoarding of goods, which had accompanied the rise in prices in 1950 and 1951, probably acted in the opposite direction in 1952 and 1953. In 1953, there was a trade recession and an increase in unemployment. This was probably overcome by an easier credit policy combined with an increase in international transactions.

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Currency and foreign exchange

During the Second World War, Lebanon's currency and foreign exchange transactions were regulated by various emergency laws by the Mandatory authorities, as a result of which over 95 per cent of cover of the notes issued by the Banque de Syrie et du Liban was of the sterling held by it open to credit of three kinds and banks. These three holdings in LBA were guaranteed against any depreciation of the franc in terms of sterling. In the post-war period, the inability of France to supply more than a small fraction of the non-franc foreign exchange requirements of Lebanon and Syria, together with the depreciation of the guarantee of the sterling value of their franc balances, 2/ led to negotiations which resulted in the Franco-Lebanese agreement of 1948. This provided for the establishment, for ten years, of the guarantee by the French Government of the sterling value of the franc holdings of the Banque de Syrie et du Liban and for the blocking of these holdings until 1958. The balance of Lebanon's franc assets was either paid to European countries or made available for purchases in France.

1/ In 1945, the deficit on current account of Lebanon and Syria was estimated by the Banque de Syrie et du Liban at LL 102 million and it seems probable that there was also a sizable deficit in 1946. During the years 1947 to 1949, Lebanon's exchange reserves declined steadily; then, in 1950 total gold and foreign exchange reserves, both public and private, fell by LL 65 million.

2/ Jacques Rueff, "Les causes et remèdes du déficit de la balance des paiements", Revue d'économie politique, 1947 (Paris). The French Government did, however, pay to Lebanon and Syria the difference resulting from the depreciation of the franc in December 1947.

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[illegible] to 1955. In 1956, after having appreciated rapidly, the pound remained stable around 3.00 to the dollar, partly owing to sales of foreign exchange by the Exchange Stabilization Fund, which feared that further appreciation might impair the country's competitive position. It seems clear, however, that an systematic attempt to bring about stabilization the exchange rate in view of the small size of Lebanon's foreign reserves 1/ and the great volume of exchange operations that take place in the private market.

Public Finance

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The war-time rise in incomes and prices led to an increase in both revenue and expenditure, a rate of increase which was, however, below that of the wholesale price index. Revenue rose from LL 61.1 million in 1939 to LL 99.8 million in 1945 and expenditure from LL 5.8 to LL 94.8 million. In every year, there was a surplus, the total for 1939 to 1945, inclusive, being LL 22.5 million. In the post-war period, there was a sharp rise in both revenue and expenditure. Except in 1950, every budget showed a surplus, the total for 1946 to 1955, inclusive, being LL 127.3 million. At the end of 1955, the Reserve Fund stood at LL 62.3 million. 2/ There is no internal or external debt.

Important tax reforms were carried out in the war and post-war periods. A progressive general income tax was introduced in 1944, which was abolished in 1949; incomes from commercial and industrial activities are taxed at from 1 to 30 per cent, incomes from non-commercial activities at from 4 to 37 per cent and salaries at from 2 to 10 per cent. In 1950, a tax on agricultural income was introduced, with rates ranging from 2 to 35 per cent; it will take effect in 1955. As table 10 shows, the reforms have appreciably increased the amount raised through direct taxes, but these taxes still play a minor part in government revenue; customs and excise duties account for about one-half of revenue and the addition of other indirect taxes brings the share to nearly two-thirds.

On the expenditure side, the most striking increase in the post-war period was in education, expenditure for which rose from 8.1 per cent of the total in 1946 to 12.6 in the 1955 estimates; this is due to the active part played by the Government in recent years in implementing the 1951 proclamation

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1/ The gold and foreign exchange reserves held by the Government and the bank of issue fell from $91.1 million at the end of 1947 to $58.3 million at the end of 1950. Thereafter, there was a slow rise to $61.2 million at the end of 1953 and a more rapid increase to $71.0 million at the end of October 1955; of the latter $40.8 million consisted of gold, $11.4 million of French francs and $8.8 million of other foreign exchange. These reserves included the cover of the note issue, which consisted for practically all the gold (Intermediate Monetary Fund, International Financial Statistics).

2/ Ministry of Finance, Budget Synopsis for 1955 (Beirut).

Table 45. Lebanon: Principal Items in Government Budgets, 1959 and 1963 to 1970
(Millions of Lebanese pounds)

Item	1959	1963	1964	1965	1966	1967	1968 a/	1969 a/
Revenue:								
Direct taxes on income and wealth b/	1.00	5.73	10.00	10.50	10.96	11.00	10.00	--
Taxes on land and estates		1.00	1.00	1.00	1.00	0.00	0.00	--
Registration duties c/	4.70	6.41	7.00	7.00	8.00	10.00	10.00	--
Customs duties		25.50	26.00	30.00	30.00	36.00	36.00	36.00
Other indirect taxes d/		25.00	30.00	35.00	37.00	40.00	30.00	--
Other receipts	1.00	6.00	5.00	7.00	9.00	12.00	10.00	--
Total	5.00	70.00	80.00	90.00	105.00	109.00	110.00	105.00
Expenditure:								
Education	0.50	5.00	6.00	7.00	8.00	9.00	10.00	10.00
Health	2.00	3.00	4.00	4.00	5.00	6.00	5.00	4.00
Defense	--	15.00	17.00	19.00	22.00	23.00	25.00	25.00
Public works e/	2.00	17.00	17.00	20.00	22.00	24.00	25.00	25.00
Other expenditures	4.00	20.00	26.00	30.00	40.00	42.00	50.00	45.00
Total	8.00	60.00	80.00	80.00	97.00	104.00	115.00	105.00
Balance	3.00	8.00	3.00	-4.00	15.00	15.00	-5.00	0

Source: United Nations Bureau of Economic Affairs, Travel Branch.

a/ Estimates.

b/ Taxes on wealth and income from juridical persons, tax on buildings and other taxes.

c/ Registration duties include registration fees, stamp duties and judicial and notary fees.

d/ Other indirect taxes include general consumption taxes, fiscal monopoly and other taxes.

e/ Including expenditures of the ministry of Public Works and, from 1965, public works appropriations of the ministry of Agriculture.

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system of private schools. The second agent is Indian Railways, but the share fell from [illegible] per cent of total expenditure in 1951 to [illegible] in 1961. Electricity, although expenditure on public works increased, rather more than doubled from [illegible] to [illegible] per cent.

[illegible]

Since the period 1951 to 1961, inclusive, government expenditure on development totalled [illegible] million. Of this [illegible] million was spent through the ordinary budget and [illegible] million through the Development Rente Fund. A separate breakdown from the budget estimates of the net and gross cost,

[illegible]

Until the creation of the Bank of Economic Planning and Development, in February 1972, all development projects were studied and recorded by the government departments concerned, principally the Ministry of Public Works and the Ministry of Agriculture. The Bank, which consists of five executive and seven consultant members, is charged with assessing the country's economic resources and possibilities, establishing a general development plan and suggesting procedures for financing it. Questions on, however, delegated to the departments concerned. [1]

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Expenditure on irrigation and drainage from both the ordinary budget and the development fund totalled about [illegible] million in the period 1951 to 1961. This expenditure has resulted in the irrigation of [illegible] hectares, an increase of [illegible] per cent over the previously irrigated area. An additional [illegible] hectares has been irrigated by a private concessionaire. The projects carried out were both new and [illegible].

The principal irrigation projects being carried out or under consideration are the following: Sudeni, Adari, Tsaramanda, Ambara and Ankadi projects, which when finished will irrigate [illegible] hectares of land. The [illegible] power projects are the Tsaramanda, Anaphes, Bilal Ombra and Ankadi projects. The Sudeni project, on the Lokele River, was begun in 1951 and will [illegible] irrigate [illegible] hectares. It is to be extended to another [illegible] hectares, at [illegible], when [illegible] new settlement will be [illegible]. [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

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crude petroleum by exceeding the depth of exceptional interest derived from the mobility of the meager data available. Local authorities believe that the mortality rate in children up to 5 years of age averages from 25 to 30 per cent for the country as a whole. It ranges from 10 to 12 per cent, or more, in Beirut proper to from 30 to 45 per cent in Tripoli, Sidon and the towns of the hinterland. In the more remote villages of South Lebanon, the standards of living are extremely low, and the mortality in children under 5 years of age probably reaches 50 to 70 per cent. Intestinal diseases are foremost among the causes of death in infancy and early childhood.

Some Economy

The economy of Lebanon is based upon agriculture, but the country is in a more favorable position than the neighboring Arab states, in that the national income is augmented by an increasing tourist traffic and by remittances to their families from emigrants living abroad. Although the coastal plain and the Bekaa valley support a variety of crops, a large part of the territory is mountainous and unsuitable for cultivation. The coastal region is cultivated intensively, with a series of narrow terraces extending along the seaward slopes of the Lebanon range up to an elevation of about 1,000 feet. Little more than 20 per cent of the total land area is now under production, while less than one fifth of that is irrigated. Considerable disparity exists between current estimates of the amount of arable land, but all agree that it can be increased materially by a greater utilization of the available water resources and by improved methods of cultivation. Progress has already been initiated for the further development of irrigation facilities, notably in the southern Bekaa, and in the 'Akkar plain, a triangular sector between the coast and the northern frontier with Syria. The tradition of private ownership is strong in the mountainous districts of the north, and most of the land is cultivated by independent [illegible]

Health Services has recently been established in the Bureau of Municipalities and Town Planning, also in the Ministry of the Interior. This division advises on local public health matters in the cities and the towns, including Beirut, all of which come under the jurisdiction of this Ministry.

The Ministry of National Education conducts limited health services in the government schools. The Ministry of Public Works undertakes the construction of water supplies and sanitary facilities, in consultation with the Ministry of Public Health. The Ministry of Social Affairs supervises the health standards in industries, while the Ministry of National Economy has divisions for the control of adulteration of foodstuffs and for the surveillance of conditions in the resort towns.

Numerous voluntary agencies are engaged in social welfare and related health activities among the different racial and religious communities. The Lebanese Red Cross carries on an extensive program which is partially subsidized by the government. It maintains 3 dispensaries in Beirut and 13 in the provinces, as well as a mobile dispensary in South Lebanon. In addition, it supports infant welfare services in all sections of the country, and manages milk distribution centers for Lebanese children and for Palestinian refugees in Beirut and Zahle. It also operates a school for nurses in Beirut.

The National Union of Child Welfare represents 20 affiliated organizations which conduct welfare or health work among the children of the diverse religious and racial groups. It endeavors to co-ordinate the activities of its members and to provide advice or material assistance as required. The Union is subsidized by the Ministry of National Education, but it functions also in association with the Ministry of Public Health. It has recently sponsored the construction of a center for the care of crippled children on the outskirts of Beirut.

The Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign Society carries on an active program for the pre-

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[illegible]

[illegible]

Egypt [illegible]
Turkey [illegible]
Iraq [illegible]
Syria [illegible]
Lebanon [illegible]
Historical Palestine [illegible]

/For an account of the program of culture-education in countries of the Middle East after World War I up to 1945, see 66: Bonné, [illegible] Middle East, category 115 as follows: Turkey - pp. 274-284, Egypt - pp. 285-286, Iraq - pp. 287-289, Palestine - 289-290, Syria and Lebanon - pp. 290-292./

[illegible] private sectors. Most of the difficulties in this connection have arisen from the lack of adequate information. There there are in Lebanon about 30,000 foreigners, and for many of them it has been impossible to ascertain whether or not they should be considered as 'residents'. Again, many Lebanese nationals live and work in neighbouring countries without being registered as permanent residents there. According to the adopted criterion, their expenditure on a trip to Lebanon should be entered up a credit; there has been no way, however, of isolating that item.

4. [illegible] from foreign travel

Receipts from foreign travel (i.e., the credit side) have been divided into the following categories: (1) summer resorting, (2) schools, (3) hospitals and (4) tourism, including business.

(1) Summer resorting. In most countries, summer resorting (or sojourn) is part of general tourism, and earnings from it are not isolated. In Lebanon, such an isolation was found to be necessary, for the following reasons:

[illegible] (a) Sojourn in Lebanon is a clearly defined and separate industry and is so recognized by the Government. It is generally taken to mean the spending of the summer months in the fifty-odd mountain resorts which dot the [illegible] [illegible] [illegible], their population swells up as much as ten to fifteen times during July, August and September of every year. Some resorts are even completely abandoned during the winter months and come to life only in the hot season. During this season, all residential houses and often even schools and other institutions are rented out to the incoming sojourners. Most of the sojourners are from the Lebanese coastal cities, but quite a substantial number come from the neighbouring countries in the Middle East. The Lebanese Government (through its Commissariat of Tourism) is known to have always been anxious to promote sojourn and to attract as many foreigners as possible during the summer season. In 1951 and 1952 for example, it stood ready to pay part or all of the return passage of all

[illegible] nationals residing in Arab countries [illegible] Foreign nationals naturally differ from the ordinary tourists who stay a few days only in the country, and up to most of their time in travel, with Beirut as the jumping off place to Damascus or Jerusalem. The nationals' stay, on the other hand, ranges all the way from a week or two at a hotel to three months in a rented villa. Often guests repeat year after year, returning to the same place, almost, as it where, like to a summer home.

3) Whilst it was possible to isolate the summer resort tourist industry, the remaining forms of foreign travel (except expenditures for schools and hospitals) could not be separately identified because the needed information was not obtainable from the Commissariat of Tourism or the Tourist Guidance. Thus the word "tourism" is used in this study as a catchall for the various not otherwise mentioned foreign travel expenditures, with no breakdowns as to travel for business, pleasure, etc.

In view of its importance, it was decided to undertake a separate independent survey of the embassy industry especially since there was no reliable official data on which to base even an approximate estimate. Although the present study encompasses 1953 and 1954 only, it was felt that the survey should cover the 1949 summer months, and be made while the season was in progress. In this way there would be as little reliance as possible on people's memories; the data requested would be current and available, and direct interview and, when needed, cross checking would be [illegible] ing returns for the two previous years.

For this purpose, two complementary surveys were conducted, both beginning in June 1955 and continuing through the succeeding five months. Permissions for the surveys were obtained from the ministries concerned, which also cooperated in the collection of information. Most of the communications or questionnaires were sent out in the names of the bureaus directly concerned

* The Government authorized 50 kg of the cross quotas for a total of 70 on another item, 40 kg for 40 kg, 50 kg for 40 kg and 50 kg for 40 kg. The others are the Government 10, 10 million in 1955 and 10, 10 million in 1956, Another 10, 10,000 was also spent annually on cultural promotion, mainly in the form of propaganda and advertising in Egypt and Iraq.

[illegible]

Methodology and Purpose of Report

In order to facilitate the planning and carrying out of the different aspects of the Kumbi Rural Improvement Project, an economic and social survey and analysis of the area to be affected by the development projects was requested in August, 1965. It was decided that the report of this study should include the general physical characteristics of the area, a description of local governmental institutions, populations, farm organizations, land utilization, irrigation and crop patterns, livestock, land tenure, crops and livestock, and a physical description of the village for showing the number and types of buildings and educational facilities.

Unfortunately, basic data with respect to the project area were not available. Insufficient time to send [illegible] abroad was one of the figures available on population are extremely inaccurate. Although the land area in each township was made available by the cadastral survey office in Kumbi there was no information available on land utilization and distribution.

A rational approach to the problem of rural improvement necessitated the preparation of a minimum amount of economic data. In this report the best available basic facts and figures are presented. Unless otherwise noted, the information was acquired from the members of the village and other leading citizens in Kumbi and Commissioner.

The basic data presented for a report of this sample study represents the minimum for an agricultural census of a district. It should be realized, however, that many of the difficulties encountered in making this survey, such as lack of adequate maps, information on ownership of land, and accurate data on population must be resolved in preparing the way for a successful agricultural census. Land such a census can be made, however, enabling factual, upon complete data for which plans for a development work program will aid in obtaining the data necessary for understanding the true agricultural needs in Lebanon.

One limitation which does exist in the methodology of this survey, unless otherwise noted, is the fact that the information presented is reasonably reliable.

PREFACE

[illegible]

[illegible] ...ion, large holdings, owned by absentee landlords and worked according to the share-tenancy system, predominate, however, in the Sirte valley, in the Misiata plain and in the province of South Cyrenaica.

A diversity of crops is grown in different parts of the country. The subtropical climate of the coastal plain permits the cultivation of citrus fruits and bananas, while olives, grapes, apricots and other fruits flourish on the terraced mountain slopes. Cereals and legumes are the chief crops of the Sirtica, but cotton, tobacco and numerous types of vegetables are also produced. Large numbers of goats, as well as sheep, cattle and other livestock, are raised, primarily as food or draft animals. Horticulture is carried on in many mountain villages, but the emigration of artificial silks has considerably to decline within recent years. The government encourages the expansion of agriculture through the promotion of cooperative credit and marketing facilities. There are no experimental farms or research centres, but instruction in modern methods of farming is provided by the agricultural divisions of the government's provincial administration in Tripoli and by the American Libyan society.

The mineral resources of the region are negligible. Small deposits of lignite, located in the hills above Tripoli and Tripoli, are worked commercially, but a vital resource is empowering hold along the west coast of Africa. The development of modern industry has received some impetus during the war years (1941-45), but is handicapped by the scarcity of raw materials and the limited skilled labour force for the processing of consumer goods, including the manufacture of textiles, cement, soaps, distilled liquors, leather goods, cigarettes, olive oil and various foodstuffs. The Esso Petroleum Company has recently established a refinery at Tripoli, the terminus of its pipeline from the oil fields in the Gabriel region. The chief exports are olives and olive oil, textiles, silk, fruits and petroleum products.

p. 118(a)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] land permit regulations to specify, permits for the agricultural use of water may be renewed for a period of 40 years.

Concessions. The projects envisaged above require permits even when they are projects of public utility. Such permits may not be issued for terms of more than 75 years.

A set of specifications prescribing conditions under which water may be drawn, the periods of use, measures for the save of water, the maximum power of the water fall, the deadline for the completion of the construction works, the term of the concession, the water reserves to be maintained, the financial conditions, the disposal of these works upon expiration of the concession and a clause allowing for the eventual expropriation of the project shall accompany the concession.

Fees and Royalties. Royalties shall be paid for permits and concessions to the state (article 14).

Government Intervention. Rules and regulations on expropriation of land and water for public purposes shall be applicable to concessionaires, and the state may annul such rights as well as alter or demolish, against payment of an equitable indemnity, legally-created construction works (article 17).

Servitudes and Indemnities

The beneficiary of a permit or concession may take advantage of all servitudes in the execution of the work; namely, servitudes on occupation of private property, the strengthening of dams, the subsession of banks and of tracts of land, etc. The government may, where no friendly agreements have been reached on specific points, authorize the concessionaire to avail himself of the above servitudes provided he deposits a guarantee against possible damages.

Article 18 stipulates the indemnity to be paid by a concessionaire desiring to make use of certain servitudes as well as the arbitration procedure to be followed to settle disputes which may arise.

The concessionaire has the right to repurchase private [illegible]

312 Concerning the Establishment of Water Conduits and aqueducts for a
749 Public Drinking Water Supply

Articles 25 to 33 set forth the prescribed width and other specifications for embankments along drinking water conduits and aqueducts.

The width of such aqueducts shall be stipulated by decree of the head of the government. The cutting out of plantations or construction work along these conduits is prohibited, and the administration may order the felling of trees already growing there and the demolition or change of any previously existing structures within such areas.

Waterworks Construction Associations

312 Upon the initiative of the interested parties and the head
474 of the government, private associations may be formed
456 for the purpose of building works for agricultural improvement, flood control, the repair, maintenance and cleaning of water courses, land drainage, reclamation, colmatting and the construction of embankments or irrigation works.

Requests addressed to the head of the government must contain all pertinent information as to the area involved, the purpose, the projects and the type of association intended.

If such a request, upon being reviewed by the Minister of Public Works, is deemed worthy of approval, the local landowners shall be called to a meeting by the head of the government. The meeting shall proceed to the selection of a chairman, and the minutes of the meeting, including the names of the persons attending, shall be kept. The heads of municipalities, administrators of public property and the director of land service for the public domain may also attend such meetings.

If the formation of such an association is voted by simple majority, the project, with complete details as to the nature of the association, its operation, the contemplated program of work and estimates of expenditures and contributions of each person involved shall be submitted to the head of the government who shall order a 20-day investigation of the matter, during which time any persons or persons who have not joined the contemplated association may offer to convey their land, against payment of an indemnity, to

[illegible]

the administrative regulations.

Within nine months after the Statutes of Nobles have been ratified by Royal Decree, the head of the government shall issue a decree stating that such administrative law have established.

An annual budget shall be submitted for approval to the head of the government who is authorized to act as charge the total sum to be set aside for this purpose.

Disputes over the operation of the administrative shall be heard by the administrative tribunals.

Rules and methods of execution of all administrative codes shall be submitted to the Public Rules Service which will examine legislative regulations.

The head of the government may grant non-inherent hereditary titles and distinctions to the administrative, in keeping with the principles, for a period of no longer than 20 years.

Articles 45 to 51 govern the rules of procedure of such administrative, particularly their administrative organs (assembly presidents, directors and staff), their procedure for their elections and their term of office.

The general assembly, as written in the constitution, may also dismantle the administrative by a simple majority vote, provided such action is approved by the head of the government in an official decree.

The head of the government may, in case of disagreement, place in the hands of the general [illegible] assembly the dissolution and the administrative, and in any case must representatives to all meetings or committees.

Jurisdiction and Penalties

Articles 52 to 60 prescribe jurisdictions and penalties.

It is stipulated that collaborators of this decree shall be subjected to the fines of a magistrate by officials of the

[redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[redacted]

GOVERNMENT TRANSACTIONS

This section covers certain transactions of the Lebanese Government and of other governments and international agencies in Lebanon, not already mentioned either under merchandise trade, foreign travel or transportation. Specifically are included as a debit the Lebanese Government's expenditures abroad on diplomatic and consular representations, its contributions to international institutions, its scholarships to Lebanese students abroad, and its foreign debt payments; on the credit side are listed the receipts from governments' credits abroad, consulate receipts, royalties paid by concessionaires, local expenditures of international agencies, and the diplomatic, consular and cultural expenditures of foreign governments in Lebanon. To the latter, however, are not included those governments' donations for economic or technical assistance to those countries (technically "transfers", i.e., are transactions for which there is no quid pro quo whatever (cf. p. 48).

1. Debits

(a) The Lebanese Government's diplomatic and consular expenditures abroad are to early ascertained from the final budget accounts; they are stated at LL. 17 million in 1955 and LL. 19 million (including payments made on the government's account) in 1956. These figures include the country's annual financial contributions to international agencies. These contributions are so small that it has not been thought worthwhile to survey them.

(b) Government scholarships to Lebanese students abroad, together with small educational grants, totalled LL. 4.5 million in both 1955 and 1956. These include appropriations from the ministries of National Education and Agriculture and from the Directorate of Civil Aviation.

(c) In 1955, Lebanese [illegible] of the Egyptian exile officials, [illegible] and Sudan received a substantial proceeds on the con-

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS OF THE LITHUANIA

by [illegible]

THE Lithuania Republic covers an area of about [illegible] sq. km. The population was first counted in the Order of the President dated [illegible] 1923, on the number of citizens registered in the registration records on December 31, 1922. This Order also covered the [illegible] of Lithuania who had emigrated but had retained their Lithuanian citizenship.

The Order in question was published in connection with the decision of the Lithuanian Parliament. Although the decision commanded the agreement with the commission of the country group, the Order contains the official document granting the holding of a general census which will determine the figures more precisely.

The following is the table which served as the foundation for fixing the population of the Lithuania as on [illegible] 1, 1923:[1]

Communities	Inhabitants	Foreigners	Total
Alytus	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kaunas	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Klaipeda	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kaunas Prefecture	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Marijampole	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Panevezys	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kaunas Prefecture	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Panevezys Prefecture (Kaunas town)	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Siauliai	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Total	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The following are the estimated figures for the movements of population due to the Lithuania and the estimated census increase:[2]

Communities	[illegible] Census	End [illegible]	Difference	Percentage
Kaunas	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Klaipeda	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Panevezys	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Marijampole	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kaunas Prefecture	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Kaunas Prefecture	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

The [illegible] [illegible] which are to [illegible] from [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 659

[illegible] 6.1

[illegible] [524]

[illegible]

[illegible] no. 6-4 (1961) (1962) 1966
NO MIDDLE EAST

Schools are maintained by the Lebanese government under the authority of the Ministry of National Education and by private, denominational and foreign agencies. There are no public secondary schools, and institutions for advanced education are conducted almost exclusively by private or foreign organizations.

There are two universities in Beirut, both of which have made substantial contributions to educational and social leadership throughout the Near and Middle East. The Université Saint-Joseph, which was founded in 1875, is operated by Jesuit orders, and some of its departments are subsidized by the French government. It has faculties of law, theology, engineering, philosophy, oriental letters and medicine, with constituent schools of dentistry, pharmacy, nursing and midwifery. The American University of Beirut was established as the Syrian Protestant College in 1866, and renamed in 1920. It is a nonsectarian, autonomous institution, sponsored by the Near East Colleges Association. The present university incorporates schools of arts and sciences, engineering, medicine, pharmacy and nursing, as well as a new school for agriculture, organized in 1952.

Vital Statistics

No reliable vital statistics are available for Lebanon. The registration of births and deaths is compulsory by law, but reporting is irregular, and the facilities for the compilation and the analysis of statistical data are inadequate. The published statistics are incomplete and of little value in the interpretation of true birth and death rates. No census has been taken since 1932, but, on the basis of the official population estimates, the birth rate was calculated at 21.5 per 1,000 population in 1947 and at 20.1 in 1948. The death rates were given at 5.5 and 6.1 per 1,000 population, respectively, figures which are obviously low.

The infant mortality rates are unknown. The general laxness in reporting births in many rural villages and the tendency to

by a Director General. The activities of the Ministry are performed through three departments, concerned with administration, collateral services and medical care. The collateral services branch comprises five areas dealing with: (1) communicable disease control, (2) maternal and child health, school health, public health education and the compilation of morbidity statistics, (3) sanitary engineering, (4) laboratories and research, (5) pharmacies services, (6) local health services, public health nursing and licensure of medical personnel and (7) supervision of pharmacies, narcotics and drugs. The medical care department is responsible for the maintenance of hospitals and dispensaries and of medical assistance services.

Mobile teams, made up of a doctor, a nurse-midwife and a sanitarian, carry out the functions of the Ministry in each of the 10 areas, or districts, into which the country is divided - 2 in Mount Lebanon, 2 in North Lebanon, 4 in South Lebanon and 2 in Bekaa. Their duties cover various phases of public health, including the inspection of water and food supplies, the reporting of morbidity and mortality statistics, the prevention of epidemics, immunization against smallpox and other diseases, maternal and child health and, where necessary, elementary medical care. The headquarters of these district health services are located at Tripoli, in North Lebanon; Sidon, in South Lebanon; Baabda in Mount Lebanon; and Zahle in the Bekaa.

The city of Beirut has a municipal health department which is not subordinate to the Ministry but acts in close co-operation with it. There are no organized local health services in the remaining towns, but a few of the largest employ municipal physicians who function in many respects as health officers.

Several other ministries carry on public health activities. The Bureau of the Census, in the Ministry of the Interior, is responsible for the collection and the compilation of vital statistics. A Division of Local

p. 125(8)

p. 126 (a)

[illegible] had made the astounding declaration to the Chamber, where it was received by [illegible] votes to none on the 8th. The amendments affected the following articles of the Constitution:

Article 1. References to the Mandatory Power and the League of Nations were eliminated, and Lebanon was described as "a sovereign State".

Article 11. French was no longer described as an official language.

Article 52. The treaty-making power was no longer to be limited by the reservations laid down in the Mandate.

Articles 94-95. These were annulled. They had provided that the exercise of the constitutional powers of Lebanon authorities should be subject to the maintenance of the Mandatory's rights and obligations; that Lebanon should eventually enter the League of Nations through the good offices of the Mandatory; that good relations would be maintained with the neighbouring countries under French Mandate; that disputes liable to lead to war should be submitted to the Mandatory's arbitration; and that agreements would be reached between Lebanon and France for the representation of the former, in countries where Lebanese subjects were numerous, by means of attachés to French diplomatic and consular missions.

Articles 95 and 101. References to the Mandate were omitted.

On November 11th, two days after the passage of these amendments through the Chamber, M. Bishara returned from a visit to Egypt. In the early hours of the following morning the Lebanese President and the majority of the Ministers were, by his order, arrested and removed from Beirut. A few hours later the Delegate-General issued decrees declaring the amendments null and void, suspending the Constitution, dissolving the Chamber and appointing Emile Eddé—Bishara al-Khuri's unrelenting opponent in the recent elections—as Head of the State and the Government.

These measures caused immediate and vigorous reactions, both in Lebanon and elsewhere. Throughout the next eleven days there was a general strike in the Lebanese towns; shops were shut, the ordinary newspapers ceased to appear and there were demonstrations in the streets. These led to clashes with

[illegible]

French troops, and to the death or injury of a number of [illegible] civilians. The two Ministers who had not been arrested, [illegible] together with a majority of the Deputies, continued to exercise their authority from a secondary centre and began to organize an armed force.

During these critical days the Lebanese people displayed [illegible] striking unity. The national cause took precedence over [illegible] sectarian conflicts, and very few were among the Moslems who dissociated themselves from the united front. Even Sabri Hamadé, a political soldier, and was forced to attempt the expedient of a council of civil servants.

Nevertheless, the country remained agreatly calm. The [illegible] the Lebanese did not resort to an armed rising was due to [illegible] large part to the confidence of their leaders in the value of the diplomatic support which they received from the Governments of the independent Arab States, of the United States and of Great Britain. The British attitude was defined by Mr. Lyttelton in the House of Commons on November 23rd:-

> "The interest of His Majesty's Government in this dispute is twofold. First of all, we have endorsed the promises of independence given to the Lebanese people by General Catroux in 1941. His Majesty's Government have followed with sympathy and interest the subsequent development of constitutional government in the Lebanon. Secondly, the Lebanon is of vital importance to the war effort both as an operational base and from the point of view of communications. Any threat of a breakdown of law and order is therefore of direct concern to His Majesty's Government."

Impressed by the gravity of the situation created by M. [illegible] Helleu's drastic action, the C.F.L.N. sent General Catroux to [illegible] take charge in Beirut. He arrived there on the 19th and, having examined the situation in all its aspects, recommended the reinstatement of the Lebanese President, the release of the imprisoned Ministers and the recall of M. Helleu. Acceptance of this programme was announced in Algiers on the 20th, and on the following day the Lebanese leaders returned to Beirut in triumph. It was at once apparent that the reinstatement of the Ministers, as well as of the President, was inevitable, and the French authorities agreed to this further concession. Furthermore, M. Chataigneau, who had provisionally taken M. Helleu's place as Delegate-General, cancelled the decree

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] 25

The political parties of the country, like its other political institutions, are of little use for the problem to be considered. Their officials, committees and declared candidates are usually drawn from a number of sects. Their programmes usually contain some reference to the need of an ideal of national unity to replace existing sectarian jealousies. Sometimes like a genuine, sometimes not. Parties which emphasize Lebanese independence are most often Maronite in inspiration and membership; parties of Arab unity are similarly (though to a less extent) Moslem.

Political Conceptions

In such circumstances it is inevitable that there should exist very varying conceptions of what Lebanon is and ought to be; to a limited degree the differences in ideas correspond to differences of religious confession. Roughly it is possible to distinguish five main views of Lebanon:

(i) There are some who regard Lebanon as an integral part of Arab Asia, with no essential social or political difference from other parts and no special mission or purpose. They want Lebanon to be wholly absorbed into a Syrian or Arab State, with no autonomy but special provisions for the personal status and religious education of the minorities, such as exist in other Arab regions.

(ii) Others admit that Lebanon's past history has given it a character of its own and created a gap between it and the other Arab regions. But they deny that the distinctive character of Lebanon confers upon it special duties or a mission; they regard the special characteristics as no more than historical relics which will disappear sooner or later. They are willing to grant a certain degree of Lebanese autonomy or even complete independence, but only as a temporary expedient, with the object of shaping the lives of the minorities and gradually persuading them to accept complete union with a Syrian or Arab state.

(iii) Others again regard Lebanon as primarily a place of refuge where persecuted minorities can live in peace. They want it therefore to be wholly separate from the hinterland, and do not care what form of government exists so long as it is strong enough to protect them.

(iv) Another idea is that of Lebanon as a Mediterranean Christian country: not the western edge of the Arabic Moslem world but the eastern edge of Western Christendom. It is to

[For the text in French of the Electoral Law of 1950 for Lebanon see 57: Davis, MI Middle East, category 116, pp. 307-319.]

DEMOGRAPHIC PROBLEMS OF THE LEBANON

By ELIAHU EPSTEIN

THE Lebanese Republic covers an area of about 10,000 sq. k.* The population was last assessed in the Order of the President dated June 17, 1945, as the number of citizens registered in the registration records on December 31, 1942. This Order also referred to a number of Lebanese who had emigrated but had retained their Lebanese citizenship.

The Order in question was published in connection with the elections to the Lebanese Parliament. Although the Moslem communities disagreed with the correctness of the number given, the Order remains the official document pending the holding of a general Census which will determine the figures more precisely.

The following is the table which served as the foundation for fixing the population of the Lebanon as on January 1, 1943:†

Communities.	Inhabitants.	Emigrants.	Total.
Maronites	328,200	90,276	418,476
Sunni	225,594	4,933	230,527
Shi'ah	200,648	2,367	203,015
Greek Orthodox	126,658	13,693	140,351
Druses	71,711	4,863	76,574
Greek Catholics	61,396	13,072	74,468
Armenian Orthodox (Gregorians)	58,105	68	58,173
Minorities	41,658	4,759	46,417
Total	1,084,400	159,371 ‡	1,243,880

The following are the estimated figures for the movement of population in the Lebanon, and the estimated natural increase:‡

Communities.	1932 Census.	End 1943.	Difference.	Percentage.
Sunni	179,687	225,594	45,907	25·5
Shi'ah	159,133	200,648	41,515	26·3
Druses	56,297	71,711	15,414	27·0
Maronites	289,620	328,200	38,580	13·0
Greek Catholics	55,495	61,396	6,901	10·5
Greek Orthodox	90,490	126,658	13,689	17·0

The instructive conclusions which can be drawn from these tables are:
(a) Most of the emigrants from the Lebanon and those who continue

* Since the demarcation of the Syro-Lebanese Frontier has not been completed, estimates of the area of the two States vary. The area of the Autonomous Sanjak of the Lebanon (1861-1915) was 3,700 kilometres and its population was 400,000.

† "La Syrie et l'Orient," Beirut, 20-15, 6, 1945.

‡ *Ibid.* The figures in these tables and the statistical calculations should be compared with similar sources on account of the backward methods used for demographical statistics in the Lebanon.

433. Where there is a religious population of Armenians, they are entitled to representation on the council by the addition of members over and above the regular number in proportion to their relative numerical importance in the community.[1]

434. The councils are elected for a term of four years and are renewed as a unit. Municipal elections take place on the third Sunday of May in electoral years.[2]

Basis of Representation.

Proportional religious representation is secured by the apportionment of the council seats among the various religious sects in conformity with their relative numerical strength in the electoral list.[3] Thus it is a fixed ratio based on potential voting strength rather than population figures. The allocation of seats is made by decree of the administrator subject to the approval of the Minister of the Interior. All electors vote for all the positions to be filled in their ward or municipality so that the votes of a majority sect may determine the choice of representatives for minority seats. One seat is reserved for minority sects having at least half but less than a whole electoral quotient. The allocation of seats is effected by the "list system" of proportional representation, the method being applied to registration rather than voting figures.

435. Qualifications for membership in the municipal councils are the same as for a seat in the national assembly as determined by Arrêté No. 1307 of March 10, 1922.[4] Candidates must be Lebanese citizens, at least twenty five years of age, literate, and in the enjoyment of full civil and political rights.[5] Aside from the general restrictions of the electoral law, the municipal law of 1922 expressly disqualifies the following —

1. Those deprived of their franchise.
2. Persons under tutelage or supervision of judicial council.
3. Persons exempted from municipal taxes or aided by any charitable organization.

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1 Loi du 10 Mars 1908, Journ. Off. No. 441, p. 1.

2 Arrêté No. 1036, 10 Fév. 1926, Journ. Off., No. F. 198.

3 Arrêté No. 1388, 10 Fév. 1926, Journ. Off., No. F. 198, Art. 10.

4 Arrêté No. 1388, loc. cit., Art. 7.

5 Recueil des Actes Administratifs du Haut Commissariat, Organisation Judiciaire, Reynaud), Vol. III, p. 197, Art. 1.

[illegible] Off. [illegible], p. 48 — [illegible]

§ 55 communities of the municipality.[1] In cases of dissolution or collective resignation a special delegation is named by the President of the Republic, who likewise appoints its president and vice-president, if any. The delegation contains from three to seven members depending upon the importance of the municipality. The duration of such a delegation may not exceed one year. It exercises all the powers of municipal council but is automatically dissolved when a council is reconstituted.[2]

Electoral Procedure.

§ 52. Municipal electoral procedure and qualifications are regulated
§ 144 by the national electoral law, Arrêté No. 1307 of March 16, 1924,
149 except that residence requirements are interpreted entirely in terms of municipal residence. Suffrage qualifications are the same as for national elections. The electorate consists of all male citizens 21 years of age having their real and principal establishment within the municipality where they must have resided for at least six months. Likewise, they must have conformed with the national census law of March 1, 1921. Absence because of status as minister of a recognized cult, as public functionary, or as soldier of the Syrian Legion, Levantine Gendarmerie, or French Army, does not disqualify.[3] The following categories are disqualified for the suffrage:—

1. Individuals deprived of their civil rights.
2. Individuals permanently deprived from holding public office.

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1 Ibid., Art. 31.

2 Arrêté in. 1308, loc. cit., Art. 32. The provision for dissolution and administration by an appointed Commission have been widely used as is shown by 46 dissolutions over a period of nine years among a total of sixty-two municipalities. Although the terms of such commissions is limited to one year, there is nothing to prevent the renewal of mandate or the appointment of a new commission. This seems to have been true to a considerable extent and has led to the conviction, commonly held, that the power of dissolution has been used for political reasons rather than because of administrative inefficiency or irregularities. It is a widely held belief that opposition administration has been resorted to and continued, in many cases, because of fear that election would bring into power an administration hostile to the central government or at least not so completely under its control. While it might be viewed that circumstances were such that no election could be depended upon to put in power a council of requisite ability, the fact that out of 46 dissolutions no reasons or statement in 30 of the orders of dissolution, although [illegible] required by law, leads color to the charge. (See Appendix).

3 Arrêté No. 1307, loc. cit., Art. 34. Under the Turkish regime suffrage qualifications included Turkish nationality, age of at least 25 years, possession of full civil and persons rights, freedom from sentence for crime, and payment of at least 5% Turkish pounds in taxes. (Young, loc. cit., Vol. I p. 76).

[illegible]

3. Individuals condemned for a crime or infamous offense involving a correctional penalty. Considered as infamous are theft, swindling, abuse of confidence, public outrage of decency, habitual excitation of minors to debauchery, vagabondage, and simple bankruptcy. 432 440 441

4. Individuals condemned to imprisonment for crime.

5. Individuals under judicial interdiction.

6. Insolvents not condemned for bankruptcy. Disqualification for this category holds for three years from declaration of insolvency.

7. Individuals condemned to imprisonment or more severe sentence for any violation of the electoral laws.[1]

A list of qualified voters known as the "electoral list" is drawn up by an appointed Registration Commission[2] and is revised annually from supplementary lists furnished by the mukhtars and presidents of municipalities. Upon the publication of this list ten days are allowed for the presentation of claims of error which are decided by the Registration Commission with right of appeal only on points of law. No one may be inscribed on the electoral list of more than one voting district. In case of duplicate registration through error the elector may choose which residence he desires to establish provided he fulfills the qualifications before the final closing of the electoral lists. All demands for such changes must be accompanied by a demand for the removal of the name from the former list.[3] 432 444

The electors are convoked by decree of the President of the Republic issued at least fifteen days before the election. In no case may the elections last more than seven days. Balloting always commences on a Sunday but may run for several consecutive days. The number of days, place, and time of voting are decreed by the administrator.[4] The polls must remain open at least six consecutive hours in municipalities of more than 500 inhabitants or, in case of a single day and hours of voting, at least nine consecutive hours. If a second balloting is necessary, the electors are automatically convoked for the following Sunday and such succeeding days as were provided in the original decree of convocation. The administrator is responsible for the publication of the necessary notices.[5]

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1 Ibid., Art. 15.
2 A permanent commission constituted under the national electoral law.
3 Arrêté No. 1838 loc. cit., Art. 17.
4 Arrêté No. 1837 loc. cit., Art. 24.
5 Ibid., Art. 28.

[SHOULD READ 1937 AND 1938 - CF. SECOND DRAFT, P. 47 -- ANALYST.]

1421 1444 When a municipal council is reduced by vacancies to three fourths of its normal membership a supplementary election is held within two months of the first vacancy, unless it occurs within six months of the next regular election. In this case a supplementary election is not held unless the membership is reduced to less than one half its normal number. If elected by wards, the supplementary election is held only in the wards concerned.[1]

The councillors are elected by direct universal manhood suffrage on the general ticket plan (*scrutin de liste*). However, a municipality if composed of several distinct and separated communities, as in the case of joint incorporation, or if possessing a population of more than 5000, may be divided into electoral districts or wards, each electing a number of councillors proportional to the number of inscribed electors in the ward. In no case shall such a ward have less than two members.[2] Division into wards is made by the administrator either upon his own initiative or upon the request of the administrative commission of the district, the municipal council concerned, or the electors themselves.[3] The administrator divides the municipality or wards into voting precincts (*bureaux de vote*), each of which votes on the general ticket of the entire municipality or ward of which it is a part.[4] In each precinct the administrator designates the polling place.[5] He likewise appoints a president for each voting bureau or precinct. The bureau president alone has police powers within the polls and no armed force may enter except at his request.[6] The bureau president must be named at least five days before the election. He is assisted by from two to four "assessors" who must be chosen from different religious sects represented in the precinct. Half of the assessors are appointed by the bureau president, the remainder are chosen by the electors present at the opening of the polls from among those of their own number who can read and write. One or two secretaries may be appointed having only a consultative voice in the voting bureau.[7] The bureau pre-

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1 Ibid., Art. 36.

2 Arrêté No. 1338, loc. cit., Art. 12.

3 Ibid., Art. 10.

4 Ibid., Art. 17.

5 Arrêté No. 1337, loc. cit., Art. 46.

6 Ibid., Art. 48.

7 Arrêté No. 1337, loc. cit., Art. 49. The provision for the selection of half of the assessors by the electors at the opening of the polls has not prevented changes of government control of the electoral machinery. These assessors are chosen by caucus or prior agreement with party leaders, the actual decision being made by the bureau president. Obviously it would be comparatively easy under this system for the government to control the counting procedure.

ident and at least half of the assessors must be present throughout 425
the electoral operations. This electoral board or voting bureau has 426
provisional jurisdiction over all questions arising out of the conduct
of the elections. All claims and decisions must be recorded together
with the reasons motivating the judgement.[1]

The bureau secretary is provided with an official copy of the electoral list. No one may vote whose name does not appear upon this list except such persons as may present a decision of the Registration Commission issued subsequently to the preparation of the list.[2] The voting of each elector is attested on the official list by the signature or initials of the secretary opposite the name of the elector.[3]

The ballot box has a single opening for the admission of the ballots. At the opening of the polls the box is closed and locked with two locks one key being retained by the bureau president, the other by the oldest of the assessors chosen by the electors.[4] Each voter presents his official certificate of identity (carte d'identité) to the secretary who checks the name against the electoral list. The reverse of the identity paper is then stamped with an indication of the precinct and the date. The secretary then announces the voter's name and the latter presents his folded ballot to the bureau president who deposits it in the ballot box. No official ballots are provided, the voter writing his own ballot on any piece of white paper. Ballots may be prepared by a candidate or groups of candidates and distributed outside the polls. The only restrictions are that they must not be on colored paper or bear any other external distinctive marks.[5]

Upon the closing of the polls the count is made by the bureau officials unless the number of ballots is more than three hundred. If this be the case a number of tellers may be appointed from among the literate electors present who shall be distributed at counting tables having at least four tellers each. If various candidates or

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1 Ibid., Art. 50.

2 Ibid., Art. 51.

3 Ibid., Art. 52.

4 Arrêté No. 1307, loc. cit., Art. 54.

5 Ibid., Art. 56. Even if the color restriction were rigorously enforced, as there is no uniformity of size and shape of the ballots prepared by candidates it is not difficult to determine the designation of a man's vote by a mere glance at the ballot which he commonly carries in his hand on entering the polls. Under the provisions of the Turkish law the voter placed his ballot in an envelope which was dropped, sealed, into the ballot box. (Young, loc. cit., Vol. I, p. 76).

lists of candidates have been presented they have the right to designate the additional tellers who shall then be distributed equally among the tables as far as possible. Upon the opening of the ballot box the total number of ballots is ascertained and checked against the official list. If the total is more or less than the vote recorded on the list, a minute is made to this effect. The bureau president then distributes the ballots to the different counting tables. One of the tellers reads each ballot in a loud voice, then passing it to another teller. The vote is recorded on specially prepared counting sheets. The electors are entitled to be present at the count and to circulate about the tables. If they challenge any of the proceedings, the bureau president and his assistants inspect the operations.[1]

Blank ballots, those not bearing sufficient designation or in which the voter may be known, those of colored paper or bearing any external mark of identification, and those bearing any remarks injurious to the candidates or the people are not included in the count but are attached to the process-verbal.[2] Also excluded are any votes for candidates who have failed to comply with the regulations governing declaration of candidatures.[3]

Immediately after the count the result is announced by the bureau president, and the ballots, other than those attached to the process-verbal, are burned in the presence of the electors.[4] When more than one voting precinct exists within an electoral circumscription, the proclamation of the result is made by the president of the central bureau to whom the various other bureau presidents must bring the process-verbal with attached ballots and the official check list.[5] A summary process-verbal is prepared at the central bureau and forwarded to the Ministry of the Interior and to the Registration Commission. Definitive announcement of the results is made by the Registration Commission after checking the returns.[6] The

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1 Arrêté No. 1307, loc. cit., Art. 56. Likewise, the check provided in permitting the electors to watch the count may be evaded by filling the rooms with one's own following. With police power only in the hands of the appointed bureau president, if he so desires, it is quite possible for him to determine the complexion of the witnesses.

2 Ibid., Art. 58.

3 Ibid., Art. 41.

4 The provision for the burning of the ballots immediately after the count would seem to evidence the incorruptibility of election officials. It is perhaps a question whether it is a wise procedure for use among a people who have not yet had much experience with electoral procedure. Even in countries more tried in the machinery of democratic government, the possibility of a recount by different officials has been found valuable.

5 Arrêté No. 1307, loc. cit., Art. 59.

6 Ibid., Art. 60.

electoral operations may be challenged by any elector or any candidate. The appeal must be presented at the office of the administrator within five days of the balloting. A receipt must be given therefor. This appeal is transmitted with the opinion of the administrator to the Ministry of the Interior for submission to the Council of State. A decision, from which no appeal lies, must be rendered within one month. If the President of the Republic finds that the conditions and forms prescribed by the electoral law have not been complied with he must denounce the elections to the Council of State within one month of the election.[3]

Organization and Procedure of Council.

A municipal council may adopt fixed dates for its meetings or may meet merely on call of its president or mayor.[4] In either case, the summons must state the order of the day and the subjects for discussion. The council may concern itself only with those topics cited in the docket. Calling of a meeting is mandatory upon the written request of the administrateur or of one third of the members of the council.[5]

A written summons must be addressed to each councilman at least three days before the scheduled meeting. In cases of urgency, this period may be reduced to twenty-four hours in which case the council decides at the opening of the meeting whether the matter at hand is sufficiently urgent to warrant such a summons. Further, in such cases, the administrateur may upon his own initiative or upon the request of a councilman require a second deliberation upon the same subject. Two copies of the summons, the schedule of meetings, and the order of the day must be transmitted to the [illegible] who forwards one to the administrateur. They must likewise be recorded in the council minutes under penalty of nullification.[6]

The mayor and assistant mayors if any, are appointed by the central authorities from among the council members. The other members rank in accordance with the date of their election, or, the date being the same, in accordance with the size of their electoral vote. Where these are still inconclusive, they rank in accordance with seniority of age.[7]

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1 Arrêté No. 1207, *loc. cit.*, Art. 47, as amended by Arrêté No. 2030 of June 3, 1925, Jour. Off. No. 142, p. 3.

2 Arrêté No. 1208, *loc. cit.*, Art. 34. The former practice is more common among the larger cities, now among the smaller ones.

3 Ibid., Arts. 33 & 34.

4 Arrêté No. 1208, *loc. cit.*, Art. 36.

5 Ibid., Art. 38.

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sess on both sides. In Syria (and to a lesser degree, in Lebanon) the possibility of long-term co-operation between the nationalist politicians and the Mandatory was frustrated alike by the attitude of most French officials and by that of the local urban populations who, though they later signed the 1936 treaty, desired full self-government.[1] The advent to power in France of the Front Populaire in 1936 eased the situation: treaties with Syria and Lebanon were negotiated whereby the Mandate was to be transformed into an alliance with independent states, but under which France could still maintain troops in the Levant. However, the French Parliament was unwilling to ratify the Syrian treaty under the lengthening shadow of the impending Second World War, and Syrian indignation was increased when the need for Turkey's friendship led France in 1939 to cede to Turkey the Sanjaq of Alexandretta, afterwards renamed Hatay. Leading Syrian politicians refused to co-operate with the French on these terms, and on the eve of the outbreak of war the French High Commissioner once again suspended the Syrian constitution and governed the country through French and Syrian officials; the same procedure was applied to Lebanon after the outbreak of war.

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When metropolitan France fell in 1940 the Mandate was carried on by the Vichy Government until the latter's acquiescence in the use of the Levant airfields by the German air force necessitated the intervention of British and Free French forces in June 1941. After a short but bitter campaign, the Vichy forces signed an armistice in July 1941. In the struggle between the Allies and the Axis and between Vichy and de Gaulle the Syrians and Lebanese took no part, but their independence had been promised by the Allied Command. On behalf of the Free French, General Catroux, in a statement on 8 June 1941, proclaimed the end of the Mandate, but in fact the Free French regarded themselves as trustees for France's position, seeking to maintain them by installing Syrian and Lebanese supporters of France in the seats of authority. The Free French had, however, eventually to yield to the demand for popular elections, which was supported by the British Government as soon as the victory at al-Alamain (October 1942) had finally removed the threat of Axis invasion from the Middle East. In Syria the elections of 1943 brought into office the National Bloc with Shukri al-Quwatli as President of the Republic and Saadullah Jabri, Jamil Mardam, and Faris al-Khouri as parliamentary leaders. In the Lebanon also nationalists were successful and the leader of the 'Constitutional Bloc',

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[1] For details, see A. H. Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon* (London, RIIA, 1946).

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Bishara al-Khouri, became President with the pan-Arab Riyad as-Solh as Prime Minister; these nationalists were not satisfied with mere titular sovereignty but claimed the reality of independence, and in November 1943 a Free French resort to force against them was reversed only by a British intervention, endorsed by the United States Government. The Free French were thus constrained to transfer most branches of the administration to the Syrian and Lebanese Parliaments, but retained control of the local 'Troupes Spéciales' and obstructed the proper equipping of the Syrian gendarmerie. The French intention was to make this vital concession of authority conditional upon the conclusion of a Franco-Syrian treaty which would give France much the same strategic, economic, and cultural advantages as Britain had retained in Iraq by the already obsolescent Treaty of 1930. In March 1945 Syria and Lebanon had been admitted as sovereign states to membership both of the United Nations and of the League of Arab States.

The Syrian nationalists were not prepared to subordinate their sovereignty to an imposed alliance with France, and the landing of a contingent of Senegalese troops immediately after VE-day (in disregard of a personal appeal of Churchill to de Gaulle) was regarded in both Syria and Lebanon as clear evidence of a French resort to coercion. Sporadic outbreaks of violence between the Syrian gendarmerie and the local nationalists on the one hand and the French garrison on the other became general, and when, at the end of May 1945, the local French Commander carried out a bombardment of Damascus the British Government ordered their Commander-in-Chief, Middle East, to intervene, by force if necessary, to restore order in a region whose security was vital for British communications in the still-continuing war in the Far East. The crisis accelerated the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops, concerning which the demands of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments were supported by the Security Council; the process was completed in Syria by 15 April 1946 and in Lebanon by the end of the year.

Between the wars, the French Mandate had allowed political development in Lebanon to produce at least a façade of parliamentary democracy, with arrangements between the Muslim and Christian leaders on the division of political power and prerogatives, and the active commercial and intellectual life of Lebanon made progress with a minimum of government interference. In Syria, however, local separatisms which French policy had encouraged made it very difficult for any Syrian Government to knit the people together from Damascus; the

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In Lebanon the preparations for the elections took longer to complete. The main question at issue was that of the distribution of seats in the new Chamber. It was agreed that the Chamber should consist only of elected members, not as previously of a majority of elected and a minority of nominated ones; but Dr. Tabit's suggestions for allocating seats between the sects were opposed by the Moslems. M. Hoffer, who had succeeded General Catroux as Delegate-General in June, was compelled to replace Dr. Tabit by Petro Trad; and finally an agreed settlement was reached by which the Christian sects would have 30 seats and the Moslems 25.

Elections were held at the end of August. As in previous elections, the differences between the candidates were largely personal; but there was also a conflict of principle involved, the more extreme supporters of Lebanese independence, with Emile Edde as their most prominent figure, being opposed by the more moderate advocates of autonomy, led by Bishara al-Khuri, and the Arab nationalists. The former were completely defeated in spite of the support given them by the French authorities. On September 21st the Chamber met and elected Bishara al-Khuri President of the Republic by 44 votes to nil.

The new President asked Riyadh as-Sulh to form a Ministry. A Sunni Moslem, by origin from Southern Lebanon, Riyadh as-Sulh had for long been recognized as one of the leaders of the Arab nationalists in Lebanon, and had been an associate of Shukri al-Quwatli in the 'Istiqlal' group.

The new Ministry was composed as follows :—

Prime Minister and Minister of Finance	Riyadh as-Sulh.
Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Justice and Education	Habib Abu Shahla.
Minister of the Interior and of Posts and Telegraphs ..	Camille Shamoun.
Minister of Foreign Affairs and Public Works	Salim Taqla.
Minister of Defence and Hygiene	Amir Majid Arslan.
Minister of Food Supply and National Economy	Adil Usayran.

of the minority problem contained in it was satisfactory. When the Treaty was ratified, it would firmly establish on a contractual basis a French influence which the too-long maintenance of an authoritarian régime might in the long run compromise.

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In Lebanon the signature of the Franco-Lebanese Treaty was welcomed by the Maronites and some other sections of the population. The Sunnis, however, regarded it as a blow to their aim of reunion with Syria; their anger found expression in communal clashes in Beirut and elsewhere at the end of 1936. In spite of their opposition, however, steps were immediately taken to carry out the policy of the Treaty by re-establishing self-governing institutions. The Constitution of 1926 was restored in January, 1937; the Chamber met, and Khair ad-Din al-Ahdab, a Sunni, formed a Ministry. But it soon became apparent that the signature of the Treaty and the revival of constitutional forms had not affected the essential nature of Lebanese political life, which continued to be dominated by sectarian issues.

A new electoral law was passed in 1937, replacing the existing Chamber by a new and larger one, two-thirds elected on a sectarian basis and one-third nominated. The elections of November, 1937, were marked by corruption on an extensive scale; and the Chamber which resulted from them, and which remained in being until 1939, was remarkable only for the bitterness and complexity of its internal dissensions. The Ministries of the Amir Khalid Shihab and Abdallah al-Yafi succeeded those of Khair ad-Din al-Ahdab, and none of them had any notable legislative or other advance to show.

The consequence of this was a general loss of interest and faith in the constitutional system as it existed in Lebanon. It was not simply that the established leaders and the parliamentary parties, the Unionists, Constitutionalists and so on, ceased to possess even so limited a hold over public opinion as they had perhaps had; more than that, Lebanese began to ask themselves what purpose was served by the existence of a costly Parliament, filled with landowners and lawyers, wasting its time in internecine quarrels and showing no effective interest in the country's welfare. Had not Lebanon been better ruled under the simple system which had existed

before 1924; and was it not ridiculous, as well as expensive, for so small a region to have so grandiose and complex a constitution?

As a further consequence, the movement of discontent with sectarianism was greatly strengthened, and many Lebanese, especially among the young, began to look for an alternative. At one extreme the "Phalanges Libanaises", the party of Lebanese nationalism, received much support. So too did the "Syrian National Party", with its doctrine of the total separation of Church and State; while the Arab Nationalists pointed to the failure of the constitutional system as a proof, if one were needed, that an independent Lebanon was too divided, artificial and unstable to exist by itself.

In Syria, the first steps towards the execution of the Treaty were taken immediately after the return of the Syrian delegation from Paris. Arrangements were made for the holding of Parliamentary elections; the Chamber was to consist of 82 members, 16 of them representing the religious minorities and 7 the Bedouin tribes. The elections, which took place in November, 1936, resulted in an overwhelming majority for the candidates of the National Bloc; and when the Chamber met, on December 21st, its first important act was to choose Faris al-Khuri as its President, and its second to accept the resignation of Muhammad Ali al-Abid from the Presidency of the Republic and to elect Hashim al-Atasi in his place. The Ayyubi Ministry having resigned, the President entrusted the formation of a new one to Jamil Mardam Bey. All the members of his Ministry were drawn from the National Bloc.

This Ministry found no difficulty in securing the confidence of the Chamber, which unanimously approved the Treaty in December, 1936. It was formally signed by the High Commissioner and the members of the Ministry on December 22nd.

In the same month, after consultations with notables of the districts of Jebel Druze and Latakia, their annexation to the Syrian State was proclaimed. This proclamation was accompanied by special Statutes granting a measure of administrative autonomy to the two regions. Despite protests from separatist groups against the concept of a unitary Syria, the régime envisaged in these Statutes was inaugurated by the appointment in January, 1937, of two prominent members of the

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Syria	MD1
Israel	MF1
Jordan	MG1
Iraq	MH1
Lebanon	ME1

/For an account of the formation and growth of the Arab Succession States after World War I, the Arab Nationalist Movement, relations between the Arab countries and the great Powers, see 66: Bonné, M1 Middle East, category 116, pp. 77-87./

Syria and Lebanon!!

S 647 ...ria and he has obvious affinities with General Neguib of Egypt whom he visited later in the year.

The threat of Zionism is considered very real in Syria and Shishakli has declared that Syria has not given up hope of a revision of the present position. Between March and May 1951, a flare-up over Lake Huleh brought an offer of Iraqi aid to Syria, but hostilities between Syria and Israel were localized and stilled without leading to a general outbreak of war. All Syrians wish Israel ill; fear of Israeli expansion remains and is fostered by the Government.

S 185 186 In internal politics, the most progressive measures which have yet been considered are land reform and the partition of state lands. There is little unrest among the people, who generally want to live their lives without undue government interference. Nationalism of two kinds exists: a narrow patriotism that has for the first time the support of the rulers, and a narrow xenophobia that, while less extreme than in Egypt, is more pronounced in Syria than in Lebanon.

(ii) Lebanon

L 642 646 643 Lebanon is a republic of which the Chamber of Deputies was till 1953 elected by direct manhood suffrage but in that year women were permitted to vote in the election. By convention, the President of the Republic must be a Christian and is normally a Maronite, the Prime Minister must be a Sunni Muslim and the President of the Chamber a Shii Muslim. The table on p. 466 above shows the division of parliamentary seats between the religious sects; a scrupulous observance of these quotas is evident even in the civil service establishments. The existence of a Christian majority is held to be essential for the survival of Lebanon as a separate state and so, in June 1950, it was found convenient to extend the franchise to Lebanese abroad (of whom the majority are Christian) and to increase the number of deputies from 55 to 77, but in November 1951, under a new electoral law, the number was reduced to 44. The Muslim rate of natural increase is higher than that of the Christians and it is probably for this reason that no census has been taken since. In other ways the constitution and administration are similar to those of Syria already described.

L 645 647 *Internal Politics*

As in Syria, a European type of political party system has not yet evolved and the struggle has been not only between different cliques of ruling families backed by great commercial wealth, but also between these rich groups on the one hand and

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those who claim to speak for the people on the other. The chief parties are the Constitutional Bloc, Nationalist Bloc, Progressive Socialist Party, Syrian People's Party, and the Phalangists.

When the Constitutional Bloc came into office in 1943 it aimed at independence from France but accepted the possibility of a treaty. Of the leaders of the party, Bishara al-Khouri took office as President of the Republic, ostensibly becoming a political neutral in 1947, and Riyad as-Sulh, who had been an associate of Jamil Mardam Bey, became Prime Minister. On 25 May 1947 elections were held which were reported to have reached a new nadir of corruption and the return to power of as-Sulh was bitterly but quite ineffectively opposed by those he had defeated. The alliance between Premier and President, neither of whom could constitutionally aim at the other's office, was further reinforced by the granting of an extension of term to the latter in 1948. The wealthy families—such as the Uwainis, Khouris, Aridas, and Kettanehs—were the powers behind the Constitutional Bloc's rule from 1943 to 1951 and their common interest opposed the boundaries of sectarian conflict.

But the leader of the Nationalist Bloc, Camille Chamoun, and Kemal Jumblatt of the Progressive Socialist Party continued to oppose the results of the 1947 poll. One of the other opposition parties, the Syrian People's Party, was authoritarian and aimed at union with Syria; in June 1949 this party was proscribed in Lebanon and in July its bands attacked gendarmerie posts but the attempt at a coup failed and the leader, Antoun Saadeh, took refuge in Syria. Contrary to normal Arab practice, Marshal Zaim handed Saadeh back to the Lebanese, who shot him. The Sulh Government also took measures to restrain the Phalangists, a Catholic body whose aims were the opposite of those of the Syrian People's Party but whose organization and methods also tended towards the glorification of a personal leader. Internal security was also a problem, and bandits operated in the Biqaa until they were finally cleared out by Irish gendarmerie action. As 1949 ended, public opinion was beginning to sympathize with Chamoun's press attacks on the Government. In March 1950 some of the Syrian People's Party failed in an attempt to kill Riyad as-Sulh, whose troubles were further increased by a dispute with the President over a matter of patronage, because of which the as-Sulh Cabinet resigned on 15 February 1951. In July 1951 Riyad as-Sulh was assassinated while on a visit to Amman.

Hussein al-Uweini took the premiership as a 'caretaker' until such time as elections could be held; by these, in April 1951, the Constitutional Bloc again achieved a majority, but the elections

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665 668 had been fairer than in 1947 and the Opposition had gained more seats. Abdullah al-Yafi became Premier in June 1951 and remained in office until his place was taken by another Constitutionalist, Sami as-Sulh, in February 1952. Opposition to government by this party was still growing, and it is perhaps surprising that no more effective resistance had been made before. In August 1952 the followers of Jumblat and of Chamoun held a meeting at which the Government was attacked, and, although they had only a few seats in Parliament, they gained widespread popular support. The opponents of the President were not confined to the Opposition, for not long afterwards Sami as-Sulh made a speech attacking him and his family; as-Sulh then resigned and the ministries were taken over and administered by civil servants. On 15 September the Opposition parties called a general strike and succeeded, with the aid of the chief of the armed forces, General Fuad Shihab, in bringing about the resignation of the President. General Shihab assumed interim powers as Prime Minister but he refused the presidency and, when the Chamber elected Camille Chamoun to be President, the General resigned to fulfil his pledge that the army would not interfere in politics. The new President found it hard to choose a Muslim Prime Minister who would enjoy the support of the Socialist Party and thus at the end of September turned to Khaled Shihab, who had no political affiliations, and requested him to form a Government.

Shihab resigned on 28 April 1953 and was replaced by Sa'eb Salem but at the end of May President Chamoun dissolved Parliament. Elections were held in July under a new electoral law (promulgated by the President in the autumn of 1952), which reduced the number of deputies from 77 to 44, gave the franchise to women subject to certain educational qualifications, and made voting compulsory for men. Kemal Jumblat's Socialist Party won 20 seats and the Constitutional Bloc remained the strongest group, but no less than 12 independent deputies were returned. A new government was formed on 18 August by Abdullah al-Yafi, who himself became Minister of the Interior, of Defence and of Information, as well as Prime Minister. The other ministers, members of the Chamber of Deputies, had played no part in Lebanese political life during the previous twelve months.

External Problems and Relationships

648 Lebanon's attachment to the Western Powers as opposed to Russia is far more assured than that of Syria. The history of the Christians of Mount Lebanon leads them to seek close ties with

of the minority problem contained in it was satisfactory. When the Treaty was ratified, it would firmly establish on a contractual basis a French influence which the too-long maintenance of an authoritarian régime might in the long run compromise.

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ed a governor for Lebanon before the latter was displaced by the French (whose historic interests in Lebanon had been recognized by the British Government in the correspondence with the Sharif Husain). While Faisal and Lawrence were presenting the Arab case to the Paris Peace Conference, the French were consolidating their military hold on the Levant. Eventually Faisal and Clemenceau came to a provisional agreement for an autonomous Syrian state under the tutelage of France (as conceded by Britain in the secret Sykes–Picot Agreement of 1916, which had not been communicated at the time to the Sharif and his sons); but French tutelage was not acceptable to the Damascus politicians who in March 1920 proclaimed Faisal King of an independent Syrian state. In the following month, however, the French obtained Britain's agreement, at the San Remo Conference, to their exercising a Mandate over Syria as well as Lebanon; the new Mandatary defeated Faisal's little army at Maisalun on 25 July 1920 and entered into possession of Damascus, from which Faisal fled into exile.

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The French Mandate, 1920–45

Since Crusader times, France had been interested in protecting the Christians of the Levant, and the twentieth century gave her the added incentive of creating a counter-balance to Britain's growing influence in the Middle East. The Maronites welcomed the French, and the latter accordingly expanded the small area of the Sanjaq of Lebanon to include the cities of Beirut, Tripoli, and Sidon, as well as the Biqaa, so as to give this 'Greater Lebanon' the largest possible area in which there would be no danger of a Muslim majority. The French applied to Syria the principle of *divide et impera* and four separate states were set up: that of the Alawis (Jebel Ansariya, including Latakia), that of the Jebel Druze, and Damascus and Aleppo (in 1925 combined into a single state of Syria). The French further encouraged separatism in the Jezira, and designated the area of Antioch and Alexandretta (in which the largest linguistic community was the Turkish) as an autonomous sanjaq.

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The majority of Syrians never readily accepted French rule and risings occurred in the Ansariya, near Aleppo, and near Deir ez-Zor; these were soon put down but a greater rebellion began in the Jebel Druze in 1925 and spread to Damascus and to Hama. The French bombarded Damascus in October 1925 and in May 1926 but did not succeed in completely quelling the revolt until August 1927. Thereafter negotiations for a treaty stumbled through the years, punctuated by disturbances, broken off from time to time and marked throughout by bitter-

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new on both sides. In Syria (and to a lesser degree, in Lebanon) the possibility of long-term co-operation between the nationalist politicians and the Mandatary was frustrated alike by the attitude of most French officials and by that of the local urban populations who, though they later signed the 1936 treaty, desired full self-government.[1] The advent to power in France of the Front Populaire in 1936 eased the situation: treaties with Syria and Lebanon were negotiated whereby the Mandate was to be transformed into an alliance with independent states, but under which France could still maintain troops in the Levant. However, the French Parliament was unwilling to ratify the Syrian treaty under the lengthening shadow of the impending Second World War, and Syrian indignation was increased when the need for Turkey's friendship led France in 1939 to cede to Turkey the Sanjaq of Alexandretta, afterwards renamed Hatay. Leading Syrian politicians refused to co-operate with the French on these terms, and on the eve of the outbreak of war the French High Commissioner once again suspended the Syrian constitution and governed the country through French and Syrian officials; the same procedure was applied to Lebanon after the outbreak of war.

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When metropolitan France fell in 1940 the Mandate was carried on by the Vichy Government until the latter's acquiescence in the use of the Levant airfields by the German air force necessitated the intervention of British and Free French forces in June 1941. After a short but bitter campaign, the Vichy forces signed an armistice in July 1941. In the struggle between the Allies and the Axis and between Vichy and de Gaulle the Syrians and Lebanese took no part, but their independence had been promised by the Allied Command. On behalf of the Free French, General Catroux, in a statement on 8 June 1941, proclaimed the end of the Mandate, but in fact the Free French regarded themselves as trustees for France's position, seeking to maintain them by installing Syrian and Lebanese supporters of France in the seats of authority. The Free French had, however, eventually to yield to the demand for popular elections, which was supported by the British Government as soon as the victory at al-Alamain (October 1942) had finally removed the threat of Axis invasion from the Middle East. In Syria the elections of 1943 brought into office the National Bloc with Shukri al-Quwatli as President of the Republic and Saadullah Jabri, Jamil Mardam, and Faris al-Khouri as parliamentary leaders. In the Lebanon also nationalists were successful and the leader of the 'Constitutional Bloc',

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[1] For details, see A. H. Hourani, *Syria and Lebanon* (London, RIIA, 1946).

648 had made for submitting their measures to the Chamber, where
643 it was carried by 48 votes to none on the 8th. The amendments affected the following Articles of the Constitution:

Article 1. References to the Mandatory Power and the League of Nations were eliminated, and Lebanon was described as 'a sovereign State'.

Article 11. French was no longer described as an official language.

Article 52. The treaty-making power was no longer to be limited by the reservations laid down in the Mandate.

Articles 90-94. These were annulled. They had provided that the exercise of the constitutional powers of Lebanese authorities should be subject to the maintenance of the Mandatory's rights and obligations; that Lebanon should eventually enter the League of Nations through the good offices of the Mandatory; that good relations would be maintained with 'the neighbouring countries under French Mandate'; that disputes liable to lead to war should be submitted to the Mandatory's arbitration; and that agreements would be reached between Lebanon and France for the representation of the former, in countries where Lebanese residents were numerous, by means of attachés in French diplomatic and consular missions.

Articles 95 and 102. References to the Mandate were omitted.

648 On November 10th, two days after the passage of these
• 649 amendments through the Chamber, M. Helleu returned from
644 a visit to Algiers. In the early hours of the following morning the Lebanese President and the majority of the Ministers were, by his order, arrested and removed from Beirut. A few hours later the Delegate-General issued decrees declaring the amendments null and void, suspending the Constitution, dissolving the Chamber and appointing Emile Edde—Bishara al-Khuri's unsuccessful opponent in the recent elections—as Head of the State and the Government.

These measures caused immediate and vigorous reactions, both in Lebanon and elsewhere. Throughout the next eleven days there was a general strike in the Lebanese towns; shops were shut, the ordinary newspapers ceased to appear and there were demonstrations in the streets. These led to clashes with

French troops, and to the death or injury of a number of civilians. The two Ministers who had not been arrested, together with a majority of the Deputies, continued to assert their authority from a mountain retreat and began to organize an armed force.

During these critical days the Lebanese people displayed a striking unity. The national cause took precedence over deep-seated sectarian conflicts, and very few even among the Maronites dissociated themselves from the united front. Edde failed to form a political cabinet, and was forced to attempt the expedient of a council of civil servants.

Nevertheless, the country remained outwardly calm. That the Lebanese did not resort to an armed rising was due in large part to the confidence of their leaders in the value of the diplomatic support which they received from the Governments of the independent Arab States, of the United States and of Great Britain. The British attitude was defined by Mr. Law in the House of Commons on November 23rd:

> 'The interest of His Majesty's Government in this dispute is twofold. First of all, we have endorsed the promises of independence given to the Lebanese people by General Catroux in 1941. His Majesty's Government have followed with sympathy and interest the subsequent development of constitutional government in the Lebanon. Secondly, the Lebanon is of vital importance to the war effort both as an operational base and from the point of view of communications. Any threat of a breakdown of law and order is therefore of direct concern to His Majesty's Government.'

Impressed by the gravity of the situation created by M. Helleu's drastic action, the C.F.L.N. sent General Catroux to take charge in Beirut. He arrived there on the 19th and, having examined the situation in all its aspects, recommended the reinstatement of the Lebanese President, the release of the imprisoned Ministers and the recall of M. Helleu. Acceptance of this programme was announced in Algiers on the 21st, and on the following day the Lebanese leaders returned to Beirut in triumph. It was at once apparent that the reinstatement of the Ministers, as well as of the President, was inevitable, and the French authorities agreed to this further concession. Furthermore, M. Chataigneau, who had provisionally taken M. Helleu's place as Delegate-General, cancelled the decrees

of November 11th with the exception of that which declared the constitutional amendments null and void.

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The acute crisis was now over, but the problem from which it had sprung was still unsolved. When the Lebanese Chamber re-assembled, the Premier asserted his Government's view that the reforms of November 8th were still in force. Moreover, the Syrian authorities lost no time, once the tension in Lebanon was relaxed, in taking parallel action. At an extraordinary session of the Syrian Chamber on January 24th, 1944, the President of the Republic and the Deputies took an oath of allegiance to a new Constitution which comprised Articles 1-115 of the existing text. The effect of this was to annul Article 116. Earlier, on December 1st, the Syrian Premier had declared that Syria did not recognize the Mandate, and was not willing to conclude a Treaty as a condition of the transfer of powers which properly belonged to her; had demanded the surrender by the French of all the attributes of sovereignty, under those limitations only which were necessitated by the state of war; and had affirmed that the Syrian and Lebanese Governments were in agreement on the administration of the common interests.

The C.F.L.N. left these claims and assertions unchallenged, and announced that General Catroux would again go to Beirut, this time for the purpose of negotiating with the two Governments on the transfer of powers. The negotiations resulted in an agreement, concluded on December 22nd, which provided that the powers previously exercised by French authorities in the name of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments should be transferred to their control. They would take over the services included in the category of Common Interests as from January 1st, and other powers by specific agreements still to be concluded. Thus, by the beginning of 1944, the two States had survived a sharp test of their will to independence and had extended the range of their autonomous administration.

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In the course of the year 1944 there were a number of changes in the political situation in Syria and Lebanon. Some of these changes were of no more than local importance.

of the population. Several of these sects possessed a local predominance in some part of the Republic: the Maronites in the north, the Druzes in the south, the Sunnis in the coastal towns of Beirut, Tripoli and Saida, and the Shi'is in the Biqa' and the extreme south. The consequences which are likely to flow from such a situation are clear. The political life of the Republic was deeply affected by the struggle for equality or superiority between a number of communities, none of them so strong as to be able to dominate all the rest. Sectarian loyalties and sectarian jealousies thus continued and perhaps strengthened themselves. In addition, the domination of the spiritual leaders over the members of their communities was perpetuated; the Maronite Patriarch in particular wielded an incalculable influence over the political life of the country.

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The importance of communal differences in Lebanon was recognized by the Mandate. Article 8 stated the necessity of guaranteeing the most complete liberty of conscience and worship; the equal treatment of all inhabitants irrespective of differences of race, religion and language; and the right of communities to maintain their own schools. Article 6 required the Mandatory Power to respect the personal status and religious interests of the different sections of the population. These guarantees were reaffirmed in the Lebanese Constitution, promulgated in 1926, Article 9 of which declared: 'Liberty of conscience is absolute. In rendering homage to the Most High, the State respects all confessions and guarantees and protects the free exercise of them, on condition that no harm is done to public order. It guarantees equally to populations belonging to every rite respect for their personal status and their religious interests.'

These guarantees were respected by the Mandatory Power to a considerable extent. For example, the traditional jurisdictions of the communal courts were maintained in some matters of personal status, although a large proportion of such matters were transferred to the civil courts. An attempt was made in 1936 to define the whole position of the communal jurisdictions. The High Commissioner issued a decree in which the historic communities were given explicit legal recognition. Their statutes were given the force of law, and

the application of them placed under the protection of the law and the control of the public authorities. They were to possess corporate personality, and to be represented in their relations with the public powers by their spiritual heads. Members of the communities would be obliged to conform to the communal statute in matters of personal status, and to the civil law where the statutes of the communities were silent. Anyone who attained his majority would be at liberty to leave his community and enter a new one; and provision was made for individuals who were not members of any religious community. This decree was opposed by religious authorities, and in 1938 a new one was issued modifying it at certain points; but this also aroused opposition from several sides.

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In the political sphere the relations between the communities were defined in the Constitution, which formulated two principles. First, all Lebanese citizens were equal before the law, possessed of the same rights and duties, and equally admissible to all public offices without any distinction (Articles 7 and 12). Secondly, Article 95 laid it down that, at least provisionally, the communities should be equitably represented in public offices and in the Ministry, in so far as that did not detract from the welfare of the State.

The whole political organization of the State was permeated by these principles, but by the second more than the first. It has already been mentioned that the President of the Republic was always a Christian, and with the exception of the first President a Maronite. To counter-balance this, the Prime Minister was normally a Sunni Moslem, and the other Ministries were distributed among the different communities as equitably as possible. The Chamber of Deputies was so constituted as to represent the communities roughly in proportion to their numerical strength; every district elected a number of deputies belonging to the different communities living in it, but every deputy was elected not only by his co-religionists but by the whole electorate of the district. The maintenance of the balance between the communities was an important and often the most important consideration in the making of appointments in central and local administration alike.

MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT IN THE LEBANON

1. THE GENERAL MUNICIPAL CODE

L31 L71 The history of municipal government in the Republic of Lebanon goes back only to the Ottoman Municipal Law of 1877[1] which was largely based upon the Code Napoleon. The transition to the new municipal code promulgated in 1922 after the establishment of the French mandatory regime was comparatively simple. The general framework remains much the same with minor differences in procedure, particularly in the degree of centralization.

L31 L41 L71 With only 120[2] incorporated municipalities among the 1500 odd towns and villages of Lebanon and with only eight of these with a population of more than ten thousand, no very elaborate code is required. The only large city, the capital, Beirut, with a population of 150,000, like the capital of France, is organized under a separate law. All the other municipalities of Lebanon are chartered under Arrêté No. 1208 of March 10, 1922[3] while the hundreds of unincorporated villages are governed through the mukhtârs under the *Loi des Moukhtars* of January 13, 1928.[3]

L31 L42 Municipal affairs are supervised and controlled by the national government through the Ministry of the Interior by means of its administrative officers in the various levels of local government. The Republic is divided into five principal administrative districts, each headed by an appointed administrator (muḥâfiẓ). The districts are in turn sub-divided into eighteen ḳaḍa's each under the administrative control of an appointed ḳaimmaḳâm.[4] Through French counsellors attached to the more important administrative posts the entire system is brought under the directing authority of the French High Commissioner.[5] All these officials exercise a constant and vigilant surveillance over the municipalities within their jurisdiction with powers even more extensive than those of the prefects in France, thus bringing municipal government well with in the highly centralized system of national government.

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1 George Young, *Corps de Droit Ottoman*, (The Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1905), Vol. I, p. 69.

2 Recueil des Arrêtés et Décisions du Grand Liban, 1930—1933, (Imprimerie des Lettres, Beyrouth, 1925), p. 262.

3 Journal Officiel de la République Libanaise,(Imprimerie des Lettres, Beyrouth), No. F. 428, p. 4.

4 Jour. Off. loc. cit. No. F. 379, p. 2.Formerly the Lebanon was divided into 11 sanjaks (districts).

5 All decisions and arrêtés of the Administrator must be visaed by the French counsellor. Arrêté No. 1208, Art. 95.

1 [SHOULD READ 124 cf. EIGHTH SHEET P. 48 -- ANALYST.]

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671 be punished with imprisonment not exceeding 12 months or
312 a fine not exceeding 50 pounds, or with both such penal-
421 ties..... The cost incurred in making good any dam.e.....
shall be borne by the person convicted" (Article 35).

"Any person who, without permission... takes or draws off any water in an irrigation area... shall be punished with imprisonment not exceeding six months or a fine not exceeding JD 45 or with both penalties." The costs for restoring the area to its original condition shall be charged to the person convicted (Article 36).

"Imprisonment not exceeding one month or a fine not exceeding JD 10 or both such penalties" will be inflicted on whosoever "by any negligent act or omission damages, alters or enlarges any government irrigation works or interferes with the flow of water... causes damage to roads, buildings, irrigation works... belonging to the government or to private individuals or societies, corrupts or fouls the water, destroys, injures, defaces or removes any land, level mark or water gauge, obstructs any government official in the execution of his duties, disobeys provisions of published notices or contravenes any provision of this law for which no specific penalty is provided" (Article 37).

In the event that it is impossible to ascertain the author of any punishable offense, the Collective Punishments Law of 1926 shall be enforced (Article 38). The director may, moreover, "deduct from the supply of water to which such land may be entitled.....such amount as he may estimate... equivalent to the benefit wrongfully acquired" (Article 39).

"Any person who willfully gives false evidence in proceedings under this law...shall be punished with the penalties provided for the giving of false evidence in the Penal Code" (Article 40). Punishments contemplated under this law shall not exclude proceedings against any offender under the provisions of the Penal Code (Article 41).

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● 671 While the country of Lebanon is not a Moslem country, as
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Ottoman code governing water use were in force until Lebanon was placed under French mandate.

French water legislation in Lebanon is based on two fundamental orders called arrêtés. The first of these, Arrêté No. 144/S dated 10 June 1925, delimited and defined public domain in the state of Greater Lebanon and Latakia (territory of the Alaouites) which was extended, by Arrêté No. 293/S dated 6 November 1925, to all territories under French mandate, both Lebanon and Syria. The second, Arrêté No. 320/S of 26 May 1926, governs the conservation and utilisation of waters of the public domain. Article 24 of Arrêté No. 320/S has been amended by Legislative Decree No. 268, dated 28 November 1942.

Since it does not appear that, from the date of its complete independance, new water laws have been enacted by the Lebanese government, these laws are still in force.

According to these two above-mentioned bills, waters are governed as follows:

Decree 144/S of public domain comprises 26 articles and four chapters. Articles 1 to 4 define public domain. Articles 5 to 13 delimit it, Articles 14 to 21 refer to temporary occupation thereof while Articles 22 to 26 contain general provisions.

Article 2, which is fundamental, declares that water belongs to the public domain. It reads:

> "The following shall be part of the public domain, except where Article 3 of this decree applies: the sea coast; marshes and salt ponds; water courses of all types within the limits prescribed for the height of water running between banks before overflowing; ground waters and springs of all types, embankments along waterways; lakes, ponds and lagoons; waterfalls which can produce power; navigation, irrigation, drainage and land reclamation canals and their embankments; aqueducts when such works are constructed for public use; and sea dykes and dams controlling rain water."

Also included as part of the public domain are military construction works, telephone and telegraph lines, all communication facilities and ports, water power works, works for the transportation of electric power and any public works constructed for their use.

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This decree also prescribes that public domain lands and waters shall be defined for all countries under mandate by special committees and that the boundaries of the public domain shall be definitively set forth in a decree issued by the head of the government.

Finally, the decree envisages the possibility of authorizing, with regard to the public domain:

1. concessions or leases for temporary occupation for a term renewable by tacit agreement and on royalty;

2. concessions or leases for longer periods of occupation which must be renewed every five years.

Every year, a list of all permits granted shall be drawn up by the Public Works Service. Fines are prescribed for contraventions.

Conservation and Use of Waters of the Public Domain

Decree No. 320 dated 26 May 1926 relating to the conservation and use of public domain waters is the basic water law. It is composed of 64 articles divided into nine chapters.

Water Policing and Conservation

312 Articles 1 and 2 prohibit the placing of any impediment to bar the free flow of waters of the public domain or the trespassing on borders of waterways, marshlands, ponds, lagoons, water springs and headwaters, lakes, etc. as well as in the upper reaches of aqueducts, water conduits, irrigation canals, drainage and reclamation works, the erection of which is declared to be in the public interest.

Also prohibited is the cleaning, deepening, straightening, altering or regulating of waterways, exploratory surveying or tapping of ground or artesian waters and, generally speaking, undertaking any type of work which may affect the flow or regime of waters belonging to the public domain. However, the digging of non-artesian wells down to a depth of less than 150 meters may be undertaken by private landowners.

Article 2 prohibits the destruction or damage of hydraulic works and their appurtenances and the fouling or pollution

the association organized.

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Within this period and after the Minister of Public Works has advised in favor thereof, the head of the government shall issue a decree stating that such an association has been established. This decree shall set forth its aims, the projected construction works and the method of defraying expenses by dividing them up among members of the association.

An annual budget shall be submitted for approval to the head of the government who is authorized to set or change the total tax sums to be set aside for this purpose.

Disputes over the operation of the association shall be heard by the administrative tribunals.

Plans and methods of execution of all construction works must be submitted to the Public Works Service which will exercise technical supervision.

The head of the government may grant non-interest bearing loans and subsidies to the association, on terms which he will prescribe, for a period of no longer than 30 years.

Articles 48 to 53 govern the rules of procedure of such associations, particularly their administrative organs (assembly, syndicate, director and staff), their procedure for their election and their term of office.

The general assembly, as written in the constitution, may also dissolve the association by a simple majority vote, provided such action is approved by the head of the government in an official decree.

The head of the government may, in case of mismanagement, place in the hands of one person full power over the director and the association, and he may also send representatives to all meetings or assemblies.

Jurisdiction and Penalties

Articles 57 to 60 prescribe jurisdiction and penalties. 312
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It is stipulated that infractions of this decree shall be reported in the form of a deposition by officers of the

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publishing police, officials of the Public Trade Service or police officers.

Infractions are punishable with a fine of from ten to 250 pesos and prison sentences of from one day to six months, or either of these two penalties; any person who obstructs the execution of authorized works may also be punished. Infractions fall under the jurisdiction of the local police courts.

Second offenders, committing a second infraction within a period of 12 months after their sentence, except in cases where their good faith can be proved, shall be subject to the maximum penalties of fines and imprisonment or one of them. If the same person commits a third offense, the penalties shall be doubled.

If any such infractions of the law causes damage to the public property, the delinquent, in addition to the fine, must pay for the reparations thereof.

Special Provisions

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To safeguard public health and prevent an army fiasco, the head of the government may revoke or change concessions. Any person desirous of using water to which he is legally entitled or engage water, drainage and reclamation works may do so against payment of a sum decided upon by friendly agreement, or by any others the right to transport such water to inhabitants given of ground by the provisions described in Article 33.

Final Provisions

The concluding articles of this decree (Articles 41 and 42) abrogate any standing provisions contrary to this decree and change the public authorities with the implementation thereof.

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Tribes in Libya were governed, until the time of the Italian occupation in 1911, by the relative articles of the Ottoman Empire Civil Code. From 1911 to 1943, the Italian government

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Dale relatives abroad. The villages are less compact than in other parts of the Near and Middle East, and separate farmsteads are common. Extremes of poverty, associated with primitive standards of sanitation, are most frequently encountered in the villages of southern Lebanon. In the cities, substandard housing is found chiefly in the old, congested quarters and in the Armenian settlers.

The typical dwellings in all parts of the country are constructed of stone, concrete or concrete blocks, with a surface of whitewashed or tinted plaster. The roofs are of two general types: pointed and of red tile, or flat, with a covering of concrete or of coal and brush. The houses vary in size from one to several rooms, sometimes with two or more stories. The use of wood as a building material is prohibited by the fire regulations in the towns, but small wooden chalets are occasionally seen on the mountains.

Beirut is a cosmopolitan city, a mixture of Arabic and Western culture. The older quarters of the city are overcrowded, with narrow streets lined by innumerable small shops, which frequently have living rooms in the rear. Apartment houses, interspersed with detached dwellings surrounded by colorful gardens, dominate the newer residential sections. Architecturally, all gradations are encountered between old Arab-style houses and modern villas.

GOVERNMENT AND ADMINISTRATION

Water Supply

Water supplies are obtained from streams, springs and wells, and, in general, are adequate in the coastal and the mountain districts but deficient in the interior. Beirut derives its water supply from the Nahr el Kelb, or Dog River, which is led from an underground spring in the hills about 10 miles from the city. It flows by gravity through a tunnel and open canals to Dalleyeh, 7 miles distant, where it is treated by preliminary rapid filtration, slow sand

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641 Lebanese Constitution, Introduction, 1926, [illegible]
full guarantees for the rights of individuals and communities. Article 9 declared:

> La liberté de conscience est absolue. En rendant hommage au Très-Haut, l'Etat respecte toutes les confessions et en garantit et protège le libre exercice, à condition qu'il ne soit pas porté atteinte à l'ordre public. Il garantit également aux populations, à quelque rite qu'elles appartiennent, le respect de leur statut personnel et de leurs intérêts religieux.

In addition, Article 10 stated that education was free, provided it did not conflict with public order or morals or touch the dignity of the confessions. There would be no infringement of the right of communities to have their schools, under reserve of the general regulations on public education issued by the State.

Personal Status and Communal Organization

692 641 563 Before the war of 1914–18, certain matters of personal status fell within the jurisdiction of the ecclesiastical courts of the millets; while all others were within the competence of the Shariah courts, which were on a higher level than the communal ones. In 1917, at the height of the war, the Ottoman Family Code deprived the Christian and Jewish courts of their jurisdictions, which were conferred on the Shariah tribunals. But this law was never effective and it was annulled in 1921. Soon afterwards the Moslem Shariah courts were placed on a level with those of the other communities by the transfer of all matters of personal status except marriage, divorce, separation, annulment and alimony, to the civil courts. But this measure met with opposition from all sides, and the decree containing it was suspended pending further consideration of the whole subject of personal status.

After several attempts to reform the whole system of jurisdictions had come to nothing, the High Commissioner issued in April 1936 a comprehensive decree defining the position of religious communities. The decree gave explicit legal recognition to the historic communities. Their statutes were given the force of law, and the application of them placed under the protection of the law and the control of the public authorities. They were to enjoy corporate personality, and to be represented in their relations with the public powers by their spiritual heads. Members of the communities would be obliged to conform to their statutes in matters of personal status, and to the civil law

where the statutes of the communities were silent. But anybody who had attained his majority would be at liberty to leave his community and enter a new one. The decree also provided for the recognition of *communautés de droit commun*, in addition to communities possessing personal status jurisdiction. They would enjoy certain rights, such as that of acquiring property, but in matters of personal status their members would be subject to the civil law. This last provision was to apply also to individuals who were not members of any religious community.

This decree was opposed by the ecclesiastical authorities; and in December 1936 a new one was issued, modifying it at certain points. For example it was now made clear that in cases of secession, children who were minors would follow their father's confession, even after the father's death and even if the mother had the custody of the children after separation or divorce.

The decree of 1936, like that of 1936, was opposed from many sides, and has not been fully carried out. The position of the religious courts is still undefined and unsatisfactory.

Social Structure of the Communities

There is a considerable difference between the social structure of the different communities. The Maronites are mainly an agricultural community: many of the large estates were broken up in the course of the nineteenth century and a class of freehold farmers created. As a whole, the standard of life is higher among them than among most other communities, owing to the fertility of their lands and emigration to the New World. In addition to the farmers, there is a large and prosperous bourgeoisie in Beirut. The force which holds together the community is the Church, whose priests, like those of all the Uniate Churches, are more highly educated than those of the independent Eastern Churches: the Patriarch has immense social power, which is, however, challenged by the large land-owning families with feudal traditions.

The Sunni Moslems are almost wholly an urban community, concentrated in Tripoli, Beirut and Saida. They form a great part of the proletariat of these towns, but there is also a Sunni commercial and professional bourgeoisie and some large land-owning families. They have nothing comparable with either the religious or the temporal solidarity of the Maronites, perhaps because they never had the millet organization of Ottoman days.

The Shi'is are mainly peasantry in the southern districts and

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§ 43 Government shall be obliged to carry out the Assembly's recommendations and submit the draft law within a period of four months.

(c) Procedure of the Assembly

§ 43 Art. 78 (*as amended October 17, 1927*). When a draft constitutional law is submitted to the Chamber, it shall, until a final vote § 44 is taken, confine itself to revision.

It may only discuss and vote on articles and questions specifically enumerated and defined in the draft submitted to it.

Art. 79 (*as amended October 17th, 1927*). When a draft constitutional law is submitted to the Chamber of Deputies, it may only be validly discussed and voted upon when a majority of two-thirds of the lawful members of the Chamber are present. Decisions shall be taken by a majority of two-thirds of the lawful members of the Assembly.

The President of the Republic shall be required to promulgate the constitutional law under the same conditions and in the same form as ordinary laws. He may request a further discussion of the law within the time fixed for promulgation. In that case also, the decision shall be taken by a two-thirds majority.

Part IV

Various Provisions

(a) High Court

§ 47 Art. 80 (*as amended October 17th, 1927*). The High Court § 48 shall consist of seven deputies elected by the Chamber of Deputies and of the eight highest Lebanese magistrates in order of rank or, should their rank be equal, in order of seniority, under the presidency of the magistrate of highest rank.

The sentences of the High Court shall be rendered by a majority of six votes. The procedure to be followed by this Court shall be determined by a law.

(b) Finances

§ 49 Art. 81 (*as amended January 20th, 1927*). Taxes shall be established for purposes of common utility. Taxes may only be levied in § 50 the Lebanese Republic in accordance with a uniform law which shall apply to the whole territory without exception.

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A number of the villages are wholly dependent upon one or several large non-resident land-owners, who own much of the agricultural lands farmed by the villagers. In these cases, the mukhtar acts only after consultation with these large landowners. 491 622

The mukhtar and the board of aldermen are elected for a period of four years. In case of the death or resignation of the mukhtar, the administrative officer of the Saida district (the qaimmaqam) is authorized to appoint one of the aldermen to fill the vacant position. A new election must be held within two months after the vacancy occurs. 622 623

The powers and obligations of the mukhtar include: acting as the representative of the government in the village; registering the newly born and deceased; apportioning the land tax among the holders of land; and, where land registration has not been completed, issuing certificates showing title to land for purposes of sale or mortgage. It is interesting to note, in conformance with Lebanese law, that when the police come to arrest a villager they are not permitted to enter a house unless accompanied by the mukhtar. 622 694

Table I has been prepared for the convenience of technicians working in the area. It shows the names of the mukhtars in the five affected villages as of September, 1952, and the number of persons on the board of aldermen. 622 623

These small villages have an income from taxes or property. What improvements the villagers desire must be achieved through mutual cooperation. This cooperation is reflected in their sharing the village threshing floor (*baidar*). In answer to the question, "What improvements have been financed either in cash or in kind) by your village during the past five years?" none was reported. In the control area, the villagers in El-Ghaziyah and El-'Addousiyah contributed the maintenance of school buildings, and in En-Nejariyah voluntary village labor helped to build a new road from the *darib* to the Saida-Beirut highway. 496

Where there are over two thousand inhabitants and a village income of over L.L. 2,000 annual income, a municipality can be formed. The municipality takes care of locally financed projects such as street construction, water supply works, lighting, sanitation and sponsorship of public schools. Only in the control village of El-Ghaziyah does a municipality operate. As none of the five villages under discussion has the legal minimum of two thousand population, there are no municipalities in the demonstration area. 632

3&Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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Europe and with the United States; but Lebanon has not moved out of step with the Muslim states around her, and she has followed the Arab League line over Palestine and in Egypt's quarrel with Britain and has not agreed to join a Middle East defence organization. She has, however, received arms and military training from Britain and has gladly accepted Point Four aid from the United States.

The main issue of external policy which exercises the Lebanese is the extent of the country's co-operation with Syria and the other Arab states. Some Christians advocate withdrawing the frontiers of the Republic to those of the old Sanjaq of Lebanon together with Beirut; some Muslims want Lebanon to reunite with Syria, and between these extremes discussion still continues. The disagreement with Syria is economic rather than political, but it might gain political significance if Lebanon were to feel isolated to the point at which she felt compelled to come to terms with Israel. At the moment, this is unlikely because Lebanon's friendship with the NATO Powers is good security against possible incursions of enemies or friends.

Armed Forces[1]

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Syria has compulsory military service of eighteen months and, since Shishakli's advent, the draft net is being cast over many who previously escaped. The armed services consume each year a growing share of the budget—in 1951–2 they took 40 per cent of the total—and in 1952 there were compulsory collections for the army. The army is grouped in five brigades, each of rather less than 10,000 men, and has tanks, armoured cars, and light, medium, and anti-aircraft artillery and searchlights. Much of the equipment came from France and, though the best then obtainable, is of doubtful serviceableness. However, Colonel Shishakli is determined to give the army good equipment, and a factory for minor armaments exists near Damascus. German instructors are used by the army and air force and are helping to produce light armaments. The air force is part of the army; jet aircraft have been received from Britain and the air force still operates two Dakotas taken over from Syrian airways. The armed gendarmerie had its own esprit and fought well in Palestine; it is now under army control as are the police and the force used for bedouin control.

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The Lebanese army is about a brigade strong and includes a regiment of chasseurs-ski troops. Lebanese officers have had instruction with the British Army and there is an RAF mission with the Lebanese air force who are using jet trainers.

[1] In the following sections the two countries are considered together.

S 698 L 648 ne peut être en opposition avec les obligations contractées par la France en ce qui concerne la Syrie, particulièrement envers la Société des Nations. Cette réserve s'applique spécialement aux articles qui touchent au maintien de l'ordre, de la sécurité et de la défense du pays, et à ceux qui intéressent les relations extérieures. Pendant la durée des obligations internationales de la France, en ce qui concerne la Syrie, les dispositions de la présente Constitution qui seraient de nature à les affecter ne seront pas applicables que dans les conditions déterminées par accord à intervenir entre les gouvernements français et syrien. En conséquence, les lois prévues par les articles de la présente Constitution dont l'application pourrait intéresser ses responsabilités ne seront discutées et promulguées conformément à la présente Constitution qu'en exécution de cet accord. Les décisions d'ordre législatif et réglementaire prises par les représentants du gouvernement français ne pourront être modifiées qu'après entente entre les deux gouvernements.'

Secondly, there were a number of important administrative services which were wholly removed from the control of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments and placed under direct supervision of the Delegate-General, who administered them through a staff which was largely French in the upper ranks, but Syrian and Lebanese in the lower. They included:

S L 652 648 i. The 'Common Interests', a number of departments dealing with matters of concern to both Syria and Lebanon. The most important of them were the customs administration, the control of concessionary companies and certain economic, financial and social services. They were financed out of the 'Funds of Common Interest', consisting almost entirely of customs receipts, which were sufficient not only to pay for these services but to provide a large surplus which was in principle divided between the two Governments.

S L 648 701 ii. The 'Troupes Spéciales', the local Syrian and Lebanese levies. Some thousands strong, they had been in existence throughout the Mandatory period as an integral part of the French Army of the Levant, and until the outbreak of war they had been wholly paid for out of the 'Funds of Common Interest'. They now formed part of the French territorial command.

000 iii. The 'Sûreté Générale', the organization responsible for

11: Hourani S-4 (no date) 1946 MD1 Syria M01 LEBANON REI

that the Syro-Lebanese currency would once more share in the precarious fortunes of the franc; and its reserves would be under the control of the French Government, which might be tempted to use this control in order to strike a hard political or financial bargain.

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It has already been mentioned that by the end of 1944 all important services administered by the Delegation-General had been transferred to the Syrian and Lebanese Governments, with the exception of the 'Troupes Spéciales'. These troops, whose numbers had been considerably augmented since the allied occupation in 1941, and who now formed a reasonably well-disciplined and well-armed force of several thousands, were under the French territorial command. Throughout the year the two Governments pressed for their formal transfer, while making it clear that for the duration of the war they would, of course, remain at the disposal of the Allied Command. The French Government was unwilling to transfer them until the end of the war, or at least until a later stage in it, and was not prepared to give them up unconditionally but only in exchange for the conclusion of treaties of alliance with France by the Syrian and Lebanese Governments; the possession of the 'Troupes' was, in fact, their only direct bargaining-counter in their attempt to persuade the two Governments to sign such treaties.

The Syrian and Lebanese Governments for their part did not admit that the question of the 'Troupes' had anything to do with the question of the treaties. In their eyes the transfer of the 'Troupes' was a logical consequence of promises and declarations already made by the French: General Catroux, in his declarations of Syrian and Lebanese independence in 1941, had stated that the two States were at liberty to raise national armies. Moreover, the transfer of the 'Troupes Spéciales' was a necessary preliminary to any negotiations for a treaty; such negotiations could only take place on a footing of complete equality, and equality could not exist so long as the Syrian and Lebanese Governments did not possess armed forces and so long as the French held over their heads the threat of refusal to transfer the 'Troupes'.

In addition to insisting on their right to control the

11: Hourani 5-4 (no date) 1946 MD1 Syria MD1 LEBANON MD1

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'Troupes,' the two Governments emphasized their need for them. The experience of 1936-1939 had shown what a mockery was self-government so long as the Government had not sufficient forces at its disposal to assert its will. No Government could expect obedience and respect so long as it was not able to curb the pretensions of the overmighty subject; this was particularly true of a country like Syria, where semi-feudal tenures were still to be found, localism was so strong a force, and there existed large Beduin tribes traditionally recalcitrant to civil government and having had full opportunity to arm themselves during the war. Local disorders had already taken place among the Beduin in the Jazirah and in the area dominated by Sulaiman Murshid. It was impossible to rely entirely upon French-controlled forces to prevent disorder, since that would be to admit that France was still the real power in the country and the Government only a façade; loyalty and obedience would only be given where real authority lay.

There was another reason for the attitude of the Syrian Government. They remembered that in 1920 the French had occupied Damascus and overturned the national Government by force; and that in 1925 the national revolt had been suppressed with the help of local levies drawn from the Circassian and other minorities. They were afraid that at some time in the future the French Government might be tempted to repeat its action and to restore its authority in Damascus with the help of the 'Troupes Spéciales', who included a large number of Circassians, Kurds and other minorities organized in separate units. Since the 'Troupes' were the only considerable armed force under French command in the Levant, their transfer to the local Governments would remove this weapon from the hands of the French.

For all these reasons the Syrian and Lebanese Governments demanded the immediate and unconditional transfer of the 'Troupes Spéciales', or else, if this were refused, their disbandment. Otherwise they would proceed with the formation of national armies. Both Governments made special appropriations for this purpose in their 1944 and 1945 budgets.

With this fundamental difference of opinion between the French point of view and that of the Syrians and Lebanese, it is not surprising that when discussions on the subject opened in the early months of 1944 they led to little result. A draft

agreement was, it is true, reached between the Syrian Government and the Delegate-General, General Beynet, but negotiations were then broken off by the French Committee in Algiers. With Lebanon a limited agreement was reached; in June it was arranged that a battalion wholly officered by Lebanese would be placed at the disposal of the Lebanese Government pending the conclusion of a general agreement. By the end of the year no further progress had been made, and the new year opened with demonstrations in Damascus in favour of the formation of an army and against what was believed to be the too indulgent attitude of the Government towards French delays.

8

A still more fundamental question, that of the conclusion of Franco-Syrian and Franco-Lebanese Treaties, became urgent during 1944.

The French Government claimed that, in spite of the declarations of independence made in 1941 and the subsequent transfer of powers, legally the Mandate still remained in force and would remain until a restored League of Nations or another international authority should bring it to an end; as in the case of Iraq, a necessary preliminary to its being brought to an end was the conclusion of treaties of alliance and friendship with the Mandatory Power. They pointed out that the declarations of independence had referred to the negotiation of such treaties, and even claimed that independence had not been granted unconditionally but only on condition that the Syrian and Lebanese Governments entered into treaties with France. They referred further to Great Britain's recognition of France's pre-eminent and privileged position in the Levant, and maintained that treaties were necessary in order to define and safeguard her position.

France's insistence on the signature of treaties had several motives. There was first her desire to preserve her political, economic and other interests in the Levant States themselves. Again, there was the fear that a withdrawal from the Levant would lower her prestige in North Africa and encourage the demands of the nationalists there. Moreover, so long as Metropolitan France was not liberated, the Fighting French were naturally reluctant to give up a particle of their position anywhere in the world where they still retained it. The

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1964 M1 Middle East
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Bishara al-Khouri, became President with the pan-Arab Riyad as-Sulh as Prime Minister; these nationalists were not satisfied with mere titular sovereignty but claimed the reality of independence, and in November 1943 a Free French resort to force against them was reversed only by a British intervention, endorsed by the United States Government. The Free French were thus constrained to transfer most branches of the administration to the Syrian and Lebanese Parliaments, but retained control of the local 'Troupes Spéciales' and obstructed the proper equipping of the Syrian gendarmerie. The French intention was to make this vital concession of authority conditional upon the conclusion of a Franco-Syrian treaty which would give France much the same strategic, economic, and cultural advantages as Britain had retained in Iraq by the already obsolescent Treaty of 1930. In March 1945 Syria and Lebanon had been admitted as sovereign states to membership both of the United Nations and of the League of Arab States. The Syrian nationalists were not prepared to subordinate their sovereignty to an imposed alliance with France, and the landing of a contingent of Senegalese troops immediately after VE-day (in disregard of a personal appeal of Churchill to de Gaulle) was regarded in both Syria and Lebanon as clear evidence of a French resort to coercion. Sporadic outbreaks of violence between the Syrian gendarmerie and the local nationalists on the one hand and the French garrison on the other became general, and when, at the end of May 1945, the local French Commander carried out a bombardment of Damascus the British Government ordered their Commander-in-Chief, Middle East, to intervene, by force if necessary, to restore order in a region whose security was vital for British communications in the still-continuing war in the Far East. The crisis accelerated the complete withdrawal of all foreign troops, concerning which the demands of the Syrian and Lebanese Governments were supported by the Security Council; the process was completed in Syria by 15 April 1946 and in Lebanon by the end of the year.

Between the wars, the French Mandate had allowed political development in Lebanon to produce at least a façade of parliamentary democracy, with arrangements between the Muslim and Christian leaders on the division of political power and prerogatives, and the active commercial and intellectual life of Lebanon made progress with a minimum of government interference. In Syria, however, local separatisms which French policy had encouraged made it very difficult for any Syrian Government to knit the people together from Damascus; the

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

knowledge of English were becoming commonplace. The village school had become a primary agent of culture change in marked contrast to the situation recently observed in Tangier (cf. Scherger, 1952b, p. 254). With widened horizons and increased financial means, a demand for Western material goods, particularly household furnishings and clothes, was created and satisfied, as far as possible, by the villagers.

The first World War brought an abrupt and temporarily devastating halt to this process of change. Lebanon, though a province of the Turkish Empire, was blockaded by the Turks because of the well-known Allied sympathies of many of its people. During the blockade, both emigration and emigrants' remittances were stopped and many segments of the rural population, including *Munsif*, were reduced to near starvation. (See Hourani, 1946, especially pp. 33–49, for a general review of this period.)

When the war ended, the Munsifiin could neither turn back the clock nor could they quite pick up where they had been forced to leave off in 1914. Silk production never regained its former pre-eminence. Emigration resumed, but in 1924 emigration to the United States was virtually ended. Emigration to other parts of the world correspondingly increased, but never on the same scale as it had been to the United States.

Meanwhile, the French had assumed the League of Nations Mandate over Lebanon (and Syria) and had embarked upon a program of modernization of the country, a policy which was exactly the opposite of their attempts in Morocco at preventing acculturation (cf. Coon, 1949, p. 431). The French established in Lebanon a constitutional form of government which strongly resembled their own, and it included a public school system also modeled on their own. One of the chief purposes of these activities was to disseminate specifically French culture. This was not particularly appreciated by many of the sect groups in the country.

The French were responsible, in another line of endeavor, for the building of a system of paved highways, and the beginning of a network of telephone lines, of airports, and of rural electrification in a few districts. The establishment of rapid communication and transportation systems created a profound change in the entire country. In *Munsif*, as in many other villages where economic problems had become acute, the change consisted of the beginning of an intensified drift of villagers to the cities to earn their livelihood. Life in the cities tended to make the villagers more aware than before of foreign artifacts and values and to elevate their notion of what constituted an adequate standard of living (see Bonne, 1948, especially pp. 271–72). For the first time, villagers now had the opportunity of meeting and interacting with outsiders on a large scale, and village emigrants, a rarity before, began to become rather frequent (see Patai, 1947, especially p. 15, for an itemization of the types of change which have occurred in Palestine, but also Lebanon).

65:Landshut S-4 (no date)1950 M1 Middle East
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563 Only one large shop—the joint property of three Muslims and one
648 Jew—was damaged.

There were only a few incidents during the months of fighting in Palestine. On one occasion alone were there casualties—when a bomb thrown at the school of the *Alliance Israélite Universelle* injured a few Jews.

● 722 When, during the operations in Galilee, large numbers of Arab
563 refugees entered the country, and Israel forces occupied some territory in Southern Lebanon, Muslims in the Sidon area seized Jewish-owned buildings and installed refugees therein. After some days, however, the Government ordered the police to provide protection for the Jews and to restore the buildings to their owners. Jews were not allowed to leave the country, but special permits were issued for travelling to Syria on business.

On the advice of well-disposed Government officials, the Jews did all they could to keep quiet and to escape notice. The wish to avoid any offence led the Jewish newspaper *Al-Alam al-Israeli* (The World of Israel) to change its name to *Al-Salam* (Peace). On the other hand, the Jewish community had to yield to the pressure of public opinion and to contribute considerable sums towards the Arab Palestine Fund; the total amount is estimated to be not less than £L.500,000 (about £55,000). Yet things never reached the stage where they could not carry on their occupations; and the merchants among them were always able to keep their businesses running.

563 As soon as the fighting was over, the Lebanese Government was
727 the first to restore normal conditions for the Jewish population. The ban on travelling abroad was lifted, and a number of senior Jewish officials who had been dismissed were reinstated, some even being promoted. Nine Jews who had fled to Lebanon from Iraq (where they had been sentenced to death *in absentia*) and three other Jews, who had previously lived in Palestine, were permitted to leave the country for Israel.

There is every evidence that with the return of normal relations with Israel, the Jewish minority in Lebanon will enjoy again the freedom, the full and equal rights, and the friendly relations with their neighbours which existed before the invasion of Palestine.

65:Landshut S-4 (no date)1950 M1 Middle East
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642, 728, 877, 965

Syria MDl
Israel MFl
Jordan MGl
Iraq MHl
Lebanon MKl

//For an account of the political regime, social stratification, and Westernizing of administration under the British and French Mandates following the First World War, see 66: Sunni, Ml Middle East, category 114, pp. 88-101.//

186, 728, 648, 668

Syria	[illegible]
Israel	[illegible]
Jordan	[illegible]
Iraq	[illegible]
Lebanon	[illegible]

/For an account of the formation and growth of the Arab Succession States after World War I, the Arab Nationalist Movement, relations between the Arab countries and the great Powers, see G. Kirk, The Middle East 1945-1950, pp. [illegible]

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frequent but it was less for the other two new cultural factors which altered village life:

1. The introduction into Lebanon of Western-style educational institutions and methods. The two main types were American Protestant and French Catholic. It was the former which exerted the stronger influence on el-Mismiyeh. Mission schools were established in the village before the turn of the century, and many village children were sent to the American schools in Tripoli. By 1914, some villagers were themselves teaching school in el-Mismiyeh. Denominational feuding was for the most part eradicated, but the quest for secular education — in both Arabic and English — became a major concern in the village. The enthusiasm with which the villagers approached education can be accounted for in several ways. First, the literate individual has always been a person of high prestige in the Arab world. The villagers therefore recognized the fine opportunity for the improvement of personal status which was opened by the new schools. Second, they recognized that through education they would have a better chance of obtaining lucrative jobs and of thus averting the economic disaster which threatened them. Third, the American-sponsored curricula were, in part, a useful introduction to certain aspects of the culture of the West; and this brings us to the third major factor:

2. Emigration, primarily to the United States but also, to a lesser extent, to South America. It is very significant, from the cultural point of view, that the prime motive of the emigrants was not to leave their homeland forever in order to make a new life in a new country, but rather to stay temporarily in America in order to make a fortune and then return to the village to resume the old life under conditions of greater financial security. As it turned out, the majority of emigrants never did return. But the number who did, and the number of those who came and went several times before making up their minds, is often overlooked in general accounts of the emigration phenomenon. Remittances from America helped greatly to make the two decades before 1914 a prosperous time for el-Mismiyeh. It was during this period that the very handsome houses with red tile roofs (imported from France) were built. During this period, also, some of those who did not emigrate took up nonagricultural jobs, such as school teaching, away from the village.

World War I brought a sudden halt to these developments. Owing to the Turkish blockade of Lebanon, emigration became impossible and the flood of remittances was reduced to a trickle. Toward the end of the war there was famine in el-Mismiyeh, and it was reported that two persons died as a result of it. After the war, emigration and remittances were resumed. But the large-scale exodus to the United States was effectively ended by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, which allowed only a very small quota for the Levant. Emigration to other areas continued but also on a smaller

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Chapter 6

LEBANON

Developments in the Set of the Second World War

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439 is largely attributable to certain factors which helped to improve economic and
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371 security in Lebanon attracted European merchants, who provided an expanding
167 market for Lebanese raw silk. It also brought in missionaries and educators, who
established modern schools. In the second half of the nineteenth century,
large-scale emigration began. It is estimated that, between 1860 and 1920, some
120,000 persons emigrated from Lebanon and Syria - an average of 3,000 a year, of
169 whom over half were from Lebanon. In 1910-14, the yearly average rose to
15,000. 2/ A large number of these emigrants returned, bringing back with them
capital and skills. There was also a small capital inflow from Europe, which
was invested in railways, ports and other public utilities, as well as in banks.
By 1900, Beirut had become the main distributing centre for Lebanon, Syria,
Palestine, northern Iraq and southern Anatolia. Another important economic
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739 During the First World War, Lebanon, which had become a food importer,
[try] experienced a large-scale famine. In addition, the silk industry was
733 disorganized, the mulberry trees being cut down for fuel, and its transit trade
167 was disrupted. In the inter-war period, silk suffered further, from the
competition of more efficient producers and of rayon, and gradually ceased to
play an important part in the economy. A still harder blow was the decline in
emigration, following restrictions imposed in most countries of immigration.
After reaching a peak of 16,300 in 1923, emigration from Lebanon and Syria fell
off rapidly to an annual average of 2,200 in the nineteen-thirties, of whom
slightly over half came from Lebanon.

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439 1/ Net national income in 1955 was estimated at 1,550 million Lebanese pounds
(see table 431), giving a per capita figure of 1,310 per annum. (Some
confirmation of this figure is provided by a survey in North Lebanon which
showed that in 1953 per capita income in a group of villages was L 287.
This figure does not include rent, since practically all families own their
own houses (Salah H. Dampa, Household Income and Expenditure in Al Bara,
unpublished thesis, American University, Beirut, 1957). Converted at the
average free market rate in 1955 one United States dollar equalled
3.47 Lebanese pounds), which considerably underestimates the purchasing power
of the Lebanese pound, this gives a per capita income of $378, a figure
well above that prevailing in the region. Some two thirds of the Lebanese
population is literate, and over 40 per cent is urban, proportions which
are well above the regional level.

2/ H.H. Hitchen (editor), The Economic Development of Syria (Beirut, 1956),
page 16.

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Chapter 6

LEBANON

Developments to the End of the Second World War

433 439 471 [167] [177] 439 [172] 733 167 434

Lebanon's high economic level, compared with other Middle Eastern countries, is largely attributable to certain factors which helped to improve economic and social conditions, 1/ from early modern times. A relatively greater degree of security in Lebanon attracted European merchants, who provided an expanding market for Lebanese raw silk; it also brought in missionaries and educators, who established modern schools. In the second half of the nineteenth century, large-scale emigration began. It is estimated that, between 1860 and 1900, some 120,000 persons emigrated from Lebanon and Syria - an average of 3,000 a year, of whom over half were from Lebanon. In 1900-14, the yearly average rose to 15,000. 2/ A large number of these emigrants returned, bringing back with them capital and skills. There was also a small capital inflow from Europe, which was invested in railways, ports and other public utilities, as well as in banks. By 1900, Beirut had become the main distributing centre for Lebanon, Syria, Palestine, northern Iraq and southern Anatolia. Another important economic item was the export of raw silk.

During the First World War, Lebanon, which had become a food importer, experienced a large-scale famine. In addition, its silk industry was disorganized, the mulberry trees being cut down for fuel, and its transit trade was disrupted. In the inter-war period, silk suffered further, from the competition of more efficient producers and of rayon, and gradually ceased to play an important part in the economy. A still harder blow was the decline in emigration, following restrictions imposed in most countries of immigration. After reaching a peak of 16,000 in 1925, emigration from Lebanon and Syria fell off rapidly to an annual average of 8,000 in the nineteen-thirties, of whom slightly over half came from Lebanon.

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434 1/ Net national income in 1950 was estimated at 1,000 million Lebanese pounds (see table 43), giving a per capita figure of LL 830 per annum. Some confirmation of this figure is provided by a survey in North Lebanon which showed that in 1953 per capita income in a group of villages was LL 627. This figure does not include rent, since practically all families own their own houses (Salah H. Sawaya, Household Income and Expenditure in Al Kura, unpublished thesis, American University, Beirut, 1953)). Converted at the average free market rate (in 1950 one United States dollar equalled 3.47 Lebanese pounds), which considerably undervalues the purchasing power of the Lebanese pound, this gives a per capita income of $250, a figure well above that prevailing in the region. Some two thirds of the Lebanese population is literate, and over 40 per cent is urban, proportions which are well above the regional level.

2/ S.H. Steeman (editor), The Economic Organization of Syria (Beirut, 1956), page 16.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
[Munsif]

of the Westerners and the Mizwli as groups. The Westerners are transhumants, representing an activity which is of frequent occurrence along the slopes of Mount Lebanon (cf. Thoumin, 1936, pp. 154–55). According to Core Group informants, they, or other Marronites like them, have always come to the village in winter. They live either in vacant houses or in the lower sections of occupied houses. Their presence in the village is primarily in their own interest which is the need for winter pasturage for their sheep and goats. However, the Core Group has everything to gain and nothing to lose by their being in the village. The flocks furnish a convenient extra supply of meat and milk, some of the men hire themselves out for farm labor, they pay rent for their dwellings, and the children attend both of the village schools.

The Mizwli are looked upon with some disapproval. The Mizwli as a group have been in the village since about 1940, and there was no one comparable to them before that in the village. The men are specialists in preparing charcoal for sale, (mostly outside the village) and for this they cut the scrub oak which is fairly abundant in the village territory. They pay a prearranged sum to the owners of the property on which they cut the wood. Evidently this sum is agreed upon with a view to the Core Group members' getting a fair return relative to the profits of the Mizwli, and some bitterness in regard to the way this arrangement worked out was indicated. The women of this group either work in the bakeries or hire themselves out part time as domestic servants or laundresses. The children attend the village schools.

It might be tempting to classify these groups as castes. In terms of such traits as ethnic (religious) division of labor, absence of intermarriage, and occasional suggestions of superiority-inferiority judgments they indeed look something like castes. Most emphatically, however, they are not, at least not in the sense in which the term is applied to the characteristic social groups of India. This opinion is founded upon the following considerations: In the first place, in other Lebanese villages representative groups of the same sects live together in entirely different orders of dominance. There is nothing inherent in the nature of any of the sects which makes one necessarily dominant over another. The crucial factor is simply the relative degrees of numerical superiority and local establishment which obtain in the particular area. In other words, as has been suggested above, Munsif is simply one localized example of the operation of Coon's ethnic division of labor and the present writer's own theory of "spheres." In the second place, as far as was observed, social interaction is in no way colored by group avoidance or any such concept as pollution through social contact. The general tendency in *all* social relationships in the village is equalitarian, combined, to be sure, with the various barriers which are consequences of the system of "spheres."

It should be noted that the village is regularly visited by two types of *itinerants*: (1) Tinkers and scissors grinders, who announce their arrival in the village with special cries of the type which contribute greatly to the bedlam of the streets in the cities. They go from house to house and do whatever jobs they are given on the spot. (2) Various types of people all of whom are classed as beggars and of whom it is said, "They do not work, they have no homes, they are thieves and liars." Some are beggars outright; others seek, perhaps sincerely, to find work as servants. Notable among the true beggars are the Nawasir (Gypsies). One group of them was observed—three women in distinctive costumes, including circular head-dress, their faces tattooed, marching up the road with

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
Middle East ME1
[Munsif]

large bundles slung over their shoulders, singing cheerfully. "They do not speak Arabic," said one informant, "and you always see the women only because three women, say, together, are the wives of one man. They beg, and he does nothing."

Also in the beggar class are men with performing bears or donkeys, and, in particular, troupes consisting of a girl of any age between ten and twenty and usually two, somewhat older, men. The girl does a shimmy dance accompanied by the men, one of whom beats a drum, while the other usually plays a long, stringed instrument called *Awoodi*. The villagers call them *Hawwasi* because they all are supposed to come from Hawran, and they regard them as pests to be got rid of as quickly as possible. The beggars are a group which is definitely stigmatized by the villagers.

APPENDIX B: TRANSLITERATION OF ARABIC PHONEMES

A fairly standard system of transliteration has been developed for Classical Arabic, which can be employed without comment. However no Arab uses Classical Arabic in his daily life, and this work is concerned with the events of daily life. It is therefore necessary to employ a set of symbols which is suitable for the needs at hand.

In general, the various Arabic dialects adhere fairly well to classical usage in the long series of obstruent phonemes. What usually occurs is that some are ignored, in phonetically systematic fashion, and there is also a tendency to eliminate, by addition or omission, the asymmetries which occur in Classical Arabic. Those which remain, however, and they are the majority, are generally pronounced in accordance with classical rules. The same can be said, in general, of the three long vowels, cognizance of which is taken in the Arabic alphabet. The chief difficulty is encountered in the three short vowels, ignored in ordinary writing, one of which is regularly clustered with ع and with ء to form two additional phonemes. Dialectical variation in this series is great, frequently involving the complete omission of one or another of the three simple phonemes in question. Moreover, individuals tend to be casual in their pronunciation of them. For example, a Lebanese will say that it is correct to call his country either Libnaan or Lubnaan. He does either, and may even say both in the same sentence. In linguistic terms, it is in the short vowels and related diphthongs that the greatest number of allophones occurs, and where dialectical variations are very apparent.

The system of transliteration used in this work is intended to be reasonably accurate phonetically, to avoid undue grotesqueries, and, withal, to permit the reader to pronounce the words correctly without first having to master a complicated and esoteric system of symbols. In the text, Arabic words are rendered in the Munsifi dialect which is less at variance with the classical than many others. In a few cases, the Classical Arabic form is added in parentheses, using the Arabic alphabet.

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Lebanon ME1
Syria MD1

probably few, of the estates are the properties of old, wealthy families of Ottoman times, which still exist in Lebanon, such as the lands belonging to the families of Arslan, Jumblatt, Chehab, Khazen, but many of these have been broken up by the Moslem laws of inheritance. Other estates have originated from direct grants made by Turkish Sultans to influential politicians, as for example the two very large estates in the Beqa and the Litani valley. Others too were formed at the time of the general registration of property undertaken by the Ottoman Government when chiefs of tribes or villages registered tribal land in their names as their private property. Uncertainty about legal title to land gives the educated classes frequent opportunity for ousting peasant owners, and whole villages have come into the possession of rival groups of city notables, as a result of litigation among the villagers who have sought their assistance in establishing their title.

While the land-tenure system is thus a result of peasant poverty, it also perpetuates poverty by standing in the way of any long-term investment. The high percentage of fallow in Syria suggests a great waste of land resources, and there could certainly be some improvement in yields, even in dry land farming, if green crops were introduced more generally into the rotation. But the share-cropper has little incentive to improve the fertility of the land, since he has no certainty of tenure, and since the landlord will take 50 per cent of any increase. Since the landlords are not as a rule directly interested in farming, they do not themselves undertake long-term improvements in the land.

Three case studies illustrate the ways in which the land-tenure system hinders advance.[1]

One study relates to the large estate of Misherfe, near Homs in central Syria. This is 24,000 acres in extent and includes five villages, with 2,500 inhabitants. It is very extensively cultivated, only one-third of the area, 8,000 acres, being cropped each year. The land is divided into three parts, one with wheat, barley or *qatani* (mixed grain), one ploughed but not sown, and one left fallow. A small area, 200 acres only, is irrigated, though water supplies are sufficient to irrigate much larger areas.

[1] These studies, which were prepared for the M.E.S.C., are not at present available in print.

tants and less than 4,000 each of Syrian Catholics, Syrian Orthodox, Chaldean Catholics and other denominations.

In 1948, the Moslem contingent, comprising about 253,000 Sunnites and 234,500 Shiites, represented slightly less than 40 per cent of the population. The Druses, a dissident sect of Islam, dating from the 11th century, numbered around 79,700. They are scattered throughout southern and central Lebanon, but about 80 per cent reside in the province of Mount Lebanon. The diverse religious communities tend to live apart, and the close proximity of villages and towns, Christian or Moslem, is a feature of Lebanese life. In addition, about 6,000 Jews reside in Beirut and other cities; the majority are of Sephardic origin, and have been settled in the country for generations.

With the exception of the Armenians, most of whom fled from Turkish territory during the first quarter of the present century, and a few thousand each of Kurds and Assyrians, there are no linguistic minority groups. Most of the inhabitants speak Arabic or a minor dialectal variation. French and English are widely used, however, by the educated Lebanese. Small foreign communities of French, Polish, Greek, American, British and other nationalities also reside in Beirut and the coastal cities.

During the Arab-Israeli conflict in 1948, Lebanon received over 170,000 Arab refugees from Palestine. In a total of 108,390 on the roster of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in 1951, about 34 per cent were housed in 15 camps located in different parts of the country, while the remainder lived in the various towns and villages.

A distinctive feature of the recent history of this region is the large-scale emigration of Lebanese to the Americas, Europe and Africa, which reached a peak in the years preceding World War I. The exact number of emigrants, most of whom sought to escape the impoverishing effects of continuing congestion on the land, is not known, but some authorities estimate that it exceeds that of the resident population. Many

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

WELFARE

In a very few cases of total incapacitation, individuals have had to be placed in public institutions for care. Otherwise, the village takes care of its own unfortunates, in conformance with the traditional attitudes of self-sufficiency. A unit of the Lebanese Red Cross visits the village at regular intervals to provide medical care for those who need it, but have been unable or unwilling to go to a doctor in the city. There is a regular, and entirely traditional, mechanism for caring for families who get into financial straits. A close friend of the family, who has learned of the situation because of his closeness, goes to each household in the village saying, "There is among us a family in need. I am going to give them some money; how much are you willing to give?" It is very bad form to ask for whom the collection is being made, and a contribution which is offered under such conditions may be refused by the collector. The strict anonymity which accompanies this behavior suggests that even in such a tight in-group as the village keeping up appearances is a conscious value. Clique and lineage divisions undoubtedly contribute to this.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONS

Everyone in the village, except for a handful among the very old, are literate. A quite respectable number have received or are receiving college educations. The significance of education in the village will be discussed in the next chapter; here it is appropriate to consider only the bearing which education has on occupations.

Literacy itself is no rarity in Lebanon. In fact, among the Christians, at least, we can safely say that it is the expected thing. Mere literacy alone would raise one's aspirations only above that of manual laborer, in the city. For professional status or for governmental positions college educations are prerequisite. Medicine and the law require additional training beyond college which no one in Mumjil has recently undertaken. The number of positions open to ordinary college graduates which are in line with the individual's ambitions (befitting a learned and cultured person) are rather limited in Lebanon, and many such persons must be satisfied with whatever they can find. In consequence, a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction is to be found among those who have had advanced education.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

Mumjil depends, and has always depended, upon crops which do not require rain or irrigation in the growing season. In order, the most important are olives, figs and grapes. Of these the major cash crop is olives. This has not always been true. Up to 1914 the major cash crop in the village, and in Lebanon as a whole, was the [illegible]-worm cocoon, fed on mulberry leaves. Sericulture has not died out completely in Lebanon, and it is still fairly strong in the Kisrawan, Kura, Metn, and Shouf districts (Féraut, 1948b, p. 349), but it has long since lost its economic

prominent among the foreign-operated institutions. A hospital is connected with the American University of Beirut, which provides 350 beds, including 15 to 20 each in pediatric and maternity sections. The Faculté Française de Médecine of the Université Saint-Joseph maintained two hospitals—a general hospital of 200 beds and a maternity hospital of 60 beds—until recently, when the direction of both institutions was transferred to the French Cultural Mission at Beirut. Smaller institutions are conducted by French and Greek religious orders. The Kennedy Memorial Hospital in Tripoli, which is under the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in America, has a capacity of 125 beds. The Iraq Petroleum Company operates a 40-bed hospital for the care of its Lebanese and foreign personnel in Tripoli, and the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company, a 30-bed hospital in Beirut.

Outpatient dispensaries are associated with the government hospitals and with the larger independent institutions. In 1951, the Ministry of Public Health maintained a central polyclinic in Beirut, 17 rural dispensaries and 4 special tuberculosis clinics. The municipality of Beirut also financed a polyclinic in the city. The Lebanese Red Cross ran 16 permanent dispensaries, including 3 in Beirut, and 1 traveling clinic. A child health center, with comprehensive preventive services, has been conducted in connection with the American University hospital since 1927, while comparable centers are supported by the Karaghueuzian Corporation in Beirut and Anjar.

In 1952, a maternal and child health teaching and demonstration center was established at Beirut by the Ministry, in conjunction with the World Health Organization and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. Dispensaries are operated by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in the various refugee camps.

Laboratories. Up to 1952 there was no central public health laboratory in Lebanon.

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A laboratory division has been created in the Ministry of Public Health, however, and laboratory services are gradually being expanded. A government laboratory is being established at Beirut with assistance under the Point Four program of the United States government. When it is completed, it will have divisions for bacteriologic and serologic diagnosis, water and food analyses, the preparation of rabies, typhoid and other vaccines, and administration and supplies.

At present the Ministry contracts for laboratory services from the medical school of the University Saint-Joseph, the Faculté Française de Médecine, the Institut de Bactériologie is equipped for the performance of routine bacteriologic, serologic and chemical examinations. The Institut Antirabique undertakes the preparation of antirabic vaccines and the administration of prophylactic treatment.

The medical school of the American University of Beirut has pathologic, serologic and bacteriologic laboratories, with facilities for research and the conduct of routine diagnostic examinations for the various divisions of the University hospital, as well as for private physicians. Typhoid-paratyphoid and smallpox vaccines are also produced in the University laboratories. Clinical laboratories are connected with the government hospitals and with the larger private institutions, both national and foreign.

Schools. There are 2 medical schools in Beirut, both of which receive students from the neighboring Arab states. The Faculté Française de Médecine is supported by the French government, and its graduates are awarded French state degrees in medicine. The instruction is in French, and the course of training covers 6 years, including a year for internship.

The School of Medicine of the American University of Beirut operates under the Regents of the University of the State of New York, and meets the Class "A" standards of the American Medical Association. It provides a 4-year course leading to the

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[illegible] up. The statement practically all the primary schools outside Beirut and Tripoli. Questionnaires were sent to a few of the selected institutions,[1] but in the majority of cases representatives were sent to the five selected complexes from the selected countries where the concept of government assistance appeared to create a difficult problem for the staff of the institutions.

The responses received were fairly satisfactory. In most cases, it was easy for the school authorities to give an accurate estimate of their students' expenditures as they had themselves, in consultation with the parents, fixed their regular monthly needs. A problem arose, however, from the fact that students' expenditures are usually calculated on the basis of an academic year, i.e., from October through June. To meet this problem it has been decided to treat expenditures during 1961-62 as the 1961-62 [illegible] made payments to the schools at the beginning of the academic year, all tuition and other expenses of their children for the whole year in advance. In the second place, there has been little variation from year to year in foreign enrollment. Any other method of re-allocating expenses, say by months or semesters, would have been subject to errors.

Based on the responses to the questionnaires, the total number of foreign (non-resident) students has been estimated at 3,270 in 1961-62 and at 3,400 in 1962-63. Students' expenditures during these periods were L.L. 6.2 millions and L.L. 6.8 millions respectively (cf. Table IV).

(2) Hospitals. Questionnaires were sent out to 50 hospitals requesting information on foreign (non-resident) patients.[2] These questionnaires were all followed up by personal interviews with the hospital authorities. Satisfactory answers were received from 45 hospitals. The only problem was that in most cases the hospital records did not permit the identification of foreign out-patients, i.e., those who come for treatment, but did not stay at the hospital. On the contrary, the records do not distinguish between "residents"

[1] [illegible]

[2] [illegible]

[illegible]

and "non-residents". Nothing could be done to correct this [illegible]
limitation. On the basis of common sense[illegible], earnings of [illegible]
hospitals from foreign in-patients were estimated at L.L. 1.1 million in 1963 and L.L. 1.6 million in 1965 (cf. Table 42).

(d) Tourism, for words above, this term is here used in a restricted sense for all remaining forms of foreign travel.

To estimate earnings under this heading a questionnaire was sent to the owners of the Commissariat of Tourism in the main hotels in Beirut, similar to that sent to the summer resort hotels[1]. Beirut alone has a monopoly of all air-borne arrivals and departures from Lebanon are via Beirut. The questionnaire tries to ascertain the number of tourists, including businessmen etc., and their length of stay in the country. The information requested was for 1960 from which it was hoped to infer estimates for 1963. Of the 50 hotels that were approached, all but one answered. Interviews were then made to try to ascertain from the managers their clients' expenditures outside the hotel[2]. On the basis [illegible] visits are estimated to have visited the reporting hotels in 1963, their total expenditures being of L.L. 15.1 million (cf. Table 53). According to the Commissariat of Tourism, the total number of tourists (excluding citizens) in 1963 was over 310,000. An extension of the figure obtained in the survey to cover all tourists would give total expenditures in that year of L.L. 36.2 million. Moreover, assuming the same level of expenditures in 1963, the reported 137,000 tourists in that year would have spent L.L. 17.0 million.

To these estimates should be added the expenditures of tourists in transit, i.e., those who spend less than 72 hours in the country, en route to their final destination. Their number was 32,000 in 1963 and 45,700 in 1965. On the assumption that they spent on hotel transportation, food, gifts, etc., on the average L.L. 30 per person during their whole stay (the average is probably 36 hours) their total expenditures would have been L.L. 1.0 million in 1963 and L.L. 1.1 million in 1965, thus making overall tourist expenditures L.L. 18.0 million in 1963 and L.L. 20.3 million in 1965.

[1] See Appendix A.
[2] See footnote (2) on page 46.

water supplies are not only inadequate and unsafe, they are also unhealthy. In all cases the source is outside of the village and may be a mile or more away. This necessitates a long walk on the part of the women who carry the water in jugs or their homes.

One of the major items included in plans for the improvement project is that of furnishing domestic water to the villages. A well has been drilled near Lodhra by the Technical Cooperation Service and it is planned to pump from it to a reservoir on the hill on a high point. From here a pipe line distribution system will furnish water to fountains in each village.

In each of the five project villages, the persons interviewed stated that the nearest doctor, nurse, or hospital is located in Dabra. Only Lodhra reported having an midwife. Sandilani reported one midwife while the other three villages each has one midwife living in the village. It is beyond the provision of this report to report upon the qualifications or training of the local midwives.

Schools

The information on village schools in the project area was secured from the local teachers (Table X). All of the project villages have government-run elementary schools, with the exception of Lodhra. Lodhra has no schools while Sahasikiyak has a privately-run school as well as the government elementary school. While the school in Sri Pachhak has two rooms, the remaining were one-teacher, one-room affairs. None of the villages offer education beyond the elementary level. Such higher education, however, is available in Dabra or Betwa.

The number of pupils in each school varies from 35 in the private school of Sahasikiyak to 148 in the Jatkhan government elementary school. This latter school is the only one reporting two teachers. The one classroom is usually small and the children sit, closely packed, on their desks. It is interesting to note the breakdown of the students according to sex. While 397 students attend the five schools, only thirteen of these are girls. The Shorkh Muslims do not encourage their daughters to attend school. They feel that it is a hindrance to a happy marriage and often encourages disobedience on one's elders.

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] medical [illegible]

vaccine of tuberculosis, added to the [illegible]
[illegible] of early cases and educational [illegible]
a dispensaries at Zahle and Saida. The [illegible]
mission (Dartmouth Society) maintains [illegible]
ment facilities for the care of [illegible]
patients. The Young Women's Christian [illegible]
Association was established for the promotion [illegible]
of education among Muslim women, and [illegible]
since 1949 it has maintained a nursing [illegible]
school for women in Beirut. The Missionary [illegible]
Society, an organization of Muslim women [illegible]
interested in active welfare work, maintains [illegible]
a small community hospital in Beirut.

The medical schools of the American [illegible]
University of Beirut and the University [illegible]
Saint-Joseph have affiliated medical care [illegible]
and preventive services. The Board of Foreign [illegible]
Missions of the Presbyterian Church [illegible]
in America supports a medical program in [illegible]
Tripoli. The Near East Foundation directed [illegible]
a general health and rural improvement [illegible]
program in the Akkar villages in the Beirut [illegible]
valley from 1946 to 1951, when it withdrew [illegible]
from Lebanon. It also instituted an extensive [illegible]
anti-malaria control project in the Akkar [illegible]
and the Assaltiyeh swamp areas. The Near [illegible]
Eastern Corporation, in teaching, research [illegible]
and ethnography in the north of the Protectorate, in the Armenian villages, and [illegible]
provides for the maintenance of adult and [illegible]
child centers in Anjar and Beirut.

The Lebanese Public Health Association [illegible]
is prominent among the professional organizations. It is concerned with the promotion [illegible]
of public health in Lebanon and with the [illegible]
dissemination of educational materials. The [illegible]
Lebanese Medical Association is likewise [illegible]
active, and publishes a journal for its members.

The industries maintain medical facilities [illegible]
for the benefit of their employees—the [illegible]
Iraq Petroleum Company at Tripoli, and [illegible]
the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company at [illegible]
Sidon and Saida. The Iraq Petroleum Company also establishes a medical [illegible]
scheme for the families of its employees. [illegible]
The United Nations Relief and Works [illegible]
Agency for Palestine Refugees carries on [illegible]
public health programs in the various camps

[illegible]

[illegible] and conducts medical control operations in the vicinity of refugee centers.

Medical Establishments

[illegible] Hospitals and Dispensaries. According to the official statistics for 1948, there were 19 hospitals, including maternity, in Lebanon. These institutions had an aggregate capacity of about 1,200 beds, or slightly less than 0.5 beds per 1,000 population. Fifty-six hospitals with a total of 2,274 beds were under private management, and 5 hospitals with a total of 1,120 beds were operated by foreign agencies. Eight hospitals, with a total of about 777 beds, were listed by the Ministry of Public Health. They consisted of governorate hospitals of approximately 120 beds each at Beirut (Mount Lebanon), Saida (Beirut), Tripoli (North Lebanon) and Baka (South Lebanon), and 4 hospitals in Beirut, a general hospital of 250 beds, a neuropsychiatric hospital of 40 beds, a venereal disease hospital of 40 beds and a quarantine hospital of 40 beds. The governorate hospitals at Tripoli and Baka were not completed, however, in 1950. In addition, the government maintained for the use of 1,200 beds in private or foreign-operated institutions, so that roughly 1,200 beds were available through the Ministry.

Special facilities included with the above hospitals were a tuberculosis sanatorium of 400 beds at Shemlan, three smaller tuberculosis sanatoria of 120 to 170 beds each, a mental hospital with 200 beds at Aabeih and a chronic disease hospital and leper with about 1,200 beds at Dair el Salib. All are maintained by religious or philanthropic organizations, Lebanese or foreign. The Ministry does not operate tuberculosis or mental hospitals, but subsidizes about 370 beds in private institutions for the care of tuberculous patients and 200 beds for care of mental. Within the last two years an ophthalmic hospital of 40 beds has been constructed by the government at Tripoli, in North Lebanon.

[illegible] The hospitals affiliated with the medical [illegible] schools of the two universities in Beirut are

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] provisions among the foreign-sponsored institutions. A hospital is connected with the American University of Beirut, which provides 200 beds, including 12 to 20 each in pediatric and maternity services. The Société Française de Bienfaisance of the Université Saint-Joseph maintained two hospitals—a general hospital of 200 beds and a maternity hospital of 40 beds—until recently, when the direction of both institutions was transferred to the French Cultural Mission at Beirut. Smaller institutions are conducted by French and Greek religious orders. The Kennedy Memorial Hospital in Tripoli, which is under the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in America, has a capacity of 125 beds. The Iraq Petroleum Company operates a 40-bed hospital for the use of its Lebanese and foreign personnel in Tripoli, and the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company, a 40-bed hospital in Beirut.

[illegible] Outpatient dispensaries are associated with the government hospitals and with the larger independent institutions. In 1951, the Ministry of Public Health maintained a central polyclinic in Beirut, 17 rural dispensaries and 4 special tuberculosis clinics. The municipality of Beirut also financed a polyclinic in the city. The Lebanese Red Cross ran 10 permanent dispensaries, including 7 in Beirut, and 3 traveling clinics. A child health center, with comprehensive preventive services, has been conducted in connection with the American University Hospital since 1947, while comparable centers are supported by the Evangelical Corporation in Beirut and Sidon.

[illegible] In 1951, a maternal and child health training and demonstration center was established at Beirut by the Ministry, in connection with the World Health Organization and the United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund. Dispensaries are operated by the United Nations Relief and Works Agency in the various refugee camps.

[illegible] Tuberculosis. Up to 1950 there was no central public health laboratory in Lebanon.

p. 180 (b)

Higher rates were found in other groups. Among the recruits in the 2 universities hospitals, the rates were 22 per cent at 20 years of age and 39 per cent at 25 years of age. Those among textile workers showed a progressive increase in the reactive rate, from 42 per cent at 20 years of age to 62 per cent at 25 years of age. In the military personnel tested, the reaction rate reached 72 per cent at 25 years of age.[1] Since the departure of the International teams in 1958, the tuberculin testing and BCG immunization program has been carried on in conjunction with the special tuberculosis dispensaries.

The facilities for the diagnosis and the treatment of tuberculosis have been augmented within the last few years, but they are still inadequate. Taking advantage of the reasonably favorable climatic conditions, several tuberculosis sanatoria have been established in Lebanon, which attract patients from all the surrounding Arab countries. In 1960, 6 sanatoria, with an aggregate capacity of 1,207 beds, were maintained by religious or philanthropic organizations. About 270 beds were established by the Ministry of Public Health—40 at Aanoubin and the remainder in the larger mountain sanatoria operated by a French relief organization, Entraide. The entire quota of tuberculosis beds is not available for Lebanese patients, since private cases of other nationalities are accepted at all institutions. Due to the delay in reaching diagnostic facilities, the majority of cases now referred to the sanatoria are in advanced stages of the disease. Since 1949, the Ministry has opened special tuberculosis dispensaries, with X-ray facilities, in Beirut and Tripoli and, more recently, in Tripoli and Sidon. The Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign Society and the Lebanese Red Cross also carry on programs for the prevention of tuberculosis and support diagnostic and treatment services.

Brucellosis. Brucellosis is endemic, and sporadic cases are reported almost annually. Vaccination against brucellosis is compulsory, but enforcement is often incomplete. In the rural Bekaa district, a major epi-

p. 482 (A)

In some villages at least 80 per cent of the inhabitants are affected. The disease is encountered less frequently in the north, except in certain congested quarters of Beirut and Tripoli, which house large numbers of workers from the south. In most areas, a higher rate of infection prevails among the Moslem communities than among the Christian. According to the statistics of the Ministry of Public Health, the incidence has decreased appreciably since 1941. A total of 1,940 cases was reported in 1949, in contrast with over 4,000 cases in 1941. The recorded cases, however, represent a small fraction of the actual prevalence. In a study of roughly 100,000 cases from all parts of the country, undertaken by doctors from the American University of Beirut in 1950,* the infection rates were estimated at 40 per cent in South Lebanon, 15 per cent in the Bekaa, 13 per cent in North Lebanon and 1 per cent in Mount Lebanon. They averaged 3 per cent in Beirut district, but reached 30 per cent in some of the poorer quarters of the city.

Acute conjunctivitis is widespread from June to December, and particularly between August and October, when the flies are abundant. About two thirds of the cases are usually attributed to infection with *Haemophilus conjunctivitidis* (Koch-Weeks bacillus). A large proportion of the remainder are of pneumococcal origin. Cases of gonococcal conjunctivitis are relatively infrequent.

A special hospital for the treatment of trachoma and other eye diseases has recently been established by the health authorities at Tripoli, an important focus of trachoma in South Lebanon. Measures for the improvement of sanitary conditions are also being carried forward in many villages.

Diseases of the Skin. Mycotic infections, especially favus and ringworm of the scalp or the skin, are common. The majority of cases of dermatophytosis are caused by *Achorion schoenleini*, *Trichophyton violaceum* or *T. gypseum*. Lupus is sometimes seen in the dermatology clinics.

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Cases of impetigo are commonly seen following lesions produced by the blistering effects of the sun. Scabies and pediculosis are encountered in the crowded sections of the cities and in the poorer rural villages. Both were widely distributed during the war years 1941-45, when the scarcity of soaps and clothing contributed to increased unhygienic conditions. Cases of lesions explicable are observed occasionally.

Leprosy. Leprosy is endemic, and cases are reported sporadically. Thirty-one cases were known to exist in Lebanon in 1935. Of this number, 7 were located in South Lebanon and 11 in the Shemil area of the northern Bekaa, while 13 were irregularly distributed throughout the rest of the country. With the exception of one 13-year-old boy in Beirut, all the cases were from rural communities. No young children were included, and most of the affected individuals were over 25 years of age. Clinically, about 75 to 80 per cent of the cases were lepromatous in type. There is no hospital for the treatment of leprosy in Lebanon, but patients are sent at government expense to the leprosarium at Dreima, near Damascus.

Leprosy in Lebanon, Areas of Greatest Prevalence

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Other Infections. Cholera rabies is common, and human cases are observed from time to time. In each of the 4 years 1965-68, from 400 to 421 persons from Lebanon and Syria received prophylactic treatment for the prevention of rabies at the Institut Antirabique of the Faculté Française de Médecine at Beirut. Either the Semple or the Fermi type of vaccine was employed. From 2 to 4 deaths were recorded each year, usually among individuals who had been bitten by wild animals or who had delayed treatment. About 75 per cent of the persons registered within this period were bitten by dogs and 20 per cent by cats; the remainder by cats, wolves, hyenas and other animals.

Anthrax is enzootic among the sheep, and human infections occur occasionally. Sporadic cases of cat-bite fever are recorded.

Leptospirosis is not reported, but the infection is known to be enzootic among the local rats. Using a combination of staining, darkfield illumination and culture isolation, *Leptospira icterohaemorrhagiae* was demonstrated in 6 out of 43 specimens of *Rattus norvegicus* trapped in Beirut in 1965.[9] Five rats of the species *R. rattus alexandrinus* were studied at the same time, but none was found to be infected.

Diseases Unique to Agriculture

Malaria. Malaria has long been a disease of major health and economic importance in Lebanon. As a result of anopheline control programs, it has recently dropped from first to second place among the disease problems of the country. Nevertheless, at least one fifth of the inhabitants live in endemic or hyperendemic regions, and are potentially exposed to infection each year. The trend over the last decade has been downward; the official statistics suggest that the peak of prevalence occurred in 1962-63, coincident with the military operations in the area and the influx of persons from other countries. The recorded cases, which represent a small fraction of the total, diminished from over 11,000 in 1962

and Sidon were roughly comparable. In a series of 1,111 complement fixation tests on miscellaneous human serums sent to the Wassermann laboratory of the University hospital, 7 per cent gave a positive reaction with Q fever antigen.

SUMMARY

Lebanon, formerly one of the French-mandated Levant states, has been an independent republic since 1941. It is a compact territory, with an estimated population in 1948 slightly in excess of 1,220,000 and a density of roughly 300 inhabitants per square mile. Unlike the surrounding Arab countries, the Christian and the Moslem elements of the population are almost equal in collective numerical strength and political importance.

Responsibility for the health of the people resides in the Ministry of Public Health of the Lebanese government, which acts in co-operation with other ministries and numerous philanthropic and religious organizations. The public health and the medical care functions of the Ministry are directed from Beirut. The city is one of the leading medical centers of the Near and Middle East, with two university medical schools and associated hospitals. In 1948, there were 70 hospitals (including sanatoria) in the country, with an aggregate capacity of 5,131 beds, or approximately 4.2 beds per 1,000 population. Eight hospitals were maintained by the Ministry of Public Health, while 36 were conducted under private or philanthropic auspices and 9 by foreign organizations. In addition to the outpatient services of the hospitals, a central polyclinic, 17 rural dispensaries and 4 tuberculosis clinics were operated by the Ministry; a polyclinic by the municipal health department in Beirut; 10 dispensaries by the Lebanese Red Cross; and various units by other organizations.

Water supplies are derived from streams, springs or wells, and are usually abundant in the coastal region but often deficient in the interior. Treated municipal water sup-

It is evident that to all the villages the great majority of the breadwinners must depend on sources of income other than their own fields. Therefore, younger members of the family work, become outside of the village, while the farmer himself must work part-time for one of the larger landlords or the oil company, hold a government job, get money from abroad, or subsist on a very low level.

Physical Description of Project Villages

It is not possible to describe with statistical accuracy the average village homes in the project area. A very general description must suffice until more detailed socio-econ is available. Homes are usually one-story stone structures of one or two rooms. They do not have electricity or running water. Usually the animals are accommodated in a stable connected to the house, or in a room in the house itself.

The villagers do not seem to be concerned with keeping their surroundings sanitary. In none of the villages is there any attempt to collect and properly dispose of garbage. The uniform practice is to throw it in the fields. There are few toilets. Some walls and fields close to town serve as common community sand for sewage disposal. To serve the 1,000 people in the project area there are 40 pit privies. There are no baths or showers. Homes have no screens and flies are free to transmit man-borne and manpictures to stomach and intestinal disease.

Homes are usually closely knit and close and the people average a fairly demanding friendly with well-established governors. Though community poor, the village family is very hospitable and makes an starting with a guest to meager supply of cigarettes or treasured coffee and sugar.

In the five project villages there are 1,100 buildings. This number includes 912 dwelling units, 94 business establishments, 105 separate farms and 11 public buildings. A detailed breakdown of the types of buildings by village is shown in Table VIII. Included in the category of public buildings are seven mosques. Sandaland and Ein Hawrjeh have two mosques each, while in each

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LEBANON
SYRIA
MDI

mainly Christian) those run by foreigners are now finding it difficult to discern the suspicions of the Government. In Lebanon, there are almost as many private as state schools and the foreign schools still work without difficulty. There are higher schools for teachers and for agriculture and engineering in Syria and for agriculture in Lebanon, but it is usual for a student to pass from a secondary school directly to a university. The following table shows the various types of schools and number of students.

Type	Lebanon, 1950		Syria, 1951-2	
	Schools	Students	Schools	Students
State:				
Primary	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Secondary	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Technical	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Teachers	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Agriculture	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Private	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Foreign	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Totals	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

... = not available.

(Sources: Statistical Abstract of Syria, 1951-2; Lebanon, 1950; Statesman's Year-Book, 1953)

The American University of Beirut is non-sectarian and has students from all over the Middle East. It encourages the use of Arabic as well as English, and its most renowned faculties are those of medicine and social sciences. The University of St Joseph in Beirut is run by the Society of Jesus. Attached to this university are schools of medicine, law, and theology, subsidized by the French Government and administered by the Society, in which teaching is carried on in the French language. A National University has recently been started by the Lebanese Government. The Syrian National University in Damascus teaches in Arabic and its most important faculties are those of law and medicine. A separate body for the study of the Arabic language is the Arab Academy of Damascus.

Health

Malaria and amoebic dysentery are endemic and, though efforts are being made to drain breeding-grounds, preventive medicine is only in a rudimentary stage. Good hospitals exist in the cities and more are under construction; qualified doctors practise in all the towns, but in the villages there is still a lack

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of clinics and in the cities a shortage of qualified staff to undertake massage, radiotherapy, and orthopaedics, and there is special need to combat tuberculosis. Syrians and Lebanese are great addicted to kashish which, however, is grown in the Bekaa and smuggled to Egypt. The Lebanese Government periodically burns many of the plantations, which inflates the price of the surviving crop.

Economic Survey

More than half the population of the two countries is engaged in agriculture which is the most important economic activity. Natural resources hardly exist; there is bitumen in Jebel Bishri in Syria but its production would not be economic; about 10,000 tons a year of asphalt is produced from the neighbourhood of Latakia; and salt is extracted in commercial quantities near Aleppo.

Petroleum

For a number of years, associates of IPC searched for oil in Syria and Lebanon but without finding it in commercial quantities; in consequence, the areas held by these IPC associates have been given up. However, the two Governments are still anxious for further efforts to be made to find oil in commercial quantities. The importance of petroleum in the economy of Syria and Lebanon lies in the situation of the two republics athwart the pipelines from the fields of northern Iraq and Saudi Arabia which have outlets on the Mediterranean.[1] From Iraq a 12-inch and 16-inch line carry oil across Syria by way of Palmyra and Homs to Tripoli in the Lebanon. Together, these two lines can carry about 8 million tons of oil a year (160,000 barrels daily). A third IPC line from Kirkuk to Homs then bears north of the other two and reaches the sea at Banias, and so does not run through Lebanon at all. This new line is 16-30-30-inches in diameter and can deliver oil at about 16 million tons a year (320,000 barrels daily). From the fields of Saudi Arabia a 30-31 inch American pipeline (Tapline) travels over 1,000 miles on its way to Sidon in Lebanon, passing through Jordan and Syria. At present the line is pumping at a rate of about 15 million tons a year (300,000 barrels daily). It should be noted that these four lines all carry crude oil, some of which is refined on the Mediterranean shore for local requirements but the bulk is shipped as crude to the refineries of Europe and elsewhere.

The line from Kirkuk to Haifa is not operating and the United

[1] See Appendix IV, p. 530 below.

Schools not ok!

6. To serve as its own relationship with the villages and co-operate in getting the troopers to their work stations.

7. The following items to provide living quarters for both the men and women trainees, and for the school preparation of the food.

8. To provide training to Rural Schools in agricultural demonstration farms, weekend courses on the farms, and demonstration stations.

In order to co-operate with this training with the (Rural) Rural, following items would have to build living quarters for the women and men trainees, and to provide local staff for the training in Sociology. These items are included in our Ten Year Plan, as part of this report.

9. Medical and Public Health. The above proposal of co-operating with training of public health workers (VHW) in closely with and assisting programme of public health and community work. If we are to have such a co-operation and present work should be more of a social than in so on present.

We have therefore included in our Ten Year Plan as item for the improvement of our local community work facilities.

323 Concerning the Establishment of Water Conduits and Appurtenances for a
Public Drinking Water Supply

Articles 25 to 29 set forth the prescribed width and other specifications for establishments along drinking water conduits and appurtenants.

The width of such appurtenants shall be stipulated by decree of the land of the governments. The setting out of plantations or construction work along these conduits is prohibited, and the administration may order the felling of trees already growing there and the demolition or change of any previously existing structures within such areas.

Waterworks Construction Associations

323 Upon the initiative of the interested parties and the land
4710 of the governments, [illegible] associations may be formed
634 for the purpose of building works for agricultural improvements, flood control, the repair, maintenance and cleaning of water courses, land drainage, reclamation and [illegible] and the construction of embankments or irrigation works.

Requests addressed to the land of the government must contain all pertinent information as to the area involved, the purpose, the projects and the type of association intended.

If such a request, upon being reviewed by the Minister of Public Works, is deemed worthy of approval, the land [illegible] shall be called to a meeting by the land of the government. The meeting shall proceed to the selection of a chairman, and the minutes of the meeting, including the names of the persons attending, shall be kept. The heads of municipalities, administrators of public property and the directors of land surveys for the public domain may also attend such meetings.

If the formation of such an association is voted by simple majority, the project, with complete details as to the nature of the associations, the functions, the correspondent program of work and estimates of expenditures and contributions of each person involved shall be submitted to the land of the government who shall issue a [illegible] investigation of the matter, during which time any person or persons who have not joined the correspondent association may offer to assume their load, against payment of an indemnity, to

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[illegible]

[illegible] residual spraying of the village houses with insecticides, the treatment of breeding places with larvicides, the screening of permanent bodies of water with insecticide fish, and the airplane spraying of adulticides by aircraft-mounted sprayers with UNRRA personnel. The refugee population in this manner is [illegible] and an aggregate population of about 40,000.

The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees conducts [illegible] residual spraying programs in camps and refugee occupied [illegible] under its jurisdiction, especially in the highly endemic coastal area in the south and in the Jordan plain near the Syrian border. In September, 1951, demonstration projects were initiated by the World Health Organization, in cooperation with the Ministry of Public Health. The program will include systematic surveys in partially controlled and uncontrolled malarious areas, in the Jordan plain, the northern and the southern sections of the Negev, the Ghazzi around Gaza and the more remote villages in the coastal area sections.

Over fifty of the locally occurring species of mosquitoes in all parts of the country, and undoubtedly play a significant role in the spread of intestinal and eye diseases. Several species of Culex were found which [illegible] Culex and [illegible] culicines are most prominent. The adults fly, [illegible] vicinities, and the breeding waters, [illegible] also plentiful. Species of [illegible] are numerous. The malaria-producing flies, which are serious pests to the livestock and occasionally attack man, include Chrysops silacea, Tabanus erythrocephalus and various species of Haematopota and Hippobosca. The flies most frequently implicated in human outbreaks are probably Lyperosia exasperans and Stomoxys calcitrans.

Several species of sandflies have been identified, including Phlebotomus papatasii and P. sergenti, vectors of cutaneous leishmaniasis in southern Iraq, and P. alexandri and P. major, suspected of being vectors of

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[illegible] registration in force and of the grants made authorities to other parts of the country. Wage depending funds are required to have a permit, but the enforcement of such regulations is left to local boards and officers. Although the law provides for the registration of food handlers at 3-month intervals, the routine examinations are often carried out at 6-12 months.

The animals are inspected, before and after slaughter, by veterinary officers in the municipal abattoirs in Soroti and the principal cities. There is no regular supervision, however, of the meat supplies in the rural areas. A large percentage of the meat sold in Lukwena is imported from Kyoto or Turkey, and is not subject to routine inspection locally.

[illegible] There are two small pasteurization plants in Soroti which process limited amounts of milk, butter and cheese. Although the plants are supervised by the municipal authorities, no control is exercised over the sanitary quality of the raw product. Pasteurized milk is bottled, all other milk is sold in bulk. With a community rabies before we to rabi brucellosis, but bovine and swine are potential sources of human infection. Brucellosis is endemic among the cattle and the goats. The extent of bovine tuberculosis is not known.

[illegible] SERVICES AND [illegible] FACILITIES

[illegible] Organization

[illegible] The public health organization which had evolved before Lukwena became an independent republic in 1962 was reorganized in 1963 and by responsibilities were shifted to the 43 Sub Units, in some way changed from that of Ministry of Regions and Public Assistance to the Ministry of Public Health. The Ministry, which has its headquarters in Soroti, is administered by a Director of Public Health who is assisted

[illegible]

[illegible] a County Council. The activities of the Ministry are performed through three departments, concerned with administration, technical services and medical care. The technical services branch comprises divisions dealing with (1) communicable diseases, (2) maternal and child health, school health, public health education and the compilation of morbidity statistics, (3) sanitary engineering, (4) laboratories and research, (5) preventive services, (6) local health services, public health nursing and finances of medical personnel and (7) supervision of pharmacists, narcotics and drugs. The medical care department is responsible for the administration of hospitals and dispensaries and of medical insurance services.

Health rooms, made up of a doctor, a nurse-midwife and a sanitarian, carry out the functions of the Ministry in each of the 14 areas, or districts, into which the country is divided: 1 in Grand Lahaina, 1 in Puunene, 1 in Hana, 1 in Kula, 1 in Makawao, 1 in Paia, 1 in Wailuku, 1 in Kahului, 1 in Waihee, 1 in Waiehu, 1 in Wailuku, 1 in Kahului and 1 in Makawao. These rooms cover various phases of public health, including the inspection of meats and food supplies, the reporting of morbidity and mortality statistics, the prevention of epidemics, immunization against smallpox and other diseases, maternal and child health and other necessary, elementary medical care. The headquarters of these district health services are located at Paia, in Puunene, Maui, in Grand Lahaina, Maui, in Grand Lahaina, Maui, in Grand Lahaina, Maui, in Grand Lahaina, Maui, and Kula in the Maui.

The city of Maui has a municipal health department which is not subordinate to the Ministry but acts in close cooperation with it. There are no organized local health services in the remaining areas, but a few of the larger sugar plantations also maintain physicians who function in many respects as health officers.

Several other agencies carry on public health activities. The Bureau of the Census, in the Ministry of the Interior, is responsible for the collection and the compilation of vital statistics. A Division of Land

[illegible]

Health Services has recently been established in the Bureau of Municipalities and Town Planning, also in the Ministry of the Interior. This division advises on local public health matters in the cities and the towns, including Beirut, all of which come under the jurisdiction of this Ministry.

The Ministry of National Education conducts limited health services in the government schools. The Ministry of Public Works undertakes the construction of water supplies and sanitary facilities, in consultation with the Ministry of Public Health. The Ministry of Social Affairs supervises the health standards in industries, while the Ministry of National Economy has divisions for the control of adulteration of foodstuffs and for the surveillance of conditions in the export towns.

Numerous voluntary agencies are engaged in social welfare and related health activities among the different racial and religious communities. The Lebanese Red Cross carries on an extensive program which is partially subsidized by the government. It maintains 1 dispensaries in Beirut and 10 in the provinces, as well as a mobile dispensary in South Lebanon. In addition, it supports infant welfare services in all sections of the country, and manages milk distribution centers for Lebanese children and for Palestinian refugees in Beirut and Zahle. It also operates a school for nurses in Beirut.

The National Union of Child Welfare represents 10 affiliated organizations which conduct welfare or health work among the children of the diverse religious and racial groups. It endeavors to co-ordinate the activities of its members and to provide advice or material assistance as required. The Union is subsidized by the Ministry of National Education, but it functions also in association with the Ministry of Public Health. It has recently sponsored the construction of a center for the care of crippled children on the outskirts of Beirut.

The Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign Society carries on an active program for the pre-

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[illegible]

vention of tuberculosis, assists in the hos-
pitalization of needy cases and administers
a sanatorium at Dair el Badiah. The Ar-
menian Charitable Society furnishes treat-
ment facilities for the care of Armenian
patients. The Young Women's Moslem As-
sociation was established for the promotion
of education among Moslem women, and
since 1948 it has maintained a training
school for nurses in Beirut. The Moslem
Society, an organization of Moslem women
interested in infant welfare work, finances
a small maternity hospital in Beirut.

The medical schools of the American
University of Beirut and the University
Saint-Joseph have affiliated medical, care
and preventive services. The Board of For-
eign Missions of the Presbyterian Church
in America supports a medical mission in
Tripoli. The Near East Foundation directed
a general health and rural improvement
program in the Anjar villages in the Bekaa
valley from 1944 to 1951, when it withdrew
from Lebanon. It also instituted an exten-
sive malaria control project in the Anjar
and the Amanik swamp areas. The Euro-
pean Corporation, in America, contrib-
uted substantially to the work of the Foun-
dation in the Armenian villages, and
provides for the maintenance [illegible]
Near Mission at Anjar and Shtaura.

The Lebanese Public Health Association
is prominent among the professional so-
cieties. It is concerned with the promotion
of public health in Lebanon and with the
dissemination of educational materials. The
Lebanese Medical Association is likewise
active, and publishes a journal for its mem-
bership.

Two industries maintain medical facili-
ties for the benefit of their employees—the
Iraq Petroleum Company, at Tripoli, and
the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company, at
Beirut and Sidon. The Iraq Petroleum Com-
pany also subsidizes a medical insurance
scheme for the families of its employees.
The United Nations Relief and Works
Agency for Palestine Refugees carries on
public health programs in the various camps.

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[illegible]

[illegible] and medical-social control operations in the industry of refugee centers.

[illegible]

[illegible] Hospitals and Polyclinics. According to the official statistics for 1946, there were 21 hospitals, including maternity, in Lithuania. These institutions had an aggregate capacity of about 4,000 beds, or slightly less than 1.2 beds per 1,000 population. Fifty-six hospitals with a total of 2,274 beds were under private management, and 1 hospital with a total of 1,170 beds was operated by foreign agencies. Eight hospitals, with a total of about 77 beds, were listed by the Ministry of Public Health. They consisted of psychiatric hospitals of approximately 110 beds each at Kaunas (Aleksotas), Šiauliai (Kalnelis), Tryškiai (Church Lithuania) and Alytus (South Lithuania), and a hospital in Salantai, a general hospital of 450 beds, a contagious disease hospital of 50 beds, a venereal disease hospital of 40 beds and a gynecologic hospital of 30 beds. The provincial hospitals at Tryškiai and Alytus were not completed, however, in 1946. In addition, the government maintained for the use of 1,400 beds in private or foreign-operated institutions. Of the roughly 1,400 beds were available through the Ministry.

Special facilities included with the above hospitals were a tuberculosis sanatorium of infants' sanatoria of 110 to 150 beds each, a mental hospital with 600 beds at Aukštieji and a chronic disease hospital and home with about 1,000 beds at Žiežmariai. All are maintained by religious or philanthropic organizations, Lithuanian or foreign. The Ministry does run special tuberculosis, a mental hospital, two sanatoria about 70 beds in private institutions for the care of tuberculous patients and 400 beds for mental cases. While the last five years an ophthalmic hospital of 30 beds has been maintained by the government at Telšiai, in North Lithuania.

[illegible] The hospitals affiliated with the medical [illegible] schools of the two universities in Kaunas are

[illegible]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[redacted]

[redacted] Cases of hospital are commonly observed among [redacted] following malaria produced by the [redacted] attacks of the sun. Scabies and [redacted] are encountered in the crowded sections of the cities and in the poorer rural villages. Boils were widely distributed during the war years 1941-45, when the scarcity of soap and clothing contributed to increased unhygienic conditions. Cases of tinea capitis are observed occasionally.

[redacted] Leprosy. Leprosy is endemic, and cases are reported sporadically. Thirty-six cases were known to exist in Lebanon in 1945. Of this number, 7 were located in South Lebanon and 11 in the Beirut area of the northern Bekaa, while 12 were irregularly distributed throughout the rest of the country. With the exception of one 11-year-old boy in Beirut, all the cases were from rural communities. Six young children were in school, and none of the affected individuals were over 30 years of age. Classically, about 10 to 30 per cent of the cases were lepromatous in type. There is no hospital for the treatment of leprosy in Lebanon, but physicians are sent by government agencies to the leper-homes in Greece, near Damascus.

Railway in Lebanon, areas of Chalcot Predation

pp. 1148 (6)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

p. 102.(2)

[illegible] Israel 1951
Lebanon 1951

[illegible] 23

The question was for the most part employed persons not covered by the General Federation of Jewish Labour ; 20 per cent. are independent workers.

The People's Sick Fund is designed to cover unorganized employees, independent workers and other persons not covered by the Workers' Sick Fund. It is open to anyone who applies and has no membership qualifications other than a monthly earnings limit of £L.60 or £L.100 to exempt the citizens in these cases in need of protection. Families are covered at a cost per member of a fee representing 2 to 4 per cent. of monthly income. The yearly budget of the fund is approximately £L.100,000, of which about 10 per cent. is covered by members' contributions. The fund now operates in more than 40 settlements, being especially active in rural areas. Its services to the various settlements include practitioners' care, pharmaceutical benefits and hospitalization, and laboratory examinations. It also provides hospitalization and convalescence care for its members and for a maximum of six weeks.

The Insurance Fund for compulsory workers was established to meet and cover losses about 30,000 temporary, seasonal and professional workers for supplementary benefits. Financed from employers and employees contributions, the fund provides work injuries and invalidity benefits and operates a provident fund. In addition, a building workers' insurance fund, established in 1945, now provides 14,000 construction workers with work injuries and accident benefits, paid holidays, housing loans, a provident fund and life insurance.

A considerable number of provident funds are also administered by private undertakings or funds, some of them being on a contributory basis. The majority of the funds operate compulsory retirement schemes, but a few are mere developments of provident plans. Most of them [illegible] before the age of retirement.

Labour

Legislation relevant to social security in the Lebanon includes [illegible] being individual employer liability for industrial accident compensation and fatality allowances and a labour code which requires the employer to grant sick and maternity leave and dismissal indemnities.

Workmen's Compensation

Legislative Decree No. 33 of 9 Nov. 1945 requires specified private and public undertakings in Lebanon, including transport, inland

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] transport, archaeological expeditions and of undertakings using pneumatic machinery or explosives, or any compensation to their employers agreed to compensate workers. Exercise of the liability with a consequential waiver is optional. The employer must pay the cost of workers, surgical, pharmaceutical and hospital treatment, of transport, and of prosthetic appliances.

A sick benefit equal to 70 per cent. of wages is payable by the employer in case of temporary incapacity. This is to begin after a three day waiting period and to continue till recovery or certification of permanent incapacity. In the latter event and where incapacity is total, a lump sum equalling 1,200 days of wages before certification is payable if the worker is under 50 years of age, 1,000 days of wages if between 50 and 55, and 1,200 days of wages if over 55. Reduced payments are provided in case of permanent partial incapacity, in accordance with a schedule in the Law. A lump sum equal to 1,000 days of wages is likewise secured, surviving dependents according to prescribed rules, in case of death, and a funeral grant of up to 25,000 is also payable. Survivors of foreign workers receive compensation only if resident in Lebanon at the time of the accident, except that this restriction does not apply to nationals of countries granting equality of treatment to Lebanese nationals.

[illegible]

The Labour Code adopted by the Lebanon Parliament on 23 September 1946 requires industrial and commercial employers to grant each year to each of non-occupational illness, as follows: employees with 1 to 5 years of service, 1 month and [illegible] pay; employees with 5 to 10 years of service, 1½ months and [illegible] pay; employees with 10 to 15 years of service, 2 months and [illegible] pay; and employees with over 15 years of service, 2½ months [illegible] pay. Workers who have completed three years of service are entitled to [illegible] pay in lieu of notice.

Employees dismissed for reasons other than misconduct are entitled to a dismissal indemnity equal normally to one month's pay for each year of service, up to a maximum of 30 months of pay; where the service is less than one year, the indemnity equals half a month's pay. Employees dismissed with an indemnity is prohibited at the age of 60 or after 10 years' service to one establishment. An indemnity is also payable to a worker leaving employment on marriage and to the heirs of a

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[illegible] The par value of the Lebanese pound is [illegible] U.S. dollar.

partially common for an emigrant, presumably in order to escape foreign exchange regulations in his country of residence, to request a third person who may be coming to Lebanon, or is doing business with Lebanon to pay a given sum to his relatives. Such payments naturally are not reflected in bank accounts.

2. It has been impossible to determine emigrants' transfers (i.e., the money they take with them) or funds subsequently sent to them. All the surveys that have been undertaken to date do not indicate anything on that point. A few bankers, known to be in relation with emigrants, were interviewed for that purpose. While refusing to give definite estimates, most of them seemed agreed that annual transfers could not have exceeded L.L. 4 million in 1951 and L.L. 2.7 million in 1952, the difference between the two years reflecting the decline in emigration (cf. Table 32).

B. Charitable and Cultural Institutions

There are many charitable and cultural institutions in Lebanon, both Lebanese and Foreign which receive donations from abroad. A list of these institutions has been prepared, and a questionnaire sent to each requesting information on the total aid received in kind and in cash, with breakdowns for cash donations according to foreign currency received.[1] Almost all the listed institutions answered, and reported total donations of L.L. 10.2 million in 1951 and L.L. 12.5 million in 1952 (cf. Table 31).

III. Government

Under this heading has been included American aid, under the Point IV cooperative programme and the French technical assistance. Both programmes were started in 1951 and have been expanding ever since. Actual expenditures under these programmes did not exceed L.L. 0.5 million in 1951 and L.L. 2.5 million in 1952. These figures, however, do not include the salaries paid by the foreign government concerned to its own technicians employed under the aid programme. The salaries have already been included under government transactions (cf. p. 30).

[1] See Appendix 6

Health Service has recently been established in the Bureau of Municipalities and Town Planning, also in the Ministry of the Interior. This division advises on local public health matters in the cities and the towns, including Beirut, all of which come under the jurisdiction of this Ministry.

The Ministry of National Education conducts limited health services in the government schools. The Ministry of Public Works undertakes the construction of water supplies and sanitary facilities, in consultation with the Ministry of Public Health. The Ministry of Social Affairs supervises the health standards in industries, while the Ministry of National Economy has divisions for the control of adulteration of foodstuffs and for the surveillance of conditions in the resort towns.

Numerous voluntary agencies are engaged in social welfare and related health activities among the different racial and religious communities. The Lebanese Red Cross carries on an extensive program which is partially subsidized by the government. It maintains 3 dispensaries in Beirut and 13 in the provinces, as well as a mobile dispensary in South Lebanon. In addition, it supports infant welfare services in all sections of the country, and manages milk distribution centers for Lebanese children and for Palestinian refugees in Beirut and Zahle. It also operates a school for nurses in Beirut.

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The Anti-Tuberculosis Campaign Society carries on an active program for the pre-

p. 119(4)

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[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Valleys in Lebanon, shown on
Erosion Principles

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

In some households religious pictures are in evidence, while in others there are none at all. In some families there are formal religious observances for the group. In others there may be none, or family members may be individually given to silent prayer. However varied the pattern may be, qualitatively it is one which allows for the action of individual choice and conscience.

There is definite evidence that village opinion concerning the efficacy of or resort to the saint's shrines is sharply divided, and there is good reason to conclude that this multiformity is of recent development, a part of the acculturation process. Saint's shrines are very common in the Middle East. They are used by Muslims and Christians alike, and in many cases they probably stem from pagan prototypes. Among the Lebanese Christians, shrines are visited by the faithful primarily in the fulfillment of vows exactly made in connection with the curing of disease, the inducement of conception, the determination of the sex of an unborn child, and so on—in other words, the emphasis is on medical problems. The visitor may perform the ritual for his own sake or on behalf of someone else.

In Munqid, the shrine ritual consists of prayers—sometimes written on the walls—and the offering of candles or olive oil which are burned in the shrine. One informant also suggested a penitential element—walking to the shrine barefoot or crawling to it on hands and knees. The shrines are located at some distance from each other and from the house cluster, and a person is not likely to go near them except with deliberate intent and effort. Presumably the effort is not made except by those who believe in what they are doing.

There definitely are such individuals in the village. On one occasion the writer saw two persons make offerings of candles at one of the shrines ("because someone is sick," an informant explained); fresh paper candle wrappings were observed in the vicinity of all the shrines, and there were bottles for olive oil at all of them.

In contrast, there were the statements of several informants, some of whom was in the habit of using the shrines. One said (before the subject had really been investigated) that the shrines were no longer used at all. Another, more specifically, denied any personal belief in the help which the saints were supposed to give the sick and went on to express the opinion that no one else in the village believed in it either. When this informant was faced with undeniable evidence to the contrary, the general claim was modified, but the basic attitude had been revealed. A third informant stated flatly that some believed and some did not, and that among the former there were those who even had dreams about being visited by saints checking up on the fulfillment of vows. But this informant added the opinion that though some people were believers, they might very likely deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Ignorance of what? it might well have been asked. Presumably, ignorance of, and lack of faith in, modern medical practices which, to be sure, do not eliminate all

[illegible] to [illegible] but its [illegible] take a lot of [illegible] and [illegible] out of the [illegible] of the [illegible] and use of [illegible].

It seems reasonable to conclude that the only revision in beliefs concerning the [illegible] symbolic a decline in the use of them which has been brought about by the widespread acceptance of modern medicine. Certainly there is evidence of decline in the statement that only recently were annual processions in each of the districts, on the saints' days, discontinued. In this general connection, it should be mentioned that no one was observed wearing or using amulets or religious medals (contrast Gabriel, 1938, pp. 760-66).

CHURCH [illegible]

The [illegible] there is said mass a week, on Sunday mornings. The church is also open every Saturday evening for prayers. Otherwise, the building is ordinarily closed and locked. Speaking generally, Bliss (1933, p. 92) says that in Syrian Greek Orthodox Churches daily mass is very rare. He also says that although ancient Greek is the official language of the church, the native language of each particular region is the one actually used in the service (*ibid.*, p. 101). Zenkov (1955, p. 109) states this to be true of the Orthodox Church as a whole. In liturgy, according to expectation, the liturgy is in Arabic, with the exception of a few special phrases. According to Bliss, the liturgy is:

> . . . teeming with passages of profound spirituality clothed in language subtle and poetic. Large parts of the services are rendered in wood [chanted] chants. The service books of the Greek Church are in fourteen quarto volumes. They would appear to cover every possible occasion. There are, for example, prayers to be said by the priest when a server sneezes in [illegible], when a [illegible] fire is constructed, when a well is dug, when a well is polluted, when insects must be enjoyed from the vines, when devils must be exorcised, when silk vestments are being fabricated, when a sick man cannot sleep, when one has been bewitched by the evil eye. (*Ibid.*, p. 109.)

[illegible] None of these were outside the church building was observed in the village.

[illegible] Zenkov says that the Orthodox Church is more like Protestantism than Roman Catholicism in the following points: (1) extensive use of the Scriptures, (2) Christocentrism, (3) the inner and personal effect of the Sacraments (*ibid.*, pp. 150-51). He could well have added to this list the participation of laymen in the service. There is no congregational singing, but solo chants by laymen are a conspicuous element.

The priest performs all rituals only as an instrument of God, and, significantly, never uses the first person singular. For example, he says "he-and-he is baptized" and "I baptize-he-and-he." (Zenkov, 1955, pp. 87-88.)

[illegible] Zenkov says that there is in general a feeling in the Church that other Christian sects have not fallen from Grace. "This broad-minded attitude and practice," he concludes, "explains [its] solid attitude toward other churches and their mem-

[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

In the northwest section of the Middle East (Lebna, village, or suburb), the status of women is a very important one. Wherever one personally lives, relatives and neighbors, and men are rigidly excluded from the lower realm, the bath-a-sibling place (cf. Evangelista, 1957, pp. 45-47).

Only one villager was here during the period of study, and the exact date of [illegible] is to the Eastern Rockies emigrant, were then before the entire harvest of it. The majority of Ahmad's [illegible] of childbearing age live in the city west of the area, and for the most part they closely prefer the services of physicians and hospitals in important medical centers.

Down here, the modern village school, judging from the way five were all served, opens for them in a crib and a set established consistently. After the first four weeks, he may be led from a modern moving tactic. Parking-meals rips are not very common in Lebanon, but small one and meals and at least one dispute were observed in the village.

Birthday environments are celebrated in a few families. There is a cake with candles, and the whole affair is very probably inspired by experiences at American boarding schools.

Baptism is performed anywhere from forty days to about two years after the birth of the child. It appeared that the week marked toward the latter age. The ritual is accompanied by at least a family party, but in some cases, according to one informant, the baptismal party may approach a wedding party in size.

ENGAGEMENT AND MARRIAGE

Engagement. Engagement (*khutbi*) is a more or less formal status. Quite often the couple simply declare themselves engaged, with the tacit approval of the priest. If both parties are members of the village, the priest's only [illegible] appears to him they are more distantly related than first cousin. If they are [illegible] cousins, it is his duty to inform them that he will be unable to marry them. In any case, the couple may or may not come to the priest for his blessing. Wedding rings (plain gold bands) are worn by both parties on the right hand to signify engagement. At the marriage ceremony, they are transferred to the left. Engaged couples may see each other alone at any time, and no questions are asked. Young

p. 119(a)

p. 181(a)

p. 122.(8)

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible] communities. Since 1951, events have also been marked by the Voluntary Hospital Fair. In St Denis, in October or November, a correspondent in the Fourth Trimester of 1954/1955, and has a total income for the making of additions.

Pregnancy

[illegible] Pregnancies. Eight hundred and seventy physicians were reported as prescribing, a [illegible] to 1955 (roughly [illegible] per 1,000 population). Of the women, 141 were treated in Paris and the remainder in the provinces (1,111 in Paris's arrondissements and in Seine-et-Marne). Of 1,111 Parisian [illegible] and 41 in the Nièvre, 5,151, the work of the Maternity and Public Health complex in Nanterre (1,111 in 1955) in the investigation in Paris, [illegible] 111 pregnancies declined and 11 in charge of the new work. The responsibility of [illegible] maternity [illegible] and the Ministry of Overseas Territories.

Maternity Reports for 1955 indicate that there were 111 women in the country, of [illegible] were under 11 years.

Chapter 11, 1955, it was announced that there were more than 111 in the service in Lebanon. In addition, nursing was sent to the hospital opened by religious orders.

[illegible] Chapter The official publications for 1955 listed 111 graduate midwives and 111 were those with practical training. Five to go and of the graduate midwives were trained in the Ministry of Nature. The same year, there were 111 graduate pharmacists and 11 assistant pharmacists.

[illegible]

[illegible] Since to 1951, public health activity was largely concentrated in Nature, concentrated, the organization of preventive services and the extension of medical facilities in the provincial districts are still in the development stage. At present the organs of research investigations sponsored by the medical departments of the French and the American administration and by other agencies provide the most sources of information regarding the prevalence of specific

p. 122 (*)

family by giving birth to children" (1955, p. 190). This impression, if valid, may be instructively contrasted with the opinions of a young married woman of Mazajl who, although she put the majority over the door and performed other traditional acts at her wedding, said that she thought such customs were ridiculous. She had conformed only on the insistence of others, apparently, and she seemed frankly contemptuous of those who took such things seriously.

6. The rug, almost frequently, envelope which was put to the exclusive of the Classical Arabic poet was significant behavior—not so much in regard to the wedding itself, but to the values which are attached to Classical Arabic, a matter which is discussed elsewhere in this work.

FUNERALS

General evidence indicates that in Mazajl the younger generation is more willing to practice innovations than the older, and less prone to cling to the old. And it is true in Mazajl as it is elsewhere that the wedding is a rite which evokes, largely in the younger people, hopeful thoughts about the future. On the other hand, the funeral evokes, mostly in older people, wistful thoughts of the past. If these suppositions are founded in fact, they would help to explain why it is that additional and formal changes are quite evident in the rite of marriage, and why the funeral, dominated ordinarily by older people, appears to maintain its old forms and significance. Furthermore, to a greater degree than the wedding, the Lebanese village funeral always has been, and still is, more than a rite of passage. It is also a rite of consolidation which serves as a force for the solidarity of the entire village, and, to some extent, the district. It is of great significance that the rigor of this social function of the funeral appears to persist undiluted among the younger people as well as the older.

One funeral service was attended during the period of study. It took place in the afternoon, somewhat more than twenty-four hours after the death had occurred. The deceased was an elderly widow who had very few close relatives. For these reasons, someone said, "There will not be many people there."

The body was immediately taken care of by neighboring women. They laid it out in the family house and kept vigil over it until the time of the service. During the evening before the service, a large number of women paid their respects at the house, and at least twenty lined up a time gathered solemnly in a neighboring house owned by a cousin of the deceased's late husband. They sat in a large circle in the main room, conversing very quietly.

On the day of the funeral, the priest was in attendance at the house, making arrangements during the morning. At about two thirty the men, certainly about fifty of them, gathered at one house while the women were with the body. At about three the men were outside and gathered in groups outside the house of the deceased. There was considerable shaking of hands with men from other Druze villages. Within the deceased's house there was some wailing.

The priest, joined by the elderly men from Bethem and the men, young men from Jabbayil who was carrying a cross draped in black, led the procession out of the house. They were immediately followed by six men, including the mayor, who carried the coffin on their shoulders. As they reached the open part of the road all the men filed in behind, the women behind the men, and proceeded silently to the church whose bell was being tolled by someone. Some groups of people remained outside during the service. The coffin was placed in the center of the church under the chandeliers, and the priests stood in a row on the far side of the dress. The men gathered, as usual, around the front of the church, while the women were seated at the back.

As is customary at funerals, there was no mass, only recitations by the priests and a lay reader. There were several usual instructional smiles by the Maronite priest to his assistant especially in regard to keeping the censer lit; and there was some talking among the women in the rear. The coffin—painted wood with a cross affixed on top—was on a plain wooden table, with a wreath of artificial flowers on top. Someone put small candles on the coffin at head and foot and was busy lighting the church candles in the early part of the ceremony.

At the end of the service each priest kissed an additional cross which had been laid on top of the coffin. The women remained seated while the coffin was carried out, followed by the men. Some stayed around the church, while others went to the cemetery which is always attended only by men.

The village graves (*singl. maqbara, plur. maqabir*; or *sing. marfin, plur. marafin*) are of two kinds. There are nine minimal lineage tombs in three rows on opposite streams. These are generally pyramidal or rectangular structures of stone, mostly ornamented with a cross on top. The bodies are inserted into semi-subterranean vaults underneath them. Three of these are no longer used "because they are near the wheel." These were for lineages A,VIII, A,IX, and C,XX. The others are for one of the deceased lineages of 9, and for A,IV, B,XII, C,XVII, A,X and A,III. The other graves mostly have no permanent markings and are dug in a row in a certain sequence below the tombs which is set off by an iron gate. This burial ground is not new.

The burial was in the far cemetery, not in one of the tombs. A grave about three feet deep had been dug. After some chanting over the coffin it was put into the grave. Stones were placed between it and the sides of the grave and then the earth was filled in. This took some time, and those standing by chatted about such things as the quality of the grapes and figs which were ripening around them, while some lit cigarettes. When it was nearly covered, someone pulled the cross off the top of the coffin. When it was completely covered up even with the ground, stones were heaped on the grave ("To keep animals off," said someone), and the cross was propped up at its head. As the last stone was placed on the grave, the priest said, *Allah yirhama* ("May God have mercy upon her"), and the group

returned to the church where there was a large assemblage of men and women greeting each other. There were about three men from other villages.

The mourners (*al-mukhammiin*) lined up outside the church—the deceased's son, two cousins (*yarkaanaat*) of her husband, and four of her nephews. Everyone went by, clasping hands with each mourner and saying *Allah yirhama*, or some other conventional condolence.

Such was the funeral of an old woman with few relatives. Comparatively few people came from outside the village, but al-Qassi was well represented, nevertheless, and certainly Mustafa was. "Most of them are busy working today," said an informant, "but they will come on Sunday to say *Allah yirhama*."

Funerals are followed by a period of forty days during which the immediate family of the deceased do not attend church and such happy rituals as weddings are not performed for anyone. This mourning period is terminated by another church ritual called *al-jum'a al-'arba'iin*, which was usually translated "the forty days' remembrance." The ceremony brings to a close the period during which those who were unable to attend the funeral are expected to pay at least one formal call on the chief mourners. Those who did attend the funeral are of course free to make additional visits also. One goes in the evening and stays perhaps half an hour in company with a dozen or so others. The conversation is on general topics. The double significance of these confidence visits in the villagers' eyes is revealed by the following statement:

> "If someone or more than one from every family does not go, it is an insult, and people will be angry. There was a man here who lost his only son. He cried and sat sobbing for a week. This is not good. At such times, they must have someone with them, to talk to them and help them forget."

The writer attended one ceremony of *jum'a al-'arba'iin*. The deceased had been a widower in his early forties who had three adolescent children. The death was unexpected, and the loss was very keenly felt in the village because of the general circumstances and because the deceased had been very well liked and highly regarded not only in the village but also at the American University of Beirut where he had been employed for many years. A priori we would expect such a loss by death to elicit a maximum response in the village and the district. It did. The report was that over four hundred people attended the funeral itself, and "there were many, many cars."

The "forgiveness" took place on a Sunday, after the regular service, two and a half months, rather than forty days, after the funeral. This deliberate postponement put the Remembrance into the summer, when mobility is easier, so that all who wanted to would be able to come. Apparently there was a delay in some arrivals coming from a distance, and the procession did not arrive at the church till nine thirty. Since ordinarily the attendants to the Remembrance are present at the mass, too, they had to wait for them coming from Tripoli and Beirut.

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> "If someone we owe to me from every family does not go, it is an insult, and people will be angry. The was a man here who lost his only son. He cried and ate nothing for a week. This is not good. At such times, they must have someone with them, to talk to them or help them forget."

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The procession had formed at the house of the deceased. It appeared around the corner of the church led by a large group of women, all in black, one carrying a circular arrangement of flowers and candles on her head. The women were followed by the men, and certainly well over a hundred and fifty were present. One person said later that he thought "the whole village" was there. The effort expended on the part of many to come from far away attests to the strength of this secondary site of passage in drawing the community together.

The church was filled inside. The flowers were placed on the bottom in the middle of the church, and the priest prayed for about five minutes. That was all. The whole crowd left the church again. There was no intense singing of the hall afterward, as is ordinarily done after a regular service.

As at the funeral, the chief male mourners lined up outside to receive condolences, while the women mourners, swathed in black, withdrew by themselves. The minimal lineage of the deceased happened to consist only of his own immediate family and that of his first cousin. The exception consisted of the first cousin, who had automatically become the guardian of the children, the brother of the deceased's wife, and the heads of households of the two minimal lineages most closely connected, genealogically, to that of the deceased.

After this, everyone repaired to the house of the deceased where coffee was served and there was quiet, general, conversation.

The unifying effect of the primary and secondary funerals should be clear from these accounts. The fact that this effect extends outside the village to include the immediate district, which in the case of Mumtil is very clearly defined, is also significant. Here we might note an additional event which took place during the period of study. When a young man, an only son, died in one of the other villages of al-Qurn during the winter, a large number of summer residents of Mumtil were among those who attended his funeral. Chbeeli (1989, p. 30) says that even in districts where there is considerable mixture of religions (unlike al-Qurn) funerals serve to bring together people of different religions in an event of human concern, thus somewhat easing interreligious tensions.

Young and old alike, the Mumtilis were unanimous in declaring that everyone was obligated to attend funerals, regardless of any difficulties which might be involved. Witness the following statement by a young adult: "When someone dies in the village, all of us must go. If a man goes only for the funeral, still it may cause great inconvenience for him. But he goes—we go—everyone goes—because we must. I do not know why we do this, but we do it just the same."

RELIGIOUS RITUALS

PRAYERS AND THE USE OF BEADS

In the area of ritual behavior which is of a private, personal nature, it is clear that there is considerable individual and family variation of practice in the village.

"catches" the feast. For example, the Feast of Elijah, Mar Elyas, (July 30) passed without much remark. It was said that many people often went on this day to Bakhsh of whose church Mar Elyas is the patron saint, but this activity was not observed. At Ghazzeun, there is a man who every year summons the priest to help him "catch" the Feast of the Forty Martyrs (*'id al-arba'in shahada*), March 9. It may be that all twenty of the Church's feast days are given special recognition in al-Qurnet, if not in each of its individual villages.

The most important part of the religious year is unquestionably Easter, "the Great Feast" (*'id al-kabir*), preceded by Lent which is the longest of the numerous fast periods enjoined by the Church. Orthodox fasts forbid the eating of meat, eggs, cheese, and milk. Lent is preceded by a week (*marfa'*) during which meat is eaten every day, which is not the ordinary practice. The Thursday of *marfa'* is known as *al-khamis as-sahin*—"Greasy Thursday." On this day rich pastry is supposed and consumed.

The first week in Lent, following *marfa'*, is *'id'a al-hayani*, "the week of whiteness." Eating meat is strictly forbidden. Only "white" things—eggs, fish, and cheese are supposed to be eaten. The following week, *lenten* and meat are forbidden until Easter. Until Easter, no one is supposed to eat breakfast, many abstain from coffee and even drinking water in the morning. It was stated, however, that many people do not adhere absolutely to fast regulations, and there is considerable variation in the extent of religious behavior.

On Palm Sunday (*'ahd-shu'aniat*) palm fronds are prepared by the head of every household in which there is a child under seven years of age. Once a little child has had this done for him, it is not done for him again. The fronds are hung with cakes and candles, and placed in the middle of the church. After mass, the people go outside with the fronds and gather around the priest for a further blessing. Then everyone rushes on the fronds and pulls off all the candles. Between Palm Sunday and Good Friday there are evening prayers every day in the church.

On Good Friday (*al-jum'a al-mu'adhi*) everyone goes to church, even those who are in mourning, since it is a sad occasion. Moslems do not ordinarily go to Christian mass nor to mass on Easter. It was said that even mourners of a year's standing or more may not go to mass at all—except on Good Friday. If there is no priest in any of the other Qurnet villages, the people there come to Mazqit for the service.

The Good Friday mass was attended by at least four hundred persons. It is featured by the placing of a table (*mawid*) in the center of the church. This is used as ordinary funerals for holding the coffin. Each house prepares a crown of flowers and candles which is placed on the *mawid*. Towards the end of the mass, the *mawid* is held aloft by four to six tall men near the door. All the people pass underneath it, out the door, and enter through the second door again.

On Easter eve of the year of this study, a special party for the adolescents

the frequency of modern machines which are more efficient but, apparently, less fun to operate.

GENERAL INSTITUTIONS

THE CHURCH AND THE SHRINE

The Arab Greek Orthodox Church. The present community of al-Mansūf was founded by Greek Orthodox Christians. If there were any inhabitants in the immediate district at the time of the founding, there is no remembrance of them. The shrines of Mar Tanūs, in Shuwayfāt, and Mar Mīnā are believed to antedate the founding of the village. Who the builders were no one knows, but they were certainly Christian. We cannot feasibly place the culture of the present village in direct continuity with non-Christian antecedents, nevertheless, the remote ancestors of the present villagers were pagans. Some suggestions of the pagan religion of Lebanon still remain, and this religion was essentially the same, so far as we know, as that in Harrān where the Mansūfīn claim to have originated. It need be mentioned here only that fertility was a major theme in Semitic paganism.

Hitti says that the present Greek Orthodox sect among the Arabs can be traced back, with certainty, only to the Melkite sect which was identifiable in the fifth century (Hitti, 1951, p. 103). The Church itself claims that its oldest patriarchate (Antioch), to which Lebanon belongs, was established in A.D. 33 (Rihbī, 1954, p. 40). The Ghassānid tribe of Syria, from which the Mansūfīn ancestry descend, appears to have been Christianized in the fourth century (Hitti, 1947, p. 79). However, Hitti says that the Melkites, the ancestors of the present Arab Orthodox, must have been recruited from city-dwellers and the descendants of Greek Colonists (1951, p. 103). This material is sufficiently confused and fragmentary to prevent us from drawing any very specific conclusions as to when and how the ancestors of the Mansūfīn became Orthodox Christians. One very important point, however, is revealed: Orthodoxy in the Middle East is almost as ancient as organized Christianity itself; it is not a recent offshoot or backwash from the European Orthodox communities. In this connection, the widely used term "Greek Orthodox" can be misleading. The Orthodox Church as a whole is "Greek" only in the sense that its original liturgy was in Greek, being largely derived from the Greek New Testament. It is also true that Greek nationals have been dominant in the Middle Eastern patriarchates, except the Patriarchate of Antioch (Syria and Lebanon) which has been completely dominated by Arabs for the past hundred years or so. Its liturgy is in Arabic (Hitchcock, 1948, p. 139). Jacques de Vitry, Crusader Bishop of Acre, reported in 1217 that the local Orthodox churches used a Greek liturgy which the congregations could not understand (Rihbī, 1954, p. 11).

Mansūf belongs to the Patriarchate of Antioch, whose head actually lives in Damascus. The other Middle East patriarchates are Alexandria, Jerusalem, and Istanbul. Both Rihbī (1954, p. 40) and Zoghby (1959, p. 10) emphasize the point

[illegible] tongues to health but do definitely take out of disease and accident out of the problems of the prevention and cure of disease.

It seems reasonable to conclude that a wide variation in beliefs concerning the deities represents a decline in the use of them which has been brought about by the widespread acceptance of modern policies. Certainly there is evidence of decline in the statement that only recently were annual processions to each of the shrines, on the saints' days, discontinued. In this general connection, it should be mentioned that no one was observed wearing or using amulets or religious medals (contrast Chitwell, 1910, pp. 140–44).

CHURCH AND ROAD

Mass is said once a week, on Sunday mornings. The church is also open every Saturday evening for prayers. Otherwise, the building is ordinarily closed and locked. Speaking generally, Blau (105, p. 90) says that in Syrian Greek Orthodox Churches daily mass is very rare. He also says that although modern Greek is the official language of the church the native language of each particular region is the one actually used in the service (ibid., p. 103). Zankov (1939, p. 109) states this to be true of the Orthodox Church as a whole. In Mosul, according to expectation, the liturgy is in Arabic, with the exception of a few special phrases. According to Blau, the liturgy is:

> . . . teeming with passages of profound spirituality clothed in language noble and poetic. Large parts of the service are sung to weird Oriental chants. The service books of the Greek Church are in fourty quarto volumes. They would appear to cover every possible occasion. There is, for example, prayers to be said by the priest when a corner stone is laid, when a building is consecrated, when a well is dug, when a well is polluted, when insects must be conjured from the vines, when devils must be exorcised, when all women are being cultivated, when a sick man cannot sleep, when one has been cured by the evil eye. (ibid., p. 104.)

Three of these were outside the church building was observed in the village.

Zankov says that the Orthodox Church from the Protestantism than Roman Catholicism in the following points: (1) extensive use of the Scriptures, (2) Controversialism, (3) the lower and pastoral effect of the Sacraments (ibid., pp. 109–10). He could well have added also the participation of laymen in the service. There is no congregational singing, but solo chants by laymen are a conspicuous element.

The priest performs all rituals only as instrument of God, and, significantly, never was the first person singular. For example, he says "so-and-so is baptized" not "I baptize so-and-so." (Zankov, 1939, pp. 87–88.)

Zankov says that there is a general feeling in the Church that other Christian sects have not fallen from Grace. "In broad-minded attitude and practice," he concludes, "orthodox [is] solid alone toward other churches and their mem-

[illegible] personality traits of a large number of Arabs. A few of these statements seem to be [illegible] to this discussion.

Tien [illegible] (1946, p. 106) lists a number of Arab cultural themes two of which, in particular, are constantly reflected in individual personalities. One of these is hospitality, and the other is the predilection for the personal touch in human relationships.

Bonne (1948, p. 201), quoting from Montilla, characterizes the Syrians as spontaneous, impulsive, versatile, endowed with excellent memories and capacities for assimilation, but somewhat less endowed with initiative and perseverance.

Kahn (1950, p. 71) characterizes the Middle East villager as a "hard worker, cautious and suspicious, but with great natural intelligence." He also remarks on the "personal element" which, he says, coupled with "the tendency of them and children to outweigh rational and practical considerations, often leads to nepotism and to the granting of personal favors which interfere with the quality of administrative service" (*ibid.*, p. 81). He also notes quickness to comprehension, the gift of oratory, and softness in the handling of other people (*ibid.*, pp. 83-84).

Thoumin (1936, p. 20) writes: "Neither Christianity nor Islam could ever modify the Syrian *r*—reality, its egoticism (semitic and religionous by turns), its passion for talk, and *on guide of the individual* in preserving a different faith from that of his neighbor" [author's translation.]

[illegible]

The matter of in-groups in the culture of Mansfil is one of central importance. A large amount of material has been given on it already, more will be said in Part Two; here the situation will be summarized very briefly.

There are three criteria for the formation of in-groups—three standards, as it were, around which the passions of loyalty and identification cluster. They are kinship, locality, and religion. These three criteria have led to the formation of four units of social structure. Kinship is the basis of the family and the lineage, locality is the primary basis of the village, religion is the primary basis of al-Qumi. To some degree the village is also a religious unit, and al-Qumi is also a local unit from the point of view of all its inhabitants.

Family, lineage, village, and Qumi—for any one individual these four form a series of in-groups of ever increasing inclusiveness from his family outward. We should ordinarily be inclined to assume that the cohesiveness and solidarity of these units would vary inversely as their size and inclusiveness. In one respect, at least, this generalization does not appear to hold true for Mansfil, for there are strong suggestions that to the average Mansfili, the village as a whole is more meaningful as a unit than his particular minimal lineage, and this is unquestionably true so far as the maximal lineage is concerned. In this connection, it must be

THE PATTERNS OF CULTURE CHANGE*

THE PAST

TRADITIONAL STRUCTURE OF THE LEBANESE VILLAGE

TANNOUS has described the social life of the traditional Middle East (including Lebanese) village as revolving around three major themes each ... which organizes action and functions emotions and values. These themes are the land (Tannous, 1946, p. 700 ff.), kinship (*ibid.*, p. 707 ff.), and religion (*ibid.*, p. 709 ff.).

Under "land" Tannous subsumes subsistence techniques, which are mainly agricultural techniques, and in general the actions, attitudes, and values of rural economic life. The major point is that the traditional peasant, who draws his entire subsistence from the land, feels toward it a rather intense personal devotion and sense of identification. In Lebanese, where individual private ownership is common, and based to large degree on inheritance from ancestors, these feelings are particularly intense.

In regard to kinship (we have previously discussed its importance as an organizing mechanism), the following quotation from Tannous, describing the social unit called *aeleleh* in the present study, is a good summary:

> It consists of all those who claim descent from the same paternal ancestor. The number of joint families that make up a kinship group varies from village to village according to the age of the common [illegible] and the occurrence of disintegrating factors that may split the group at a certain stage in its development or retard its growth. Its influence is felt by the individual in a variety of situations. From the start, the child learns that he should address every member of the unit as "cousin," or "uncle," or "aunt," or "grandfather," or "grandmother." An unreckoned slurry, it is reported of a young man in many cases other than among the kinship group. [Tannous is generalizing to all Middle East villages, and most of them, of course, unlike Muslim.] In times of serious conflicts or feuds within the village, kinship loyalty asserts itself and is binding upon every member. (Tannous, 1946, p. 705.)

Of religion, Tannous says that it is a *way of life* in the traditional village, that it permeates life completely. In this connection, he writes about the peasant and his religion: "He may not know much about its dogmas or subscribe to their

* Two main points which are treated in this chapter have been published elsewhere (Gulick, 1954); in somewhat different form.

tates, but he conforms loyally to the community folkways and modes which have been accepted entirely by the rules of the church." (Tannous, 1946, p. 140.) We can safely assume that prior to about seventy-five years ago or more, Mtaniḥ and the Mtaniḥis conformed to all these traditional patterns. Many of these still continue in force.

Our purpose now is to sort out the old and the new in the present culture as it has been described in Part One, to indicate the differential effects of change on the three major themes of village life as they have been outlined by Tannous, and, in the two following chapters, to put these differential effects into theoretical perspective.

Before we enter upon this three-part analysis, we must say something about the origins of the village and the sequence of events in its development.

THE FOUNDING AND DEVELOPMENT OF AL-MUNSIF

Of the founding of the village we have only the rather vague beliefs of the present villagers for information, namely, that the founder was an emigrant from Syria, and that there were apparently no other inhabitants in the present territory of the village-to-be when he arrived. We have seen that a maximum of twelve generations to ↑, according to the genealogy, descended from the founder. If we allow thirty years for each generation, we set the founder's birth date at approximately 1700, and deduce that he must have come to the village site sometime during the first quarter of the seventeenth century. This reasoning is based on some arbitrary assumptions, and it would be absurd to insist on too detailed a reconstruction so far as dates are concerned.

However, there are two related sets of evidence at hand which lend credence to the notion that the village was founded sometime in the early part of the seventeenth century. Hitti (1959, p. 374), in discussing the origins of the town of Ras al-Matn, which is somewhat north of and inland from Beirut, says that the ancestors of several of the Orthodox families there came from Damascus in the seventeenth century to escape the religious persecution in Syria. From 1590 to 1635, Lebanon was ruled efficiently and justly by a Druze Amir, Fakhr al-Din II, and during this period, which is considered one of the golden ages in Lebanese history, Hitti (1959, p. 422) says, "According to Volney, Christian families migrated to Lebanon 'daily' from Syria to escape Turkish rule." It is reasonable to assume that Mansour Jurjis al-Khouri and his family were among this throng.

Why did they settle in al-Qamir? This no one knows. It may be that they had been persuaded there by relatives. At the present time there are two large, prominent Orthodox families in Beirut all of which "return to" a common ancestor named Sadkia who supposedly came from Mtaniḥ or its site. It is thought that Sadkia must have been either a brother or a cousin of Mansour Jurjis. Whatever the real circumstances were, there is a plausible explanation for the settlement of

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible] [illegible] [

We can say, in summary, that the traditional forms of religion have in most aspect been weakened by acculturation, but that in another aspect it retains its traditional vigor.

Kinship. In the values surrounding kin groups, and by logical extension, the entire village group, there have been almost no changes whatever. In agriculture, we arrive at the denouement of this work. The family and the lineage maintain their function of serving as a link between the individual and the villages a whole, which is, itself, a kin group toward which feelings of utmost loyalty and unity are directed.

The only suggestion of a weakening of the village as an in-group is the recent and increasing tendency toward village exogamy (mainly on the part of women). This seems to be accompanied, however, by no diminution of feelings of village loyalty on the part of most of these women. Potentially, this tendency is a threat to the strength of the village because the children of these marriages will have no more than a sentimental attachment to it through their mothers. What effects this will have, or whether any counter-efforts will be developed—these matters is in the future.

That last aspect of religion which has remained the most vigorous is precisely that aspect which, along with kinship, serves to define and intensify kin groups. The remainder of this work will be devoted to an analysis of the question of why these in-groups, exemplified in multiple fashion by the village of Mogil, have maintained their strength in a period of momentous cultural change.

I

[illegible] population of 1,200 people and general social organization, Bikfayyeen is typical of the Lebanese village communities. It is situated in the foothills of the Lebanon mountains, fifty miles to the north of Beirut and twelve miles to the south of Tripoli, the two seaports of the country. The writer was born and grew up in this village. He is the product of its native Arab culture, as influenced and modified by the traveling American culture. The present article is based upon personal experiences--his own, with an Arab-American background, and that of his people, who have lived in the same village for eight generations.

With respect to the religious situation in the village previous to the appearance of mission activity, it is sufficient to emphasize a few salient facts. In the first place, there were in the village three religious sects--a large majority of Greek Orthodox (about 1000 people), a small minority of Moslems (about 150 people), and three Maronite households, which will be neglected in the discussion. Secondly, the relationship between the two religious sects had always been such as could be characterized as harmonious and stable. Each sect took it for granted that there had always been and there will always be two sects in the village--Moslems and Greek Orthodox. Consequently, there had never been any attempt on the part of one sect to interfere with the religious practices of the other or to undertake any proselyting campaign. Thirdly, religion in the village had always been an integral part of the whole village life. It was not a matter of degree, as

[illegible] method of worship, not apart and separated from the practices of daily living. It was rather a way of life. The church grew up with the village, influencing it and at the same time being influenced by the other aspects of village life. There, in and about upon the church rested nothing short upon village life altogether.

II

Early in the second half of the 19th century, three religious missions appeared on the spot horizon of the Lebanon area—the Protestant (mainly American), the Catholic (mainly French), and the Greek Orthodox (Russian). There were other missions too—Italian, German, English, and Scandinavian. However, the influence of these did not reach Shikshinnee and they need not be discussed here.

The American Presbyterian mission has always been the most influential Protestant mission in the country. They began their work early in the second half of the 19th century. Beirut was their first base, whence they reached out to the surrounding Lebanese villages. Later, they established a second base in the town of Tripoli, from which they began to work in the neighboring villages of the Koura district, including Shikshinnee. About 1870, they succeeded in establishing a simple elementary school at Shikshinnee. A native Protestant teacher (man) was put in charge. A simple square room was found, whose owner was willing to rent it for the purpose. Children were few and parents were encouraged to send their children to the new school.

It seems that, at first, the people of the village

[illegible] specialties as follows: mayor, 1; priest, 1; taxi driver, 1; barber, 2; storekeeper, 2; fisherman, 3; surveyor, 1; mason, 1; carpenter, 2; shaikh 2. There are 4 small stores in the village. There are also two bakeries which are important social centers for the women. One of these is owned by the taxi driver, the other by one of the teachers.

The city occupations include a variety of white-collar jobs (such as clerk, librarian, and government official), semiskilled and skilled jobs, and the following specialties: Protestant preacher, 1; detective, 1; fireman, 1; soldier, 1; tailor, 1; seamstress, 2; waiter, 2; hospital attendant, 2; janitor, 1; surveyor, 1; merchant, 2; teacher, 17; medical nurse, 10. One man in the village had been a practicing physician but has now retired. The prevalence of school teaching is notable, and it will be considered that the pattern for this specialty was established early in the process of culture change. Over two-thirds of the working women are nurses (including student nurses). It was explained that nursing is a respected occupation and that since the women work in the shelter of a large institution, it is a safer position for them than many other city jobs are.

The factors of change in the economics of the village can be summarized as: (1) a drastic reduction in the number and proportion of agricultural workers; (2) a rapid and extensive development of non-village and non-urban occupations, of which there is a considerable variety; and (3) women working outside and away from home for the first time in the history of the village. The variety of the women's occupations is much more restricted than the men's. The majority of the women are under 30 years of age and appear to consider their jobs as preludes to marriage rather than as life-long careers.

Religion. Religion does not appear still to permeate the everyday life of the villagers, in those activities and problem areas which have been, generally speaking, strongly affected by modern rationalism and rationalization — in the prevention and cure of disease, for example, — rationalistic procedures seem to take precedence over ritualistic.

In addition to the village church, there are three saints' shrines in al-Mansūrī. Associated with each structure is a section of waqf land of which the priest is the custodian, and the produce of which contributes to his support. Each shrine is at some distance from the others and from the village proper, so that it is impossible to get to a shrine without deliberate intent and effort. Traditionally, the shrines are used primarily for the purpose of special prayers, offerings, and vows on behalf of those who are sick. It might be supposed that as the rationalistic treatment of disease increases, the intensity of the use of shrines would decrease. This is a subtle matter and really conclusive evidence on it could not be obtained. However, it was clear that the opinions of the villagers regarding the meaningfulness of the shrines are varied and conflicting. One remark was that the saints could not

all the mortgage or to recapture the land sold. At present there are many among the old emigrants who refuse to sell the land they own back home, although they have lost the hope of ever returning to live there.

This attachment to the land and to the community life that has developed on it is one of the fundamentals of national existence. It contributes essential stability and continuity to national character, especially in times of crisis and change. There are, however, factors such as a faulty land-tenure system, lack of adequate credit facilities, and absentee landownership that have been threatening this basis of security in village life. Although most of the land in Lebanon is privately owned, held in fee simple either by the individual farmer or by the joint family group, in certain sections of the country, mostly outside the central mountain region, share cropping prevails. There is no doubt that this condition, associated in many cases with absentee ownership, has retarded agricultural development and resulted in an appreciably lower standard of living, especially in many of the villages of the Bekaa' plain and the Bikā' valley.

Religious experience is another outstanding feature in the life of the rural folk of Lebanon. They take their religious organization, Christian or Moslem, seriously. Like their land and their agricultural activity, it constitutes a major part of their existence. Religion is not confined to formal services at the church or the mosque. It is expressed in wholesome recreation that takes place in connection with various festivals honoring patron saints. The Arabic word for festival, 'id, is the symbol of a rich cultural complex including joy, relaxation, sociability, and religious fervor. When the farmer refers to his land, crops, or animals, he invokes Allah's name and blessing. On certain occasions some of the season's produce is carried to the church to be blessed. The earnest greeting between farmers at work is not "Good morning" or "Good evening," but rather "May Allah give you health and strength."

Furthermore, there is a striking identification of the religious organization with the local community. It is the people of the village who donate the land and erect the church or mosque building. The priest is usually a resident of the village, chosen

In some households religious pictures are in evidence, while in others there are none at all. In some families there are formal religious observances for the group. In others there may be none, or family members may be individually given to silent prayer. However varied the pattern may be, qualitatively it is one which allows for the action of individual choice and conscience.

There is definite evidence that village opinion concerning the efficacy of recourse to the saint's shrines is sharply divided, and there is good reason to conclude that this ambivalence is of recent development, a part of the acculturation process. Saint's shrines are very common in the Middle East. They are used by Muslims and Christians alike, and in many cases they probably stem from pagan prototypes. Among the Lebanese Christians, shrines are visited by the faithful primarily in the fulfillment of vows usually made in connection with the curing of disease, the betrothment of conceptions, the determination of the sex of an unborn child, and so on—in other words, the emphasis is on medical problems. The visitor may perform the ritual for his own sake or on behalf of someone else.

In Beirut, the shrine ritual consists of prayers—sometimes written on the walls—and the offering of candles or olive oil which are burned in the shrine. One informant also suggested a ceremonial element—walking to the shrine barefoot or crawling to it on hands and knees. The shrines are located at some distance from each other and from the home district, and a person is not likely to go over these except with deliberate intent and effort. Presumably the effort is not made except by those who believe in what they are doing.

There definitely are such individuals in the village. On one occasion the writer saw two persons make offerings of candles at one of the shrines ("because someone is sick," an informant explained); fresh paper candle wrappings were observed in the vicinity of all the shrines, and there were bottles for olive oil in all of them.

In contrast, there were the statements of several informants, some of whom was in the habit of using the shrines. One said (before the subject had really been investigated) that the shrines were no longer used at all. Another, more specifically, denied any personal belief in the holy which the saints were supposed to give the sick and went on to express the opinion that no one else in the village believed in it either. When this informant was faced with undeniable evidence to the contrary, the general claim was modified, but the basic attitude had been revealed. A third informant stated flatly that some believed and some did not, and that among the former there were those who even had dreams about being visited by saints thanking us on the fulfillment of vows. But this informant added the opinion that though some people were believers, they might very likely deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Ignorance of what? It might well have been asked. Presumably, ignorance of, and lack of faith in, modern medical practices which, as he saw, do not eliminate all

dangers to health but do definitely take a lot of chance and accident out of the incidence of the prevention and cure of disease.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the wide variation in beliefs concerning the dairies represents a decline in the use of them which has been brought about by the widespread acceptance of modern medicine. Certainly there is evidence of decline in the statement that only recently were annual processions to each of the dairies, in the saints' days, discontinued. In this general connection, it should be mentioned that no one was observed wearing or using amulets or religious medals (continue Chilmeli, 1910, pp. 140-44).

ORDINARY NAME

The Mass is said once a week, on Sunday mornings. The church is also open every Saturday evening for prayers. Otherwise, the building is ordinarily closed and locked. Speaking generally, Bible (1911, p. 34) says that in Syrian Greek Orthodox Churches daily mass is very rare. He also says that although ancient Greek is the official language of the church, the native language of each particular region is the one actually used in the service (ibid., p. 121). Zeidner (1928, p. 149) states this to be true of the Orthodox Church as a whole. In Mosqil, according to expectation, the liturgy is in Arabic, with the exception of a few special phrases. According to Bible, the liturgy is:

> . . . teeming with passages of profound spirituality clothed in language subtle and poetic. Large parts of the services are rendered in weird Oriental chants. The service books of the Greek Church are in fourteen quarto volumes. They would appear to cover every possible occasion. There are, for example, prayers to be said by the priest when a corner stone is laid, when a threshing-floor is constructed, when a well is dug, when a well is polluted, when insects must be enjoined from the vines, when devils must be exorcised, when silk worms are being cultivated, when a sick man cannot sleep, when one has been harmed by the evil eye. (Ibid., p. 124.)

None of these was observed in the village.

Zeidner says that the Orthodox Church is more like Protestantism than Roman Catholicism in the following points: (1) extensive use of the Scriptures; (2) Christocentrism; (3) the inner and personal effect of the Sacraments (ibid., pp. 159-70). He could well have added to this list the participation of laymen in the service. There is no congregational singing, but solo chants by laymen are a conspicuous element.

The priest performs all rituals only as an instrument of God, and, significantly, never uses the first person singular. For example, he says "so-and-so is baptized" not "I baptize so-and-so." (Zeidner, 1928, pp. 87-88.)

Zeidner says that there is in general a feeling in the Church that other Christian sects have not fallen from Grace. "This broad-minded attitude and practice," he concludes, "explains [its] mild attitude toward other churches and their mem-

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15 specialties as follows: mayor, 1; priest, 1; taxi driver, 1; barber, 2; storekeeper, 8; fisherman, 3; surveyor, 1; mason, 2; carpenter, 2; teacher 4. There are 6 small stores in the village. There are also two bakeries which are important social centers for the women. One of these is owned by the taxi driver, the other by one of the teachers.

The city occupations include a variety of white-collar jobs (such as clerk, librarian, and government official), semiskilled and skilled jobs, and the following specialties: Protestant preacher, 1; detective, 1; foreman, 1; soldier, 1; tailor, 2; seamstress, 5; waiter, 3; hospital attendant, 4; janitor, 2; surveyor, 1; merchant, 5; teacher, 17; medical nurse, 24. One man in the village had been a practicing physician but has now retired. The prevalence of school teaching is notable, and it will be remembered that the pattern for this specialty was established early in the process of culture change. Over two-thirds of the working women are nurses (including student nurses). It was explained that nursing is a respected occupation and that since the women work in the shelter of a large institution, it is a safer position for them than many other city jobs are.

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16: Gulick E-5 (1952)954 MEI Lebanon MEI

be of any help. Then there was the flat statement that the shrines were no longer used at all. The most interesting comment was that many people still believed in the efficacy of the shrines but that they would probably deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Actually, there was clear evidence that candles and olive oil are regularly burned as offerings at the shrines, but by how large a proportion of the people was not ascertained. In any case there is no doubt that there are now fundamental differences among the villagers on a matter which would not have been the subject of any disagreement 75 years ago.

In other aspects of life, religion plays a vigorous role. There are three types of occasion — weddings, and especially funerals and Easter — when all the villagers who are living away are strongly obligated to return to the village for the ceremonies. There is absolutely no question about this matter, in theory or in practice. The ritual occasions all have, of course, the same latent function, which is the intensification of group loyalty and solidarity sentiments. It can be argued that the prime motives behind these events which account for their vigor are not, strictly speaking, religious. Be that as it may, religious behavior is an integral part of the observances.

Kinship Organization. It appears that the kinship organization of al-Munsif has been the least affected by change of all the major aspects of the culture. It is often very difficult for modern Americans, in whose own culture kinship groups are of minimum importance, to comprehend the fact that in most other parts of the world kinship is one of the strongest elements in social organization. When we speak of the kinship organization of an Arab village, such as al-Munsif, we are not referring to a genealogical abstraction; we are referring, in fact, to the social organization itself. For the social organization — a pattern of interrelated statuses and roles — is defined in terms of kinship.

The unity of al-Munsif is enhanced by the fact that the villagers believe themselves all to be descended from a common ancestor who was the founder of the village. Whatever other differences there may develop among them, they continue to maintain this conception of themselves as a group. The founder had three sons among whom he divided equally the land of the community. For some time, the descendants of each of the three sons held land only in the areas originally apportioned. Each group, or lineage, also sponsored and developed one of the saint's shrines located in its territory. Eventually, the three original lineages were divided into what is now a total of 21 lineages. The name of each lineage is that of the man who is recognized as having been the common ancestor of all the members, but among the villagers themselves these lineage (or "family") names are rarely used. Their chief use is in filling out government and other official forms. A person is ordinarily designated by his own and his father's names only. Traditionally, the father's name is never given to any of his sons, and there is

19: Tannous S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

off the mortgage or to reacquire the land sold. At present there are many among the old emigrants who refuse to sell the land they own back home, although they have lost the hope of ever returning to live there.

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There definitely are such individuals in the village. On one occasion the writer saw two persons make offerings of candles at one of the shrines ("because someone is sick," an informant explained). Small paper candle wrappings were observed in the vicinity of all the shrines, and there were bottles for olive oil in all of them.

In contrast, there were the statements of several informants, some of whom was in the habit of using the shrines. One said (before the subject had really been investigated) that the shrines were no longer used at all. Another, more specifically, denied any personal belief in the holy which the saints were supposed to give the sick and went on to express the opinion that no one else in the village believed in it either. When this informant was faced with undeniable evidence to the contrary, the general claim was modified, but the basic attitude had been revealed. A third informant stated flatly that some believed and some did not, and that among the former there were those who even had dreams about being visited by saints checking up on the fulfillment of vows. But this informant added the opinion that though some people were believers, they might very likely deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Ignorance of what? It might well have been asked. Presumably, ignorance of, and lack of faith in, modern medical practices which, to be sure, do not eliminate all

new construction. This is not the case—at least, it is not to an observable degree. All the stones used in new building in the village are freshly quarried. Perhaps the reason for this is that nearly all the ruins have occupied owners, nearly all of whom are emigrants or their descendants. Even the villagers now admit that "they will never come back," but their property rights are still maintained, either because the older emigrants hesitate to relinquish their claims or because their American-born children are uninterested, both of which prevent local disposition of the property. However, most of the new stones known were of the old style, whose ends would naturally go to pieces if not sealed. Consequently, the ends were observed so that the very valuable timbers in them could be used for other purposes. This hastened the partial collapse of many of the buildings' walls.

HOUSEHOLD ARRANGEMENT AND FURNISHINGS

Nearly every house has its own cistern (*birr*), either within the building or just outside it. The water is entirely winter rain water drawn from the roof of the house and conducted to the cistern, nowadays, by sheet-iron pipes. This is much more efficient than the older method of letting the water flow down a shallow vertical trough on the outside of the wall of the building. The cisterns have circular openings raised off the ground or floor on a stone or concrete curbing. The opening is lifted, more or less tightly, with a wooden cover.

It is one of the women's jobs to draw water from the cistern by means of a sheet-iron, European-made, basket attached to a chain or rope. The water needed for the day is stored in large, two-handled, pointed-bottom jars (*jarra*), of passon earthenware, which stand in wooden frames in the kitchen corner, or the kitchen room if there is one. From the jarra, water is transferred to cooking utensils, to the ornamental pottery or glass drinking jar (*ibriq*), and to the two to three gallon, semi-cylindrical metal tanks in which washing water is stored. These long spouts on outside wall or in the wash room if there is one. The tanks are called *hawdiyat*, a term primarily applied to the small brass spigots with which they are fitted. The term is derived from the Hanafi school of Muslim jurisprudence which decided that the use of spigots was not a violation of the provisions of the Koran. Now the *hawdiyat* one usually finds a dish for soap and a towel-rack. A few houses are equipped with hand-pumps, a metal tank, and a limited system of pipes and spigots. This, however, is unusual.

The interior arrangement of the one-room house is essentially the same in every one, although of course there are many minor variations. The following description is composite. On entering the front door, one will observe that the room is divided into two sections, front and back. The division is effected by tall cabinets, with doors and drawers, placed across the room. These are used for keeping clothes, dishes, and so on. This means of division may be supplemented by a curtain. In the front section, a long wooden seat, really a bench with a back and

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The table in the upper part of the *mag'al* was moved away first, and dancing continued as before in the space provided. In moments when there was no dancing, solo songs were sung by one or another sitting around the circle. A complete silence fell over the crowd while the *shâ'ir* sang many verses in sonorous Classical Arabic of the tragic epic of Qays and Layla, whose plot, though set among Bedouin of the Umayyad period, bears striking resemblance to that of the story of Romeo and Juliet. During the recitation, familiar to all, the peoples' faces seemed thoughtful and reflective, and there was applause when the song was finished. Usually there was no applause after the dances during which everyone was clapping in time anyway.

The couple subsequently took up residence in the groom's own house. Neolocal residence is not uncommon at the present time, and it appears to be preferred by most young couples.

This account requires comment at a number of points.

1. In contrast to funerals, weddings are attended only by those who are invited. In this case the number of those invited by the groom was said to be limited because it was his second marriage, and because two large families happened to be in mourning, hence it was not fitting for their members to attend. Weddings are forbidden outright during the major part of Lent. There is a general sense of the incompatibility of happy and sad events or periods, and these rules and practices have the purpose of avoiding conflicts in emotions.

2. Peghiri (1925, pp. 296-97) writes in some detail of what he calls a mock battle, of a verbal sort, which takes place in Moslem mountain villages when the groom's party approaches the bride's house. The incident reported above might not deserve to be called a verbal "mock battle" at all, but there was a definite sense of the groom's party being stopped for a time before it was allowed to approach and enter the house.

3. Writing of marriage practices in a Palestinian Muslim village, Granqvist (1935, p. 40) says that since they are losing a daughter, the bride's family do not rejoice at the wedding, and the bride herself is supposed to behave in a sad and subdued manner during the ceremony and must weep before leaving her father's house (*ibid.* p. 42). The same concept appears to be held by Lebanese Christians, and the behavior of the bride was undoubtedly largely conventional. The conventional aspect of this matter would explain the general lack of concern for the bride's tears. In this connection it should be mentioned that, like the European Mediterranean peoples, the Lebanese are no means to suppress the expression of strong emotions in public. In fact, they interpret the inexpressiveness of North Europeans and their American cousins as evidence of either loutishness or "deepness." By the same token, women in labor are free to scream loudly even when they are not actually suffering acute pain.

4. In the Middle East generally, the chief traditional role women's dance is some variation of what is commonly known as the "belly dance," the basic move-

1 - [A newly married couple of the village.—Reader]

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In some households religious pictures are in evidence, while in others there are none at all. In some families there are formal religious observances for the group. In others there may be none, or family members may be individually given to silent prayer. However varied the pattern may be, qualitatively it is one which allows for the action of individual choice and conscience.

There is definite evidence that village opinion concerning the efficacy of resort to the saint's shrines is sharply divided, and there is good reason to conclude that this multivocality is of recent development, a part of the acculturation process. Saint's shrines are very common in the Middle East. They are used by Moslems and Christians alike, and in many cases they probably stem from pagan prototypes. Among the Lebanese Christians, shrines are visited by the faithful primarily in the fulfillment of vows mostly made in connection with the curing of disease, the inducement of conception, the determination of the sex of an unborn child, and so on—in other words, the emphasis is on medical problems. The visitor may perform the ritual for his own sake or on behalf of someone else.

In Munqid, the shrine ritual consists of prayers—sometimes written on the walls—and the offering of candles or olive oil which are burned in the shrine. One informant also suggested a penitential element—walking to the shrine barefoot or crawling to it on hands and knees. The shrines are located at some distance from each other and from the house cluster, and a person is not likely to go near them except with deliberate intent and effort. Presumably the effort is not made except by those who believe in what they are doing.

There definitely are such individuals in the village. On one occasion the writer saw two persons make offerings of candles at one of the shrines ("because someone is sick," an informant explained); fresh paper candle wrappings were observed in the vicinity of all the shrines, and there were bottles for olive oil in all of them.

In contrast, there were the statements of several informants, none of whom was in the habit of using the shrines. One said (before the subject had really been investigated) that the shrines were no longer used at all. Another, more specifically, denied any personal belief in the help which the saints were supposed to give the sick and went on to express the opinion that no one else in the village believed in it either. When this informant was faced with undeniable evidence to the contrary, the general claim was modified, but the basic attitude had been revealed. A third informant stated flatly that some believed and some did not, and that among the former there were those who even had dreams about being visited by saints checking up on the fulfillment of vows. But this informant added the opinion that though some people were believers, they might very likely deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Ignorance of what? it might well have been asked. Presumably, ignorance of, and lack of faith in, modern medical practices which, to be sure, do not eliminate all

"catches" the feast. For example, the Feast of Elijah, Mor Ilyous, (July 20) passed without much remark. It was said that many people often went on this day to Bekfaia of whose church Mor Ilyous is the patron saint, but this activity was not observed. At Ghazzeun, there is a man who every year summons the priest to help him "catch" the Feast of the Forty Martyrs (*'id al-arba'in shuhada'*), March 9. It may be that all twenty of the Church's feast days are given special recognition in al-Qurnā, if not in each of its individual villages.

The most important part of the religious year is unquestionably Easter, "the Great Feast" (*'id al-kabir*), preceded by Lent which is the longest of the numerous fast periods enjoined by the Church. Orthodoxy forty forbid the eating of meat, eggs, cheese, and milk. Lent is preceded by a week (*marfa'*) during which meat is eaten every day, which is not the ordinary practice. The Thursday of *marfa'* is known as *al-khamīs as-sakin*—"Drunkard Thursday." On this day rigid abstinence is expected and excused.

The first week in Lent, following *marfa'*, is *fini'a al-hejmal*, "the week of whiteness." Eating meat is strictly forbidden. Only "white" things—eggs, laban, and cheese are supposed to be eaten. The following week, these *and* meat are forbidden until Easter. Until Easter, no one is supposed to eat breakfast; many abstain from coffee and from drinking water in the morning. It was stated, however, that many people do not adhere absolutely to fast regulations, and there is considerable variation in this aspect of religious behavior.

On Palm Sunday (*ahd-shu'aine*) palm fronds are prepared by the head of every household in which there is a child under seven years of age. Once a little child has had this done for him, it is not done for him again. The fronds are hung with colors and candles, and placed in the middle of the church. After mass, the people go outside with the fronds and gather around the priest for a further blessing. Then everyone rushes on the fronds and pulls off all the outskirts. Between Palm Sunday and Good Friday there are evening prayers every day in the church.

On Good Friday (*al-jimaat al-mucaddi*) everyone goes to church, even those who are in mourning, since it is a sad occasion. Mourners do not ordinarily go to regular mass nor to mass on Easter. It was said that even mourners of a year's standing or more may not go to mass at all—except on Good Friday. If there is no priest in any of the other Qurnā villages, the people there come to Mansūl for the service.

The Good Friday mass was attended by at least four hundred persons. It is featured by the placing of a table (*mawā'id*) in the center of the church. This is used at ordinary funerals for holding the coffin. Each house prepares a crown of flowers and candles which is placed on the *mawā'id*. Towards the end of the mass, the *mawā'id* is held aloft by four to six tall men near the door. All the people pass underneath it, out the door, and enter through the second door again.

On Easter eve of the year of this study, a special party for the adolescents

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The first week in Lent, following *marfa'*, is *ḥal'a al-kayyal*, "the week of whiteness." Eating meat is strictly forbidden. Only "white" things—eggs, fishes, and cheese are supposed to be eaten. The following week, *ḥoss* and meat are forbidden until Easter. Until Easter, no one is supposed to eat breakfast; many abstain from coffee and even drinking water in the morning. It was stated, however, that many people do not adhere absolutely to Lent regulations, and there is considerable variation in this aspect of religious behavior.

On Palm Sunday (*aḥd-sha'wine*) palm fronds are prepared by the head of every household in which there is a child under seven years of age. Once a little child has had this done for him, it is not done for him again. The fronds are hung with cakes and candles, and placed in the middle of the church. After mass, the people go outside with the fronds and gather around the priest for a further blessing. Then everyone makes on the fronds and pulls off all the candles. Between Palm Sunday and Good Friday there are evening prayers every day in the church.

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The Good Friday mass was attended by at least two hundred persons. It is featured by the placing of a table (*mwid*) in the center of the church. This is used as ordinary furniture for holding the coffin. Each house prepares a crown of flowers and candles which is placed on the *mwid*. Towards the end of the mass, the *mwid* is held aloft by two to six men who pass under the door. All the people pass underneath it, out the door, and enter through the second door again.

On Easter eve of the year of this study, a special party for the adolescents

In some households religious pictures are in evidence, while in others there are none at all. In some families there are formal religious observances for the group. In others there may be none, or family members may be individually given to silent prayers. Everyone visited the patterns may be, qualitatively, a mix which allows for the action of individual choice and conviction.

There is definite evidence that village opinion concerning the efficacy of an appeal to the saint's shrines is sharply divided, and there is good reason to conclude that this ambivalency is of recent development, a part of the acculturative process. Saint's shrines are very common in the Middle East. They are used by Muslims and Christians alike, and in many cases they probably stem from pagan prototypes. Among the Lebanese Christians, shrines are visited by the faithful primarily in the fulfillment of vows usually made in connection with the curing of illness, the achievement of conception, the determination of the sex of an unborn child, and so on—in other words, the emphasis is on medical problems. The visitor may perform the ritual for his own sake or on behalf of someone else.

In Mayrūḥ, the shrine ritual consists of prayers—sometimes written on the walls—and the offering of candles or other gifts which are burned in the shrine. One informant has suggested a ceremonial character—walking to the shrine barefoot or crawling to it on hands and knees. The shrines are located at some distance from each other and from the house shrines, and a person is not likely to go more than enough with deliberate intent and effort. Presumably the effort is not made except by those who believe in what they are doing.

There definitely are such individuals in the village. On one occasion the writer saw two persons make offerings of candles at one of the shrines ("because someone is sick," an informant explained). Small paper candle wrappings were observed in the vicinity of all the shrines, and there were tables for alms at all of them.

In contrast, there were the statements of several informants, some of whom was in the habit of using the shrines. One said (before the subject had really been investigated) that the shrines were no longer used at all. Another, more specifically, denied any personal belief in the holy which the saints were supposed to give the sick and went on to express the opinion that no one else in the village believed in it either. When this informant was faced with undeniable evidence to the contrary, the general claim was modified, but the basic attitude had been revealed. A third informant stated flatly that vows believed and some did not, and that among the Lebanese there were those who were half ashamed of being visited by women doubting up at the fulfillment of vows. But this informant added the opinion that though some people were believers, they might very likely deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Ignorance of what it might well have been asked. Presumably, ignorance of, and lack of faith in, modern medical practices which, to be sure, do not eliminate all

745 The procession had formed at the house of the deceased. It appeared around the corner of the church led by a large group of women, all in black, one carrying a circular arrangement of flowers and candles on her head. The women were followed by the men, and entirely well over a hundred and fifty were present. One person said later that he thought "the whole village" was there. The effort expended on the part of many to come from far away attests to the strength of this secondary rite of passage in drawing the community together.

The church was filled inside. The flowers were placed on the bottom in the middle of the church, and the priest prayed for about five minutes. Then was all. The whole crowd left the church again. There was no sermon singing of the hall afterward, as is ordinarily done after a regular service.

As at the funeral, the chief male mourners lined up outside to receive condolences, while the women mourners, swathed in black, withdrew by themselves. The minimal lineage of the deceased happened to consist only of his own immediate family and that of his first cousin. The mourners consisted of the first cousin, who had automatically become the guardian of the children, the brother of the deceased's wife, and the heads of households of the two minimal lineages most closely connected, genealogically, to that of the deceased.

After this, everyone repaired to the house of the deceased where coffee was served and there was quiet, general, conversation.

745 624 The unifying effect of the primary and secondary funerals should be clear from these accounts. The fact that this effect extends outside the village to include the immediate district, which in the case of Mungil is very clearly defined, is also significant. Here we might note an additional event which took place during the period of study. When a young man, an only son, died in one of the other villages of al-Qurei during the winter, a large number of women residents of Mungil were among those who attended his funeral. Chbeish (1959, p. 90) says that even in districts where there is considerable mixture of religions (within al-Qurei) funerals serve to bring together people of different religions in an event of common concern, thus somewhat easing interreligious tensions.

[624] Young and old alike, the Mungilite were unanimous in declaring that everyone was obligated to attend funerals, regardless of any difficulties which might be involved. Witness the following statement by a young adult: "When someone dies in the village, all of us must go. If a man goes only for the funeral, still it may mean great inconvenience for him. But he goes—we go—everyone goes—because we must. I do not know why we do this, but we do it just the same."

ECCLESIASTICAL RITUALS

PRAYERS AND THE USE OF MOSQUES

● 748 In the area of ritual behavior which is of a private, personal nature, it is clear that there is considerable individual and family variation of practice in the village

In some households religious statuses are in evidence, while in others there are none at all. In some families there are formal religious observances for the group. In others there may be none, or family members may be individually given to private prayer. Moreover, neither the pattern may be, qualitatively, it is one which allows for the action of individual choice and enactment.

There is definite evidence that village opinion concerning the efficacy of an image in the saint's shrines is sharply divided, and there is good reason to conclude that this ambivalence is of recent development, a part of the acculturation process. Saint's shrines are very common in the Middle East. They are used by Muslims and Christians alike, and in many cases they probably stem from pagan prototypes. Among the Lebanese Christians, shrines are visited by the faithful primarily in the fulfillment of vows usually made in connection with the curing of illness, the achievement of conception, the demonstration of the sex of an unborn child, and so on—in other words, the emphasis is on specific problems. The visitor may perform the ritual for his own sake or on behalf of someone else.

In Shanjil, the shrine ritual consists of prayers—sometimes written on the walls—and the offering of candles or other gifts which are burned in the shrine. One informant also suggested a ceremonial element—walking to the shrine barefoot or crawling to it on hands and knees. The shrines are located at some distance from each other and from the town shrines, and a person is not likely to go more than once with [illegible] nature and effect. Presumably the effect is not made except by those who believe in what they are doing.

There definitely are such individuals in the village. On one occasion two [illegible] entire are two persons make offerings of candles at one of the shrines ("because someone is sick," an informant explained). Votive paper candle wrappings were observed in the vicinity of all the shrines, and there were bundles for sale at all of them.

In contrast, there were the statements of several informants, some of whom [illegible] say in the habit of using the shrines. One said (before the subject had really been investigated) that the shrines were no longer used at all. Another, more specifically, denied any personal belief in the holy which the saints were supposed to give the sick and went on to express the opinion that no one else in the village believed in it either. When this informant was faced with undeniable evidence to the contrary, the general claim was modified, but the basic attitude had been revealed. A third informant stated flatly that vows believed and were not, and that among the Greeks there were those who even had dreams about being visited by saints desiring up on the fulfillment of vows. But this informant added the opinion that though some people were believers, they might very likely deny it if they were asked because they had heard that such beliefs were a mark of ignorance. Ignorance of what it might well have been asked. Presumably, ignorance of, and lack of faith in, modern medical practices which, as he went on to elaborate at

[illegible] Gregory to health but do definitely take a lot of chance and accident out of the problem of the generation and cure of disease.

It seems impossible to conclude that the wide variation in beliefs concerning the distant exponents a decline in the use of them which has been brought about by the widespread acceptance of modern medicine. Certainly there is evidence of decline in the statement that only recently were annual processions to each of the shrines, on the saints' days, discontinued. In this general connection, it should be mentioned that no use was observed wearing or using amulets or religious symbols (contrast Dalman, 1910, pp. 160–66).

CHURCH SERVICES

The There is still once a week, on Sunday mornings. The church is also open every Saturday evening for prayers. Otherwise, the building is ordinarily closed and locked. Speaking generally, Rhea (1910, p. 39) says that in Syrian Greek Orthodox Churches daily mass is very rare. He also says that although ancient Greek is the official language of the church, the native language of each particular region is the one usually used in the service (*ibid.*, p. 101). Zeidan (1935, p. 108) states this to be true of the Orthodox Church as a whole. In Mosul, according to appearances, the liturgy is in Arabic, with the exception of a few special phrases. According to Rhea, the liturgy is:

> ... teeming with passages of profound spirituality clothed in language noble and poetic. Large parts of the services are rendered in extra liturgical chants. The service books of the Greek Church are in fourteen quarto volumes. They would appear to cover every possible occasion. There are, for example, prayers to be used by the priest when a crown sheet is laid, when a thanksgiving is instituted, when a child is dug, when a well is polluted, when insects must be exorcised from the vines, when devils must be exorcised, when silk worms are being cultivated, when a sick cow resists sleep, when one has been harmed by the evil eye. (*Ibid.*, p. 104.)

[illegible] None of these was outside the church building was observed in the village.

Zeidan says that the Orthodox Church is more like Protestantism than Roman Catholicism in the following points: (1) extensive use of the Scriptures, (2) Communion, (3) the moral and personal effect of the Sacraments (*ibid.*, pp. 110–11). He could well have added to this list the participation of laymen in the service. There is no congregational singing, but solo chants by laymen are a conspicuous element.

The priest performs all church only as an instrument of God, and, significantly, never uses the first person singular. For example, he says "we exalt" or "we baptize" not "I baptize or exalt me". (Zeidan, 1935, pp. 87–88.)

Zeidan says that there is in general a feeling in the Church that when Christians meet have not fallen from Grace. "The broad-minded attitude and practice," he concludes, "explains [its] wide attitude toward other churches and their ways

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that these patriarchates are "autocephalous" and independent of each other. The so-called "Ecumenical" Patriarch of Istanbul has never been more than *primus inter pares*, and frequently not even that. Following this pattern, Orthodox Churches in Europe have developed autocephalous patriarchates following national lines.

The strength of the Middle East patriarchates was maintained under the Ottoman Turks who established a system (the *Millet* system) whereby the Christian communities were set apart as more or less autonomous theocratic units, somewhat analogous to the supposedly theocratic rule of the Sultan who was also the Caliph of Islam. At first, the Muslims, understandably enough, lumped all the Christians together and called them "Roum," after the Arabic name for the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Empire (Hitti, 1932, p. 32). At present, the Lebanese Orthodox still call themselves Roum. However, this is often confused with "Roumi," the popular designation for the Maronites (because of their connection with the Roman Catholic Church). Consequently, the Orthodox often refer to themselves as "Urthuthuiyyi," a term which, like "Qutuqiyimuhi," does not roll easily off Arabic-speaking tongues.

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Although it has an elaborate hierarchy of patriarchs and bishops, the Orthodox Church on the local level is notable for what might be called "independent congregationalism." This is characteristic of the Jews and most Protestants, but it is in striking contrast to the authoritarian Roman Catholic organization. "Considered canonically, all orthodox churches represent free communions. Within the bounds of the oecumenical-orthodox rules of doctrine, regulation and cult, every separate orthodox church is free in its inner life and management" (Zankow, 1929, p. 24).

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What Zankow says of the Church in general is certainly true of its Arab members among whom local particularism is a conspicuous trait. Tannous says that the church in the Arab village is identified with the village rather than with the outside hierarchy which, in its turn, has very little to do with the village. The priest is a village member, chosen by the villagers, and after his ordination he is left very much on his own. He takes an active part in village life, working his own land if he has any. He is usually married (Tannous, 1944, p. 541). Zankow gives a similar picture of the orthodox priest in general, and he says that the "priests' service in no wise lifts them to a higher order, in which they are changed to another kind of persons, or into other kinds of beings who stand between the world of God and the world of man" (1929, p. 66). And again: "The priests have never been themselves an object of faith in the Orthodox Church" (*ibid.*, p. 67).

L 340

Churches and Shrines. The church of Mar (Saint) Sarkis in Mazraf is a long, low structure with a flat, concrete roof, and an open belfry (very typical in style of Lebanese village churches). The altar occupies the northeast end. There are two doors in the west wall, one for men, the other for women. In each of the three free walls there is one very small window high up. The ceiling is a barrel vault, plastered, painted pale blue, and sprinkled with small gilt stars. At about eye-level,

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

running around the room, a design with a cross motif has been impressed into the plaster, evidently with a rocker-stamp device. The altar, a stone table, is screened in a niche and is surmounted by a wooden canopy supported on four posts. It is not possible to make out its details very well because the sanctuary (*hayki*) is rather effectively hidden from the congregation by the *ikonostasis*, a wooden partition about eight feet high running across the entire width of the wall. There are three doorways, closed by curtains, in the *ikonostasis*, each with one step up. The *ikonostasis* is surmounted in the center by a large, ornate gilt cross. Immediately beneath this, and extending the length of the *ikonostasis*, is a row of pictures in gilt frames, with Jesus in the center, flanked by the Apostles. Between the three doors there are pictures of various saints. All the pictures are in Byzantine style. The rest of the *ikonostasis* is ornamented with pilasters and panels and is painted in rather bright colors—brown, red, yellow, and blue. Just below the pictures of Jesus and the Apostles, there are four projections, somewhat reminiscent of gargoyles, each terminating in a representation of the human hand. From each is suspended a small, oil lamp.

Hanging from the ceiling in front of the *ikonostasis* are several small crystal chandeliers. Beneath these, on the floor, are two lecterns (flat-topped, square, wooden tables) and two large brass candlesticks which rest on triangular bases. Each is about four feet high, surmounted by a cylindrical representation (blue) of a candle which is about four feet high. Real candles are inserted into the tops of these. Along each side wall there is a row of high wooden stalls, reserved for the women, and in the middle of the floor some wooden benches.

The priest is a Mizrqili and has held his office for twenty years. His predecessor (now in his nineties and entirely inactive) was from Shuykhan. There is a priest in Bashora, but he also is largely inactive by reason of age. The priest at Mizrqili serves his own village and also the others in the Qazzi when he is called to them. During the period of this study, a young man was installed as priest in Jiddayil. The priest wears his long black cassock and tall, cylindrical black hat on all occasions, even when he is out in the fields supervising, and partly contributing to, farm work. A full beard and long hair tied up in a bun behind also are insignia of his office.

Each shrine (*dayr*) has the interior arrangement of a church, with altar and *ikonostasis*. Mar Mamo is not in good repair, and no longer contains any portable equipment. Mar Jurjis and Mar Mikhail, however, are fully equipped inside. Figure 2 indicates the way in which the shrines are isolated from each other and from the village. Each shrine (as well as Mar Sarkis) is surrounded by land (planted to olives and grapes) which from time to time has been donated in sections by private citizens as *waqf*. Mar Mamo, though the building itself is believed to antedate the present village, is surrounded by a sizeable extent of *waqf* donated mostly by Maximal Lineage C, and the site is in the segment of land originally allotted to that lineage. Mar Jurjis and Mar Mikhail are in an exactly similar

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME: Lebanon ME:

position with respect to Maximal Lineages A and B, respectively, except that these shrines themselves were built after the founding of the village—"at least two hundred years ago." However, there are two kinds of *waqf*. The more common is land (or other property) given to a religious institution often in fulfillment of a vow, and its usufruct is reserved for religious purposes. In other words, it is an endowment. There is another kind of *waqf*, also, however, and this is represented in Munşif by Mar Jurjis and its *waqf*. In this case the *waqf* is a sort of family trust. The usufruct of the land is reserved for the family or lineage (in Munşif, A.III) which originally established it. Only when and if the lineage dies out is the property turned over to a religious institution. The Caliph Omar (A.D. 634–643) is credited with the invention of *waqf*, but actually the Byzantines had similar legal forms (Bonne, 1948, pp. 199–220). It happens that the present priest belongs to A.III, hence he would derive some income from Mar Jurjis even if he were not the priest. He is also the custodian of the other *waqf* lands, and the income from them is his. The disposition of *waqf* income is not made in this way everywhere, but this arrangement makes a sizeable contribution to the support of the priest and his family. In addition to being paid fees for performing rituals, the priest is also supposed to receive an annual contribution from each head of a household.

Some villages have religious schools attached to the church, but in Munşif formal religious instruction is conducted by the priest periodically in the village school. For the most part the religious instruction of the children is left to their parents.

SCHOOLS

"Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to or approximates universal literacy" (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, p. 407). Munşif is certainly one of these, and its condition is due to a long-standing emphasis on education.

In the village itself there are two schools, the government school and the "national" school. The government school is part of the government educational system. Instruction is free, except that the students must provide their own books. There are about seventy students and two teachers, both, at the moment, members of the village (A.V and C.XX).

The Lebanese public school system is based on the French, but it is incomplete. There is a fairly good distribution of public elementary schools, like that in Munşif, which offer a six-year program (recently shortened to five years) at the end of which the student receives a *certificat*. There are some public schools (mostly in large towns and cities) which carry the process about three years further, a *bachot* being granted at the end. The student who wishes to continue his education beyond the *bachot* must do so outside the public school system, and he has three courses to choose from (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 417–18). He may choose

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The Law of 1938 provides that any community of fifty persons or more should have an elected mukhtar and council. In villages of 50–500 persons, the council has two members; 500–1000, four members; 1500–2500, six members (Kitabat, 1952, p. 28). Since World War II, Mutayl's council was increased from two to four members. The present incumbents are from lineages A.VI; A.VIII; A.X; and C.XV.

The mayor presides at meetings of the council with which he is supposed to deliberate on all organizational and administrative matters. Council members countersign deeds of sale, identity cards, and bills of assessment. The mayor is responsible for the finances and general health of the village. He is responsible to the central government, or district government, for maintenance of the peace and for the collection of taxes. He is empowered to serve summonses. Mayor and council serve without salary (Kitabat, 1952, pp. 29–31). During the period of study, the mayor in his official capacity was in daily evidence since he accompanied the surveyor who was making a cadastral survey of all land-holdings in the village. The surveyor measured and recorded boundaries, and the mayor confirmed them after consultation with the parties concerned.

Otherwise, it was quite evident that the village government machinery has little cause to be active most of the time. There is no village constable, and the government gendarmerie do not regularly patrol it. If some criminal act were committed in the village, the mayor would be expected by the government to call in the police. However, as one man said, "We are very peaceful here, not like some villages. The judges say that if all villages were like Mutayl, they would have no work."

THE USE OF TITLES

The priest is addressed and referred to as *Abouna* (priest) by everyone including his family, though his children occasionally address him as *Bubu* (daddy). *Abouna* (our father), usually known, is also very frequently used in addressing the priest. The feminine form of *Abouna*, *Abounyyah*, is similarly used in reference and address to the priest's wife. The priest and his wife refer to and address each other in public by their titles.

The mayor is always referred to and addressed as *mukhtar*, at least by persons outside his immediate family, and his wife is sometimes called *mukhtarah*.

The retired physician was called *al-doktour* or Doktour Mikhail. Here again, his wife was often called *doktourah*. "Doktour" is of course borrowed from Indo-European and as a general thing it is preferred to *hakim* (the traditional equivalent of "physician") which is never used in address, anyway, and is only used nowadays in oblique references to doctors. For example, once when the priest was called out on duty in the evening he remarked humorously, "Al-khouri mitl hakim." ("The priest is like a doctor.")

that these patriarchates are "autocephalous" and independent of each other. The so-called "Ecumenical" Patriarch of Istanbul has never been more than primus inter pares, and frequently not even that. Following this pattern, Orthodox Churches in Europe have developed autocephalous patriarchates following national lines.

The strength of the Middle East patriarchates was undermined under the Ottoman Turks who established a system (the Millet system) whereby the Christian communities were set apart as more or less autonomous theocratic units, somewhat analogous to the supposedly theocratic rule of the fellaw who was also the Caliph of Islam. At first, the Muslims, understandably enough, lumped all the Christians together and called them "Rums," after the Arabic name for the Byzantine (Eastern Roman) Empire (Hitti, 1951, p. 63). At present, the Lebanese Orthodox still call themselves Rums. However, this is often confused with "Roumi," the popular designation for the Maronites (because of their connection with the Roman Catholic Church). Consequently, the Orthodox often refer to themselves as "Umuhdoxiyy," a term which, like "Quntaruhuuki," does not tell easily all Arabic-speaking tongues.

Although it has an elaborate hierarchy of patriarchs and bishops, the Orthodox Church on the local level is notable for what might be called "independent congregationism." This is characteristic of the Jews and most Protestants, but it is in striking contrast to the authoritarian Roman Catholic organization. "Considered ecumenically, all orthodox churches represent free communities. Within the bounds of the ecumenical-orthodox rules of doctrine, regulation and cult, every separate orthodox church is free in its inner life and management" (Zenkov, 1930, p. 34).

What Zenkov says of the Church in general is certainly true of its Arab members among whom local particularism is a conspicuous trait. Tannous says that the church in the Arab village is identified with the village rather than with the outside hierarchy which, in its turn, has very little to do with the village. The priest is a village member, chosen by the villagers, and also his ordination is a left very much on his own. He takes an active part in village life, working his own land if he has any. He is usually married (Tannous, 1946, p. 141). Zenkov gives a similar picture of the orthodox priest in general, and he says that the "priestly service in no wise lifts them to a higher order, in which they are changed to another kind of persons, or into other kinds of beings who stand between the world of God and the world of men" (1930, p. 66). And again: "The priests have never been themselves an object of faith in the Orthodox Church" (ibid., p. 67).

Churches and Shrines. The church of Mar (Saint) Sabbia in Mtoqbi is a long, low structure with a flat, concrete roof, and an open belfry (very typical in style of Lebanese village churches). The altar occupies the northeast end. There are two doors in the west wall, one for men, the other for women. In each of the three free walls there is one very small window high up. The ceiling is a barrel vault, plastered, painted pale blue, and sprinkled with small gilt stars. At about eye-level,

position with respect to Moslem Lineages A and B, respectively, except that those distant themselves were built after the founding of the village—"at least two hundred years ago." However, there are two kinds of waqf. The more common is land (or other property) given to a religious institution when an fulfillment of a vow, and its contract is reserved for religious purposes. In other words, it is an endowment. There is another kind of waqf, also, however, and this is represented in Mazraf by Mar Jacks and its waqf. In this case the waqf is a sum of family trust. The contract of the land is reserved for the family as lineage (in Mazraf, A.III) which originally established it. Only when and if the lineage dies out is the property turned over to a religious institution. The Latin Diocese (A.II) [illegible] is credited with the formation of waqf, but actually the Byzantines had similar legal forms (Bonne, 1948, pp. 159-161). It happens that the present priest belongs to A.III, hence he would derive some income from Mar Jacks even if he were not the priest. He is also the custodian of the other waqf lands, and the income from them is his. The disposition of waqf income is not made in this way everywhere, but this arrangement makes a sizable contribution to the support of the priest and his family. In addition to being paid from the participating shares, the priest is also supposed to receive an annual contribution from each head of a household.

Some villages have religious schools attached to the church, but in Mazraf formal religious instruction is conducted by the priest particularly in the village school. For the most part the religious instruction of the children is left to their parents.

SCHOOLS

"Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to an approximately universal literacy" (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, p. 497). Mazraf is certainly one of these, and its condition is due to a long-standing emphasis on education.

In the village itself there are two schools, the government school and the "national" school. The government school is part of the government educational system. Instruction is free, except that the students must provide their own books. There are about seventy students and two teachers, both, at the moment, members of the village (A.V and C.XII).

The Lebanese public school system is based on the French, but it is becoming more. There is a fairly good distribution of public elementary schools, like that in Mazraf, which offer a six-year program (recently shortened to five years) at the end of which the student receives a certificat. There are some public schools (mostly in large towns and cities) which carry the process about three years further, a brevet being granted at the end. The student who wishes to continue his education beyond the brevet must do so outside the public school system, and he has three courses to choose from (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 431-44). He may choose

hold of the people in these villages....." (from an external Muslim report.)

With him, the oldest partner, went to the relative centre and requested them to reopen the school in Bikhsiramma, promising to pay for the education of their children. The head of the relative re-minded them of what they had done with the school two years previously. One of the elders retorted by reminding the missionary of what Christ said about forgiving one's brother seven times seventy! A new native teacher was appointed by the relatives, and the school was reopened in Bikhsiramma.

The above story was dealt upon with a view to highlighting forth several significant points. The first of these is to emphasize the fact that the hostile reaction of Bikhsiramma to the mission did not take any serious violent character. In other places, the mission suffered serious persecution. This may be explained by two factors, a local one and a general one. Locally, the Bikhsiramma people had always been accustomed to live side by side with another religious group, the Muslim minority. They had learned how to tolerate the existence of another sect. Consequently, the appearance of a third sect, although disturbing, was not as much as we'd was in the case of other religious groups to complete isolation. The second factor derives from the general character of the Greek Orthodox church. It must be remembered that the Greek Orthodox or Eastern church has always been considered hostile by the Catholic church, due to the split which occurred in the early days of the Christian church. Even then, the Greek Orthodox sect have considered themselves as more "progressive." Further, the Greek Orthodox in Lebanon have always mixed with the Muslims of the country, much more so than the Maronites who secluded themselves on the mountain heights. Consequently one would expect the Greek Orthodox group of Bikhsiramma to be more open and tolerant toward the new message of the Presbyterian Mission.

The second point to be emphasized refers to the manner in which the village elders reacted with the Bible and finally used a threat. They were [illegible] behavior, on the part of a key village group toward high church authorities. As far as could be ascertained, this was the first incident of its kind in the village, possibly the first in the whole district. It is indeed hard to evaluate the significance of such a move. One may see in

[illegible] A beginning of a movement that may be termed "progressive." On the other hand, we can see the dangers implied for village solidarity.

[illegible] A third significant point to observe is that a new type of conflict arose in the village, as a result of the school incident. It was conflict between two new groups—those who wanted to have a Protestant school in the village and those who opposed the idea. It was a division that cut across the family and church groups. It was also conflict between a traditional value and a new one—between the need for the preservation of church integrity and the need for education. All of this tended to shake the village equilibrium; all of a sudden new adjustments on the part of the people.

III

After the first Mission teacher left the village, the students, and the village people in general, were not idle by the desire for further education. Other mission teachers came to the village and gave additional impetus to their desire. At the same time the first emigrants began to return to the village and tell the people about the wonders of education in that "marvellous country of America." English was the language through which they could attain some status with the Americans people and many more of the gold in that country. They wanted their children to learn English and get an American type of education. The Syrian Protestant College at Beirut was beginning to flourish, and the road was now open for a village boy to become a doctor or a college teacher. All of this meant more cash incomes, and cash was becoming more and more the significant symbol of comfort and new forms of prestige. Village boys and girls began to come back from Tripoli with American high school certificates in their hands. They were "fully" educated and they could share in the establishment and running of an independent village school.

All of these factors combined to bring about the erection of the village school idea. In 1904, under the leadership of the Minister's early students and some industrial emigrants who had returned to the village, a fully representative society, the first in the history of the village, was formed and given the name of "Najm-al-Wataa"—the hope of the country—the country here meaning nothing more than the village. The sole aim of the society was to establish and run a school for the whole village community.

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17: Tennessee S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

off the mortgage or to reacquire the land sold. At present there are many among the old emigrants who refuse to sell the land they own back home, although they have lost the hope of ever returning to live there.

This attachment to the land and to the community life that has developed on it is one of the fundamentals of national existence. It contributes essential stability and continuity to national character, especially in times of crisis and change. There are, however, factors such as a faulty land-tenure system, lack of adequate credit facilities, and absentee landownership that have been threatening this basis of security in village life. Although most of the land in Lebanon is privately owned, held in fee simple either by the individual farmer or by the joint family group, in certain sections of the country, mostly outside the central mountain region, share cropping prevails. There is no doubt that this condition, associated in many cases with absentee ownership, has retarded agricultural development and resulted in an appreciably lower standard of living, especially in many of the villages of the Akkar plain and the Bikā' valley.

Religious experience is another outstanding feature in the life of the rural folk of Lebanon. They take their religious organization, Christian or Moslem, seriously. Like their land and their agricultural activity, it constitutes a major part of their existence. Religion is not confined to formal services at the church or the mosque. It is expressed in wholesome recreation that takes place in connection with various festivals honoring patron saints. The Arabic word for festival, *'id*, is the symbol of a rich cultural complex indicating joy, relaxation, sociability, and religious fervor. When the farmer refers to his land, crops, or animals, he invokes Allah's name and blessing. On certain occasions some of the season's produce is carried to the church to be blessed. The normal greeting between farmers at work is not "Good morning" or "Good evening," but rather "May Allah give you health and strength."

Furthermore, there is a striking identification of the religious organization with the local community. It is the people of the village who donate the land and erect the church or mosque building. The priest or imam is a member of the village, chosen

17: Tannous S, G-5 (rev. 1947-48)1949 MEJ Lebanon MEJ

by the people, and ordained by higher religious authorities. Through unspecified donations, members of the community meet his needs. In some cases, he does not even come to be an active farmer. A balance is established between the central religious organization of the country and the village church through respect for local autonomy.

Another pillar of life among the rural people of Lebanon is the family organization, which is characterized by three functional units or stages. The first of these is the primary biological unit, consisting of the married couple and their children. The second is a more comprehensive unit, known as the joint family, which consists of the grandparents at the head, their unmarried daughters, and the various families of their sons. At a certain point in its growth, this joint family breaks up into new units, resulting ultimately in the development of the largest family organization, the kinship group. Members of this group claim descent from the same ancestor and normally carry his name.

Evidences of the importance of the family organization are numerous and convincing. A village consists actually of a community of people held together to a large extent by blood ties, either through descent within the kinship group or through intermarriage between these units. Practically everybody is related directly or indirectly to everybody else. A strong sense of belonging and of solidarity develops as a result. Marriage, to a large extent, is a family affair, with emphasis upon the interests and welfare of the two family groups concerned. Children are usually named after ancestors or other relatives, thus emphasizing the blood tie. Land is normally held and operated jointly by various members of the unit. Loyalty to the family in times of crisis is binding; family honor and prestige must be upheld.

In their use of proverbs, expressing fundamental attitudes, the village folk frequently refer to this family relationship. "Blood can never turn into water." "A boy is two-thirds the image of his uncle." "Marry the daughter of a good family, though she be an old maid." "He who has no family backing has no backbone." These are but a few examples. Further evidence of the identification of the individual with the family group is supplied by the manner in which people are addressed or introduced.

GULICK: SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND CULTURE CHANGE

Lebanon, with a history [illegible] of the [illegible] of the country itself and because of the [illegible] preliminary remark as it must be noted that Lebanon has a number of characteristics which tend to differentiate it somewhat from its neighbors. It has been a refuge area for various religious sects, half of its population is Christian, it is one of the most intensively urbanized of the Arabic-speaking countries, it is not the headquarters of any nomadic tribes as such, and it is primarily a country of agricultural villages and urban export centers. Urban studies in Lebanon, as in any other Middle East country, will be of tremendous value and importance, but they must be based on as thorough as possible an understanding of village life. This is because so many city dwellers were village born and bred. Furthermore, urban studies in the Middle East should probably be undertaken by teams of researchers which include other social scientists in addition to anthropologists. A village study is therefore the most suitable type of research for a single anthropologist in Lebanon.

This work attempts to do two things: (1) to present as detailed a description as possible of the culture-in-change of a Lebanese village; (2) to isolate the major themes in the traditional culture and in the change process, and to present a theoretical scheme which serves to give some form and meaning to the observed phenomena.

In line with this purpose, there are two parts to the work. Part I is a descriptive analysis of the village culture as of the time of investigation. This is the way the people lived it and the way it was observed. Probably there is nothing unusual in the categories into which this material is divided for presentation. However, a note on them is in order. There can be little disagreement with Embree's suggestion (1939, p. 179) that such categories as "religion," "social life," and "economics," lead to serious difficulties in the study of other cultures, especially when the concepts behind these are are directly applicable only to the investigator's own culture. Involved in this problem is the fact, brought into clear focus by the functionalists, that the elements of culture and society are, by and large, interdependent. One cannot, therefore, get very far into the discussion of such an inclusive category as "religion," for example, without soon becoming involved in questions of "economics" and "social life," as well as "ritual."

Alfi Tannous has analyzed the Middle East village quite handily in terms of three major categories: "Land," "Religion," and "Kinship Organization" (1941). These he considers to be the major themes in village life. The present writer does not follow this conceptualization in Part I, although he does draw upon it in Part II. Tannous's categories of Land and Kinship Organization are approximately covered in two separate chapters, but phenomena all of which could be subsumed under Religion are discussed separately, for reasons which should become clear. Categorical lines must be drawn somewhere if system is to be used, as it must be. The problem is to define categories in such a way that there is no undue repetition and yet so that the interdependent, or overlapping nature of cultural elements is given recognition. The arrangement of Part I is an attempt to achieve these ends.

[illegible] to health but do definitely take a lot of chance and accident out of the [illegible] of the prevention and cure of disease.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the wide variation in beliefs concerning the deities represents a decline in the use of them which has been brought about by the widespread acceptance of modern medicine. Certainly there is evidence of decline in the statement that only recently were annual processions to each of the shrines, on the saints' days, discontinued. In this general connection, it should be mentioned that as one was observed wearing an amulet or religious medals (Lawson-Dakaris, 1910, pp. 160-64).

ORDINARY MASS

The Mass is said once a week, on Sunday mornings. The church is also open every Saturday evening for prayers. Otherwise, the building is ordinarily closed and locked. Speaking generally, Rhos (1910, p. 18) says that in Syrian Greek Orthodox Churches daily mass is very rare. He also says that although ancient Greek is the official language of the church, the native language of each particular region is the one actually used in the service (*ibid.*, p. 122). Zaidan (1909, p. 108) states this to be true of the Orthodox Church as a whole. In Mosul, according to superstition, the liturgy is in Arabic, with the exception of a few special phrases. According to Rhos, the liturgy is:

> . . . teeming with passages of profound spirituality clothed in language noble and poetic. Large parts of the services are rendered in weird Oriental chants. The service books of the Greek Church are in fourteen quarto volumes. They would appear to cover every possible occasion. There are, for example, prayers to be said by the priest when a corner stone is laid, when a building-floor is constructed, when a well is dug, when a well is polluted, when insects need be enjoined from the vines, when lambs must be vaccinated, when silk worms are being cultivated, when a sick man passes away, when one has been harmed by the evil eye. (*Ibid.*, p. 124.)

[illegible] three of these were outside the church building was observed in the village.

Zaidan says that the Orthodox Church is more like Protestantism than Roman Catholicism in the following points: (1) extensive use of the Scriptures; (2) Communion; (3) the inner and personal effect of the Sacraments (*ibid.*, pp. 109-10). He could well have added to this list the participation of laymen in the service. There is no congregational singing, but solo chants by laymen are a conspicuous element.

The priest performs all rituals only as an instrument of God, and, significantly, never uses the first person singular. For example, he says "Ye-mshaw is baptized" not "I baptize ye-mshaw" (Zaidan, 1909, pp. 87-88.)

Zaidan says that there is in general a feeling in the Church that other Christian sects have not fallen from Grace. "The broad-minded attitude and practice," he concludes, "explains [its] mild attitude toward other churches and their mem-

...leaf" (1925, pp. 30-42). As far as doctrine alone is concerned, this generalization appears to be true of the Arab Orthodox, but among them, assimilation, and affiliation as a form of in-group loyalty is strong.

Bliss describes the Mass and Sacraments of the Syrian Greek Orthodox Church at some length (1913, pp. 130-47), and it is not necessary to repeat the material here in a body. The practice in Mosul appears to conform to the generalizations [illegible]. In the intervening period he prepares the elements behind the iconostasis. Each Sunday one housewife presents five loaves of holy bread (qurbana) which are used in the service. Apparently all the women in the village take their turn at this. The loaf is about the same size as a regular loaf but is about an inch thick. In the middle of each loaf a device is impressed with a wooden stamp (mahr). The device bears four pairs of Greek letters arranged crosswise which are an abbreviation of "Jesus Christ conquers."

The following is a brief description of one Sunday mass which was attended only in the summer. It is representative of several which were attended.

At eight fifteen only the priest and an elderly man were in the church, chanting responsively. At that point, a middle-aged man entered, took his post at one of the lectorns and began chanting. About five minutes later, a young man came in, went to the other lectorn and joined in. Next, three small boys entered and sat down in the wooden stalls. Then another young man arrived and went behind the iconostasis to assist the priest. After that, several more young and middle-aged men came in in short order. In all, about fifteen men were present, together with about an equal number of children of both sexes and about half a dozen young women, one of whom had prepared the qurbana for that day.

The chanting was maintained continuously, with certain individuals who are regular attendants taking noticeable part. Toward the end of the service, the priest took the Host into the congregation, carrying the chalice and plate, which held small pieces of qurbana, on a silver tray. His assistant walked backwards in front of him, holding up a cross. Each member of the congregation bowed as the Host approached him. After this, the assistant took up a collection and distributed qurbana to each person present as well as to several who had been sitting outside all the time.

After the service, the young men, as usual, took turns ringing the bell, bracing off the ground and pulling the cord with all their weight. Others stood around chatting.

The stores are open every Sunday.

FEASTS AND FASTS

Every day of the year is a saint's day, but special observances are made only on a few. Besides Easter and the various special holy days in Lent, the Syrian Greek

[illegible] adequate for its needs and problems. Relationship with the central government was remote and did not go much beyond the payment of taxes and tithes. Loyalty to the kinship group struck a harmonious balance with loyalty to the village community. [illegible] Its authority was recognized and respected. The priest was always a member of the community and was elected by the people. Economic life was a mixture of private ownership of land requiring individual effort on the one hand and co-operation in various agricultural activities on the other. Education was simple, adapted to the needs of the community, and the teacher was a farmer, a member of the group. It was a type of education that emanated from and catered to the needs of community life.

After 1880, new factors, which were to a large extent beyond the organization and control of the people, began to operate within the community, leading to a marked disruption in its harmonious organization. The most important among these factors or forces were the Protestant missions of the U. S., the silk factory, the educational movement, emigration and the new political-national spirit of the Arab World. The present article will deal with one of these—the emigration movement.

Why Did They Emigrate?

Disturbances of the land population balance. Since the village began to

[illegible]

p 43 (a)

In 1971 population of 1,200 people and general social organization, Bekaa-town is typical of the Lebanon village communities. It is situated in the foothills of the Lebanon mountains, fifty miles to the north of Beirut and twelve miles to the south of Tripoli, the two seaports of the country. The writer was born and grew up in this village. He is the product of the native Arab culture, [illegible] and exposed to the prevailing American culture. The present article is based upon personal experience the writer, with an Arab-American background, and then of the people, who have lived in the same village for eight generations.

With respect to the religious situation in the village previous to the appearance of mission activity, it is sufficient to emphasize a few salient facts. In the first place, there were in the village three religious sects: a large majority of Greek Orthodox (about 1000 people), a small minority of Moslems (about 100 people), and three Maronite households, which will be neglected in the discussion. Secondly, the relationship between the two religious sects had always been such as could be characterized as harmonious and stable. Each sect took it for granted that there had always been and there will always be two sects in the village--Moslems and Greek Orthodox. Consequently, there had never been any attempt on the part of one sect to interfere with the religious practices of the other or to undertake any proselyting campaign. Thirdly, religion in the village had always been an integral part of the whole village life. It was not a matter of dogma, of

[illegible] method of worship, was upset and influenced [illegible] the practices of daily living. It was rather a way of life. The church grew up with the village, influencing it and in the same time being influenced by the other aspects of village life. There, to our doubt upon the church cannot overlay doubt upon village life altogether.

II

Early in the second half of the 19th century, three religious missions appeared on the quiet horizon of the Lebanon were—the Protestant (mainly American), the Catholic (mainly French), and the Greek Orthodox (Russian). There were other missions too—Italian, German, English, and Scandinavian. However, the influence of these did not reach Mikhaleiyeen and they need not be discussed here.

The American Presbyterian mission has always been the most influential Protestant mission in the country. They began their work early in the second half of the 19th century. Beirut was their first base, whence they reached out to the surrounding Lebanese villages. Later, they established a second base in the town of Tripoli, from which they began to work in the neighbouring villages of the Koura district, including Mikhaleiyeen. About 1900, they succeeded in establishing a simple elementary school at Mikhaleiyeen. A native Protestant teacher (one) was put in charge. A simple square room was found, whose owner was willing to rent it for the purpose. Children were free and parents were encouraged to send their children to the new school.

In course time, at first, the people of the village

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hazardous. The principal source of this cash income used to be the silkworm cocoon, supplemented by wage labor. Third, in regard to kinship groups, there appears always to have been a tendency to minimize (in comparison to other villages) the distinctiveness of the various lineages. Since, however, all village members recognized the same common ancestor, and were therefore all related, this tendency does not necessarily indicate that the principle of kinship grouping, in itself, was unimportant in the village.

Finally, extreme localism was to some degree modified in al-Mansūf. Some of the seasonal wage laborers brought back brides from the communities in which they worked — a violation of the principle of village endogamy. However, these cases were rare, and in every one the outsider was at least a coreligionary of her husband. Al-Mansūf also had, and still has, a sort of second line of defense, or buffer, between it and the outside world. This is the group of villages, seven of them including al-Mansūf, which has been alluded to earlier. This cluster of villages has a name which is used by its inhabitants, symbolizing its unity. Visiting has always been common among the villages, and ties of friendship are many. Furthermore, there has always been a certain amount of intermarriage among the villages. Each case of this was, technically speaking, a violation of village endogamy, but it was a very different matter, in the villagers' eyes, from marrying "a stranger." The unity of the seven villages can be ascribed largely to the fact that the same sect affiliation — Greek Orthodox — is predominant in all of them while the surrounding region is predominantly Maronite. But all these modifications do not detract very much from the picture of the al-Mansūf of former times as being a typical "folk" community: predominantly agricultural, inward-oriented, consensual and self-contained in its system of values.

III

The changes which have occurred in al-Mansūf began about 1880. By 1910 all the trends were apparently set which have since gathered momentum and wrought considerable modifications in the traditional patterns of life in the village.

In the latter part of the 19th century, there were factors come to bear on the culture of Lebanon which had profound effects. These can be analyzed specifically in the case of al-Mansūf, but were certainly felt in many other Lebanese villages.

1. Factory-made articles from Europe began to be imported, with two consequences: first, the lessening in importance (and eventual extinction) of village handicrafts; and second, a newly developed demand for European articles, such as furniture, obtainable only on payment of cash. Thus, an already tight economic balance in the village threatened to become an extremely serious squeeze. Doubtless the situation would have become really

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SYRIA MEI
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chief towns of Syria and their populations are: Aleppo, 335,000 Damascus, the capital, 305,000; Hama, 154,000; Latakia, 90,000; Deir ez-Zor, 65,000: of the Lebanon—Beirut, the capital, 245,000; Tripoli, 86,000; Sidon (Saida), 38,800; Zahle, 38,031. The population of each country is increasing by about 2 per cent a year. Between half a million and a million Syrians and Lebanese live abroad, mainly in the Americas and Africa; emigration continues; during 1952 about 100 Lebanese emigrated monthly, most of them to South America.

Religions

RELIGIOUS SECTS AND PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION

	Syria		Lebanon	
	Population in 1947	Seats in 1947	Population in 1937	Seats in 1953
Sunni				
Shia (incl. Alawis)				
Druze				
Maronite				
Orthodox (Greek				
Orthodox Armenian				
Orthodox Syrian (Jacobite)				
Catholic (Latin rite)				
Catholic (Greek rite)				
Catholic (Syrian rite)				
Catholic (Armenian rite)				
Catholic (Chaldean rite)				
Protestants				
Jews				
Others				
Minorities				
Totals				

The language of the great majority of Syrians and Lebanese is Arabic, and they think of themselves as Arabs. There are minorities of race, religion, and language:* the Kurds number between 100,000 and 200,000 and are mainly in northern Syria; most of them speak Kurdish but are progressively becoming less and less distinct from the Arabs. The Armenians, who live mainly in the three principal cities, now number about 150,000, although some 20,000 emigrated to Soviet Armenia in the 1946's. Most of them came as refugees from the Turks after the First World War. Other racial minorities are the Turkomans, Circassians, and Assyrians. Most of the religious sects

* The further details are in A. H. Hourani, Minorities in the Arab World (London, Oxford University Press for RIIA, 1947).

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shown in the table above are found in other parts of the Middle East but three indigenous sects need mention here: the Druses, who are a mountain people professing a religion which derived from Islam in the eleventh century A.D., but became independent; the Alawis of the mountains behind Latakia, whose religion appears to be a dogmatic form of Shiî Islam with some survivals of Christian ritual; and the Maronites, who are a Christian sect, living mainly in the north of Lebanon.

The religion of the majority of Syrians and of the head of the Syrian state is Sunni Islam; in the Lebanon, Muslims and Christians are fairly evenly divided and the President of the Republic is a Maronite Christian and the Prime Minister a Sunni Muslim. The Christians of the Arab Levant have provided the Middle East with great leaders in journalism, letters, politics, and science, but in present-day Syria the Christians are mainly prominent in commerce and industry. There is hardly any dangerous animosity between the sects, but sectarian bonds are a very real force in the lives of people who for so long lived under the Turkish *millet* system whereby each sect was an administrative unit, the head of which exercised considerable authority.

So mixed a population living in a variety of environments naturally does not constitute one physical type, but some generalizations are hazarded for the sake of a fuller picture. Dark hair is almost universal but the skin of the town dweller is no darker than that of a Mediterranean European; the Syrians and Lebanese are not often as tall or as heavy as the average Englishman but they mature at an earlier age. The poorer nomad eats mainly bread, with milk and fruit and vegetables as less frequent additions and meat as an event, but in the towns and villages most people eat a full diet with rather more oil and spice than is used in Britain. The cultivator and the nomad wear local costumes but most townspeople wear European clothes; the tarbush or the head-cloth are usual but not universal headgear for men. Most Muslim women wear the veil, but in the towns the richer women are becoming more and more emancipated and, particularly in Beirut, many lead the same lives as Christian women. In Lebanon and in Damascus and Aleppo the way of life is very like that in southern Europe, and both countries make a pleasant home for a European.

History

Semitic-speaking people have inhabited for four or five millennia the area which is known historically as Syria, although for much of this period the rulers of what is now

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Chapter 24

ORGANIZATION AND ADMINISTRATION OF THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM

Two unique features of education in Lebanon distinguish it from education in the rest of the Arab world. Lebanon has the highest rate of literacy among the Arab states. It is estimated that between 70 and 75 percent of the children of primary-school age are attending school—a considerably higher rate than in the neighboring countries. This rate would have been higher had it not been for the addition to Lebanon after World War I of some regions which were much less advanced educationally than the original Mount Lebanon. Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to or approximates universal literacy.

The second remarkable fact is that this comparatively advanced stage has been accomplished largely through the efforts of private and foreign schools rather than through publicly supported schools. Indeed, before World War I, autonomous Lebanon had only one public school, the Deuliyah at 'Abey, which was supported by the Lebanese government for the education of the children of that predominantly Druze region.* The private and foreign schools were largely sectarian. This gave education in Lebanon a predominantly sectarian character, emphasizing sectarian differences, the remnants and effects of which are felt to this day.

Even in 1945–46 the number of pupils enrolled in the public schools was smaller than the number of those enrolled in either private schools or foreign schools. Higher education is conducted entirely in foreign institutions. Secondary education is shared between private and foreign schools, the Lebanese Ministry of National Education having no complete secondary schools. Primary education is conducted in all three types of schools—public, private, and foreign—with the public schools in the third place in enrollments. In addition to primary schools, the Ministry of Na-

*Government schools existed in those parts of the present Lebanese Republic which were parts of the neighboring Ottoman provinces. Among those were the cities of Beirut (now the capital of Lebanon), Tripoli, Sidon, and Tyre, as well as such districts as 'Akkar, Bsaqa', and Marja'yun.

certificate of good behavior, and the places of his residence during the last five years, as well as a plan of the building to be used, a certificate from the county doctor as to its sanitary arrangements, and another certificate from an architect (or master-mason in outlying villages) as to the soundness of the building. The principal must give an affidavit stating that the school will follow the official course of study. Before granting the permit, the Ministry considers whether there is a need for the school. Any changes in the plan of organization of the school require repetition of all the processes indicated above. A school which does not open within two years of the date of issue of its permit has its permit withdrawn. Any school whose proprietor has no permit is closed.

Coeducation is permitted up to the age of eleven. Although the private and foreign schools are required to follow the official courses of study, the principals have a choice of methods of teaching. Only textbooks approved by the Ministry of Education may be used in the teaching of history, geography, and moral, civic, and patriotic subjects, and any private school that uses a textbook banned by the Ministry is subject to the penalty of being closed.

Private schools, whether native or foreign, are subject to supervision by the Ministry of National Education. At the end of November of each year private-school principals must submit a register of the school staff and their qualifications, a detailed report on the condition of the school, and the number of pupils and the denominations to which they belong. Schools already having permits at the time of the issuance of the decree of October 1946 were required to register them before April 1947, after which date an unregistered school was subject to being closed.

The Educational Ladder

Schools in Lebanon, as already intimated, belong mainly to one of two types of educational organization: a French or an American type. The French type prevails in the government schools, in the large majority of foreign schools, and in some of the private schools—all culminating in the French Jesuit university known as the Université Saint-Joseph. The American type is found in the next largest group of foreign schools, the schools of the Protestant Synod, and in some of the private schools. These culminate in the American University of Beirut, the oldest existing institution of higher education in Lebanon (founded in 1866). A third type of organization comprising a small number of schools may be called the "British" type and is exemplified by the British-Syrian Training Col-

[illegible] for girls and the elementary schools for boys and girls attached to it.*

¶ 710 Which one of the types a particular pupil is likely to choose depends to a large extent upon his community background—more specifically his religious community background. A Catholic parent is likely to place his child in a Catholic foreign or native private school, which means that he receives the French brand of education. Greek or other Orthodox children, when they do not go to their own schools, are as likely to pick a French type as American or British types of school. When picking a French type, they usually prefer a lay-mission (Mission Laique) school where they are not subjected to the intense religious teaching of the Catholic mission schools. Most Protestant children go to Protestant schools which, with one notable exception (Le Collège Protestant Français) are of the American or British types. A Muslim parent usually would prefer to send his child to a Muslim school, which may be following plans of any of the types. The poorer Muslims often send their children to the government schools, which follow the French type of organization, or to the French lay-mission schools, or to the American or British types of school. The deciding factor is the absence or minimum of proselytization. Druzes, when they do not send their children to their own schools, usually send them to government schools, but they may choose American or British schools; the latter have had long-standing relations with the Druze community. Druzes also send their children to French schools and to some of the Muslim and Christian denominational schools. Thus, the choices of schools are to a large extent determined by sectarian considerations. This situation is a perpetuation of the status prevailing in the days of the Ottoman Empire, which was accentuated even further in the days of the French mandate. It is not likely to change appreciably until the government assumes greater responsibility for public education than it has hitherto.

¶ 711 Chart XIV attempts to depict the various educational systems in vogue in Lebanon. In general, two systems—the American and the French—go their own ways, using their own curriculums, their own methods, and, indeed, are guided by two distinct philosophies.* About the only link between the two types is the establishment by the American University of Beirut of a *Section Secondaire*, in which an adaptation of the French secondary program is followed and where the teaching is in French. Those who finish this program present themselves for the French or Lebanese

* There are, in addition, 1 Danish, 1 Swiss, and 1 Greek school. The American Council Commission was unable to visit any of these schools and, therefore, is not in a position to describe the type of organization they follow.

* For a description of French schools, see chap. xxvi; for American and British schools, chap. xxvii.

students. There were more foreign secondary schools than public and private secondary schools combined, with three-fifths of the total secondary-school enrollment.

The distribution of foreign schools according to nationality, and the number of boys and girls enrolled in them in 1941-42 (the latest figures available), are shown in Table 74.

TABLE 74

[illegible]

[illegible]	No. of Schools	[illegible]		
		Boys	Girls	Total
French	271	17,780	15,726	33,506
American	36	1,443	1,381	2,824
British	14	487	398	885
Danish	1	24	114	138
Greek	1	178	—	178
Swiss	1	30	49	79
Total	324	22,361	24,410	46,726

The largest group of foreign schools was the French, constituting 83 percent of all foreign schools and enrolling 84 percent of the total foreign-school enrollment. Far behind them trail the American schools, which constitute 11 percent of all foreign schools and educate about the same proportion of pupils. They are followed by the British schools, which constitute 4 percent of the total of foreign schools with the same percentage of the total enrollment. Denmark, Greece, and Switzerland are each represented by one school.

Finally, owing to the great stress laid in Lebanon on the sectarian distribution of school children and of the population in general, it seemed worth while to study the sectarian composition of the school population of

TABLE 75

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]					[illegible]
			Public Schools	Private Schools	Foreign Schools	Total	Per cent	
Christian	387,483	33.0	6,753	53,276	30,689	90,718	69.9	23.4
Muslim	434,709	39.3	11,398	16,987	2,888	34,256	26.7	7.8
Druze	72,862	6.6	1,802	3,796	1,117	6,914	5.3	6.7
Jews	5,567	0.5	10	262	1,775	2,047	1.5	36.8
Miscellaneous	6,112	0.6	10	276	107	486	0.4	8.0
Total	1,106,669	100.0	21,094	73,609	43,696	130,310	100.0	11.5

Lebanon and compare it with the composition of the general population of the country. The matter is not without both educational and sociological interest. This is shown in Table 75.

Although the Christians of Lebanon constitute slightly more than one-half of the population, they have 70 percent of the total school enrollment of the country. The ratio of children in school to the Christian population is 17.8—which seems to show that the Christians are closely approaching universal literacy. It tends to confirm the statement made earlier, based on personal observation, that many a Christian village in Lebanon has achieved almost complete literacy. The Muslims, who make up 39.3 percent of the population, have 24.7 percent of the school enrollment. Their children constitute 7.0 percent of the total Muslim population. They seem to be half-way on the road to complete literacy. They are closely followed by the Druzes who have 6.7 percent of their population in the schools. As a community the Druzes make up 6.6 percent of the total population and have 3.3 percent of the total enrollment. The abnormal proportion of Jewish children in school compared with their population (36.8 percent) may be attributed either to the possibility that the figure given for the Jewish population is an underestimate or that Jewish students are coming from neighboring countries to study in Lebanon in such numbers as completely to upset the ratio. The Jews seem to have no problem of illiteracy.

Taking the total school enrollment and the total population of Lebanon, it is found that the former constitutes 12.3 percent of the latter—the highest percentage among the Arab countries.

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Chapter 28

PRIVATE LEBANESE SCHOOLS

Modern education in Lebanon goes back to the end of the eighteenth century when a Maronite patriarch, formerly a student in one of the oriental seminaries of Rome, opened a school at the monastery of 'Ayn Warqah in 1789. This school therefore precedes by thirty-five years the elementary American school opened in 1824, and precedes 'Ainturah College by forty-five years. Inspired in its plan by the seminaries in Rome, it gave instruction in Syriac, Arabic, Italian, Latin, philosophy, theology, and civil law, combining in its student body lay students as well as those destined for clerical life. It has often been called the mother of the national schools of Lebanon, and produced a number of learned Lebanese men of the nineteenth century. Among its distinguished alumni may be cited the linguist-lexicographer-journalist-encyclopedist, Butrus Bustani, already mentioned as one of the translators of the Bible into Arabic, Ahmad Faris al-Shidyaq, another linguist and journalist, and Monseigneur Yusuf al-Dibs, later Maronite Archbishop of Beirut and author of an eight-volume history of Syria, and founder of the well-known al-Hikmah College, which will be described later.[1] This school remained open well into the nineteenth century. Other schools were founded later by Maronites, Greek Catholics, Syrian Catholics, and Greek Orthodox (of the latter, the Syrian School at Dayr al-Shuwfah and the Greek Orthodox School of Three Doctors are the best known), but they did not seem to have had the same influence as the school at 'Ayn Warqah. Bustani founded the National School in Beirut, which prepared students for the American University of Beirut during its early years.

The Greek Catholics founded a school in Beirut known as the Patriarchal School, which is still in existence as one of the prominent schools of Lebanon. Later the Muslim Charitable Purposes Association founded a school in Beirut, in 1876. Down to the present day, private schools have been founded by sects, associations, and individuals in such numbers that it is impossible to enumerate them.

[1] See pp. 506-8.

In 1944–45 private Lebanese schools were the largest single group of schools in the country, numbering 963 schools and enrolling 71,524 pupils, or 60.3 percent of the schools and 49.4 percent of the enrollments. The period following the First World War was a period of great development in private schools. These grew up in the larger cities as well as in the smaller villages and may be divided from the standpoint of control into three categories: (1) sectarian schools; these are the largest group and are maintained by the various denominations in order to keep the education of their children under their wing; (2) schools controlled by committees and associations for national or purely educational purposes; (3) schools controlled by individuals—many of these are simply commercial ventures of private individuals for private gain.

TABLE 90

DISTRIBUTION OF PUPILS IN SCHOOLS AND PUBLIC EXPENDITURES BY DENOMINATION, LEBANON, 1943–45*

Denomination	Schools	Enrollment					
		Catholic	Muslim	Druze	Jews	Miscellaneous	Total
Muslim	122	92	13,408	162	—	97	13,759
Druze	26	41	45	1,453	3	3	1,545
Jewish	1	—	—	—	236	—	236
Christian							
Maronite	406	21,400	533	175	2	15	21,315
Greek Catholic	148	7,591	698	331	—	6	8,595
Syrian Catholic	6	985	40	29	—	—	1,054
Armenian Catholic	4	1,386	—	—	—	—	1,386
Chaldean	1	140	1	1	—	—	142
Greek Orthodox	186	10,479	321	133	2	—	10,864
Syrian Orthodox	3	328	2	—	—	—	330
Armenian Orthodox	15	7,082	—	—	—	—	7,082
Armenian Protestant	13	1,131	—	—	—	—	1,131
Protestant	2	197	34	3	—	—	234
Miscellaneous private schools	34	2,894	211	413	17	156	3,691
Total	963	53,274	14,997	2,799	260	276	71,606

* Conseil Général des Syndics Communs, *Recueil de Statistiques de la Caisse des Ecoles, 1943–45* (Beirut: Imprimerie Catholique, 1945), p. 31.

From the standpoint of government statistics almost all the private schools are classified under the denominational affiliation of their controlling authorities as is shown in Table 90, which gives the distribution of private schools and pupils according to denomination in the year 1943–45.

The largest single group of schools and of pupils is the Maronite with 406 schools and 21,315 pupils. Next comes the Greek Orthodox with 186 schools and 10,864 pupils. The Greek Catholics come third with 148 schools and 8,595 pupils. The Muslims, though fourth in the number of schools, are second in the number of pupils; they had 122 schools with

13,759 students. Armenian schools, both Orthodox and Protestant, come next with 50 schools and 8,215 pupils. They are followed by the Druzes, with 26 schools and 1,540 pupils.

A careful study of Table 90 shows that each denomination is catering almost exclusively to children of its own religion, though not necessarily of its own sect. Only 713 pupils out of the more than 21,000 in Maronite schools are non-Christian. Similarly, 385 pupils out of 10,879 in Greek Orthodox schools are non-Christian. Only 30 Christians, 102 Druzes, and 97 pupils from various sects attend Muslim schools out of a total of 13,759. Thus, the sectarian differences already existing among the people of Lebanon are paralleled in the composition of the student bodies of the various private schools. It can perhaps be safely said that the schools help to perpetuate these cleavages, if not to make them more pronounced.

As a group the private schools represent no special philosophy of education or any attempt to experiment with new curriculums or methods. It is the rare school indeed which is trying to strike out in a new direction. Rather, the private schools follow the lead either of the French, American, or British types of education. Naturally, since the government conducts primary and secondary examinations, some schools also follow the program of studies set down by the government.

These statements must be qualified by two considerations. The first is the attempt of each sect to draw to its own schools the children of its own community, and annoyance lest these children may go to schools of a different sect. This is particularly true of the Greek Orthodox and Catholic sects. The same is true of some of the private Muslim schools which were established to prevent Muslim children entering Christian missionary schools where another religion might be taught to them, sometimes compulsorily, and where they would have no chance of studying their own religion. Some of the sectarian schools provide children for religious services in their churches, and the children are, therefore, taught the liturgy and hymns of their own church. In a large portion of the Catholic schools, the clergy is in full control, with nuns or priests as principals, directors of discipline and studies, and as teachers. The same is not true of the Greek Orthodox schools, though there is a close affiliation with the church.

The second consideration is the new outlook advocated by some of the Lebanese that their culture should follow the lines of the so-called "Mediterranean culture." The protagonists of this theory maintain that Lebanon has always been a bridge between the East and the West and has always been influenced by Eastern and Western cultures alike. Whether in Phoenician, Greco-Roman, or Crusading times, Lebanon was always in direct

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relationship with other parts of the Mediterranean world and was influenced by the cultures emanating from that world. At the same time since it was attached to the Eastern and and populated by men of Semitic origin, it could not help being influenced by Eastern cultures as well. In this way "Mediterranean culture" seems to mean the present Arab culture of the East and its background of other Semitic cultures, as well as the present modern Western, particularly French-Catholic, culture and its background of Greco-Roman culture. It is further maintained by this group, made up largely of French Catholic sympathizers who have not taken easily to the participation of Lebanon in the Arab League, that Lebanon should not be swayed too far to the East, to the point of losing its identity in the Arab-Muslim majority and in the Arab-Muslim ideology. Rather, she too must be taken to keep in close touch with the West, the Christian Catholic West in particular, in order to have a balanced culture inside Lebanon.

Their antagonists, on the other hand, made up largely of sympathizers with the Arab cause who like to see the Arabic culture of Lebanon maintained, accuse them of not paying enough attention to Arabic and Eastern cultures, and assert that what is called "Mediterranean culture" is nothing more than a thin veil for the attempt to preserve French Catholic influence and education in Lebanon.

This controversy has come to the fore more specifically in the last several years with the end of the French mandate, the rise of the Arab League, and the declaration of Lebanon's independence. From the standpoint of the schools themselves, however, it has as yet made little difference either in the types of curriculum or methods followed. It is not necessary, therefore, to describe them further as a group. The descriptions which follow are of individual schools visited by the Commission.

[Denominational Schools]

Maronite schools

The outstanding Maronite school in Lebanon is the al-Hikmah College, a boys school founded in Beirut in 1870, by the Maronite Archbishop of Beirut, Monseigneur Yusuf al-Dibs, a learned man of his times. It is situated in the eastern part of the city in its own old building to which has been added a large new building constructed in 1956. It has a primary school, a secondary school, and a commercial course. It had an enrollment in 1960-61 of 1,101 students, of whom 100 were boarders. About 600 were in the secondary section. Students are drawn mainly from Lebanon, but about 100 boys came from Syria, a few from Palestine, while others

PRIVATE (DIOCESE) SCHOOLS

were children of Lebanese emigrants to Africa. The school was staffed with a director, a prefect of discipline, two directors of studies of Arabic and French (all of them priests), and 15 men instructors, 12 women instructors, and seven more to substitute them were 12 supervisors, all priests. The school is under the authority of the Maronite Archbishop of Beirut who appoints the principal and receives from him a written report on the school annually. It is self-supporting, the fees being sufficient normally to pay all expenses. Any additional expenses are paid, when need arises, out of endowments of the Diocese of Beirut. The buildings belong to the diocese.

The College is well known for the equal care given to the teaching of Arabic and French. It has produced a large number of the leading men of Lebanon, among whom are writers, poets, journalists, and clergymen. Originally both a seminary and a college, it is now only a college for lay instructors, the seminary having been moved elsewhere. The instructors of the College have been among the leaders in the movement for the revival of what has been called "Mediterranean culture" and have taken the lead in founding the Cultural League of Free Education. This is an association of private Lebanese secondary and elementary-school principals and inspectors which has the following aims:

1. Intimate cooperation and participation with the government in propagating the spirit of independence and patriotism in the hearts of youth, and the realization of education required by the Lebanese spirit.
2. The maintenance of the opposition between school and political extremism and respect for the national Lebanese ideal and its cultural opportunity.
3. Maintenance of the freedom of educational method in private schools within the public programs.

Table 11 shows the program of studies of the school beginning with the fourth primary year (Bachibac) as an illustration of the attempt to give more or less equal emphasis to Arabic and French.

It should be added that though the hours given to French are somewhat less than those given to Arabic, a number of subjects are taught in French. The Commissioner on his visit to the school was impressed by the fact that the general atmosphere seemed to be decidedly French. The school authorities spoke French among themselves and kept notes of the records in French. English is begun in the fifth primary grade (optional).

The school has a literary society, physical-education society, a boys' troop, and a choir of 150 voices which sings church and Lebanese music. Dramatic societies are also active, giving both Arabic and French plays.

[illegible]

[illegible]

The College seems to be attempting to foster the introduction of harmony into Arabic and Jewish music.

An illustration of the efforts by the Moravian clergy to provide education for girls on the islands of the Dutch West Indies, known as the Dutch Caribbean, existed after the village where the earliest convert is situated. These Moravian were concerned about the schools for girls, to which the government pays a small contribution. Some of these schools are in Syria, but the majority are in Lebanon. These girls attend a Senior

TABLE 10

Provision of Christian and Islamic Religious Instruction

Institution	Number of Pupils in Each Class							
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th
[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

Some of the boarding students were from immigrant families from Africa and Greece.

[illegible]

Five Greek Orthodox schools, one for boys and one for girls were owned by the Commission.

The School of Three Hierarchs, founded in 1933, was one also one of the prominent schools of Beirut, but has had an uneven history. It is situated in the eastern part of the city, where it has its own building belonging to the Greek Orthodox community. It is controlled by a committee of the representatives elected of the Greek Orthodox Church which is responsible to the Greek Orthodox Archbishop of Beirut. At the time of the visit of the Commissioners in 1945-46 the School consisted of an elementary and a secondary section. The school was in the process of being closed down, [illegible] to attendance, of which 110 were in the secondary section. The School had up to that year not possessed students for the annual baccalaureate examinations, but had started a class in philosophy with 4 students during the year. It was headed by a lay principal, staffed by twenty-three men and two women teachers, of whom seven were part time. Two of the teachers had the French university degrees of Licence ès Lettres, two had B.A. degrees from the American University of Beirut, one was an engineer, four were students of higher institutions, and the rest had normal matriculation. The programs of studies does not differ radically from the other schools with the exception that English is begun with the third grade of the primary school (secondary).

The Greek Orthodox School for Girls in Tripoli was founded in 1911 by the present Greek Orthodox Patriarch who was then Archbishop of Tripoli. It was last taken over by the Mixte commission. The grounds and the buildings had been supplied by the diocese. The School building was requisitioned by the British for Force Commando (1941-45), and consequently the School suffered, and has been building itself up again since its return to its old premises. It consists of a kindergarten, a primary school, and the five form years of secondary school leading to the Brevet certificate. In 1945-46 it had 140 pupils, of whom 10 were boarders. One hundred fifty of the pupils were received half as partial exemption from fees. The teaching body, largely Greek Orthodox, had seven members. Studies are given. The staff included sixteen teachers, of whom four were men. The principal of the school has for some time been the head of the Girls' Greek Orthodox Schools.

Greek Catholic schools

The American Council Commission regrets that it was not able to visit the well-known Patriarchal College of the Greek Catholic denomination, founded in 1843, owing to a misunderstanding growing out of inaccurate reports of the purpose of the survey conducted by the Commission.

Moslem schools

Three well-known Moslem schools were visited by the American Council Commission: in Beirut, Sidon, and Tripoli. The best known of these is the College of the Moslem Charitable Purposes (*al-Maqasid al-Khayriyah*) in Beirut. This is conducted by an association made up of Moslem laymen headed by a prominent, wealthy resident of Beirut. The association not only maintains schools, but has other charitable activities. Its schools are under two educational committees, one for the schools in Beirut, and the other for village schools. It draws its income of about £L210,000 ($105,000) a year from endowments made up largely of property and from fees, which range from £L110 to £L600 ($50 to $150.50) a year. The association maintains a secondary school for boys and another for girls in Beirut together with four elementary schools for boys and two elementary schools for girls in the city. A number of schools in the villages around Beirut and in Bekaa' are also maintained.

The College of Moslem Charitable Purposes, in Beirut, for boys, was founded in the last quarter of the nineteenth century under Ottoman government auspices, but had an uneven history until after World War I when the Moslem community, largely under the leadership of a public-spirited *ulema*, put the College on a sound foundation and developed it from a primary school into a full secondary school. It includes a kindergarten which accepts children of nursery age, two primary schools, and a full secondary school preparing students for the second *baccalauréat*. The College is situated in the southern part of Beirut adjoining the great pine grove. In 1945–46 it had 996 students almost all of whom were from Beirut. The secondary school and what is known as the old primary school constitute a unit which enrolls 728 pupils and is staffed by the head principal and forty-two men teachers. Another unit known as the new elementary primary school and kindergarten enrolls 268 pupils and is staffed by a principal and eleven women teachers. The nursery and kindergarten follow some of the most progressive methods witnessed in any of the countries visited by the Commission. The authorities of the school are planning to add primary grades to the kindergarten which would follow more pro-

greater loss than the old school. At the time of the visit of the Commission only the first grade of the new primary school had been started, and the Commission was told that other grades would follow gradually in subsequent years.

The College follows the government program by giving first place to Arabic and French, both of which are started in the kindergarten. English is begun in the first secondary year. Like many other schools, however, the College authorities are thinking of giving the students a choice between French and English beginning with the kindergarten. Teaching was being conducted in Arabic in the primary school and in the first secondary year. It was hoped to turn all of the teaching into Arabic gradually, teaching the French language simply as a language. A commercial course of two years after the third secondary year is planned. The College presents students for all four Lebanese examinations, and its secondary-school certificate is recognized by the Egyptian government and by the American University of Beirut for entry into the freshman year. It is hoped that when the teaching of English is improved, graduates, or at least some of them, will be able to go into the sophomore year. The College receives help from the Egyptian government in the form of four teachers, three of whom were delegated by the Egyptian Ministry of Education and one by al-Azhar. This delegation of Egyptian teachers was first begun in the year 1936–37. In 1945–46, 22 graduates of the College were studying in Egyptian universities, where they were receiving free tuition and board.

The College of Muslim Charitable Purposes in Sidon represents another institution of the same kind as that of Beirut, though it belongs to an independent organization. The College is made up of a kindergarten department of three years and a secondary school of eleven years, including the classes of philosophy and mathematics. The College is 1 of 4 schools in Sidon supported by this same organization. One is a boys primary school, enrolling about 450 children; 2 are schools for girls, both of which are primary, with about 600 girls in one and 350 girls and small boys in the other. It is planned to expand the first girls school into a full secondary school, leading to the second baccalaureate.

The boys College visited by the Commission had in 1945–46, 500 students of whom 350 were boarders. Girls are admitted to the kindergarten. The students come not only from Sidon and the rural districts surrounding it, but also from Beqa', northern Lebanon, Beirut, and parts of Syria. About 35 boarders were children of Lebanese parents living in Africa.

The College is the only full public or private secondary school in southern Lebanon, and is, therefore, sought not only by Muslim children but by

[illegible]

[illegible] 63

[illegible] of teaching is of importance. The aim, therefore, should be [illegible] to train all teaching [illegible] while at the same time fostering the teaching [illegible] of foreign languages.

A third Muslim institution is the Teachers' College of Education and Economics in Tripoli. This includes a kindergarten of three years, a primary school of five years (ending the sixth grade standard), a secondary school of five years, a religious school of two years above the primary school, a commercial section, and an English section is being planned. In 1950-51 the College had 214 students, of whom 111 were accepted grants. Students were from Tripoli and country, while boarding students were from Homs, Khoms, Lebda, and Misrata. Fees range from £3.0.0 to £3.0.0 ($9 to $10.50) a month, a subsidy of £1.10.0 to £2.10.0 ($4.50 to $7.50) for boarding students. Exemption from fees is based on economic need. The boarding section includes 140 orphans, five sons of religious students who pay no fees and 15 paying students. A student accepted grants to the primary school is given the option of entering the religious section or the secondary section. If he chooses to go into the secondary section, he receives unlimited exemption only the full exemption is accorded him if he chooses the religious section.

The program of the College is that of the government program leading to the primary-school certificate, the lower and the intermediate, but with greater emphasis on English, religion, and Arabic history. English is started in the fourth grade. Prior to 1951 it was started in the first secondary grade. The idea was a to have a separate English section preparing students for entry into the American University of Beirut. The religious section, covering all five years, has been added to these years to endeavor to prepare students for entry into al-Azhar in Cairo. Egypt. Arabic, economics, [illegible] are [illegible] 45, and 15 students being registered in all three classes.

The College has its own building, owned by a society maintaining it. It has a laboratory and a lecture hall. It makes a number of student activities available to the boys, many and various athletic teams. In addition to the College, the society maintains a primary school for girls, and a girls' school for boys in the old quarter of Tripoli. The College is typical of the attempt of Muslim communities to give a religious education to the younger generations, and also to impress upon the pupils the principles of their nationalism. Most Muslims are accepted, but to maintain their close Christian mission schools, an attempt is made to enforce compulsory [illegible] religious instruction upon them.

[illegible]

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[illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

[illegible] [illegible]

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6. Among the Muslims [illegible] is that between the Sunnis and the rest:

(i) The Sunni Muslims regard themselves as successors of the original and undifferentiated Islamic orthodoxy, as set forth not only in the Holy Book of Islam, but also in the Traditions of the Prophet and the system of theology and jurisprudence built up by the great Islamic thinkers. They constitute the vast majority of believers not only in the Levant States but in the Islamic world as a whole.

The others were divorced from the main body of Islam at different times on account of political or theological dissension.

(ii) The Shi'a known in Lebanon as the Metawileh split off in the seventh century A.D., with the struggle for the Caliphate between Muawiya and Ali, the Prophet's son-in-law. Even after the death of Ali they clung to his cause; their breach with the Sunnis was widened and made permanent by the Battle of Karbala (680), in which Ali's son Hussein was killed after the defeat of his army by that of the Umayyads. The Shi'a regard the successors to the Prophet as having passed not to the orthodox line of Caliphs whom the Sunnis recognize, but to a hereditary line of Imams who were both the spiritual and the temporal heads of Islam, and of whom the first was Ali. The majority of Shi'a recognize twelve such Imams, the last of whom disappeared during the ninth century but will, it is believed, some day reappear as Mahdi.

(iii) The Ismailis split from the majority of Shi'a during the eighth century over the question of the succession to the Imamate. They recognize the first six only of the Shi'i Imams, and regard as the seventh and last of the Imams the brother of the seventh Imam of the Shi'i line. They consequently have taken a number of separate teachings, such as the idea of successive emanations or incarnations of God, and of the transmigration of souls. They severely discipline their regard as [illegible] whom human [illegible] and

dispersed by the Imam to a chosen body of initiates. They look upon the Imam as infallible, and his followers as therefore owing absolute obedience to him. For a time during the Middle Ages part of Syria was ruled by the 'orthodox' Isma'ili Caliphs of Egypt, the Fatimids, but on their decline a heterodox branch was formed as a political secret society, which under the name of the 'Assassins' exercised a large part of the Islamic world. To-day they owe religious allegiance to the Aga Khan.

(iv) The Druze are originated in the eleventh century, when some of the followers of the Fatimid Caliph Hakim, ruler of Egypt, put forward the claim that he was the last incarnation of the Deity. Forced to flee to Syria, they made converts among the adherents of Isma'ilism there, and in course of time these converts came to form a community distinct from the Isma'ilis. They preserved and in some ways developed the esoteric doctrines of Isma'ilism and the distinction between the initiates and the 'ignorant'. They are characterized by the cohesion of their social organization, the strength of their communal spirit and the rigour of their moral code.

(v) Finally, the Alawis, who are also known as the Nusairis, took over from Shi'ism and developed the cult of Ali, whom they regarded as an incarnation of God. From Isma'ilism they borrowed the idea of an esoteric teaching hidden from the masses, and their liturgy, the possession of which distinguishes them from other Islamic communities, seems to be largely Christian in origin. They both also contain elements derived from the pre-Christian worship of nature.

6

There are five important groups of Christian sects in the country:

(i) The so-called Greek Orthodox are members of the Eastern Orthodox Church which broke finally with the Western Church in the eleventh century. The two Churches differ on a number of doctrinal points,

5 the most important of them that concerning the Procession of the Holy Ghost. There are also divergences in ceremonial and discipline; and the Eastern Church rejects the papal claim to universal supremacy. The Greek Orthodox in Syria and Lebanon are subject to the jurisdiction of the Patriarch of Antioch, who normally lives in Damascus. In the past the Patriarch and the upper hierarchy were Greek, while the lower clergy and the bulk of the laity were Arabs. In the course of the nineteenth century, however, the whole hierarchy became Arab, and Arabic is to-day the main liturgical language.

(b) The Syrian Orthodox (Jacobites) and the Armenian Orthodox (Gregorians) both adhere to the Monophysite doctrine that Christ has only a Divine and not also a human nature: a doctrine which was condemned by the Council of Chalcedon (451). The Syrian Orthodox Church has a Syriac liturgy; the head of the hierarchy is also entitled Patriarch of Antioch and resides at Homs. The Gregorian Church has an Armenian liturgy, and stands at the very centre of the Armenian national tradition. Of its two Patriarchs, the Catholicos of Echmiadzin in Armenia is the more exalted.

(c) The Assyrians are the successors of the Nestorian Church which originated with the Christological controversies of the fifth century. The Nestorians so overemphasized the distinction between the Logos and the man Jesus that there was a tendency to postulate the conception of a real union between them. Their doctrine was condemned by the Council of Ephesus (431); subsequently, those who adhered to it formed themselves into an independent Church, which spread eastwards and won converts as far as China. It was almost entirely destroyed by the Mongols in the fourteenth century. It has a distinctive Syriac liturgy; and its spiritual head is the title Shimun, formerly resident in Iraq but now in exile.

(d) The Syrian Catholics are mostly members of the

Uniate Churches: that is, those Churches whose members formerly belonged to one or other of the non-Catholic Churches, and at some time in the past acknowledged the papal supremacy and gave up doctrines which the Roman Catholic Church regards as heretical, but retained their own liturgies and certain distinctive features of discipline and organization. There are five Uniate Churches with important bodies of adherents in Syria and Lebanon: the Greek Catholic, Syrian Catholic, Armenian Catholic and Chaldaean Catholic Churches, which split off from the Greek Orthodox, Syrian Orthodox, Armenian Orthodox and Nestorian Churches respectively; and the Maronite Church, which originally held the Monothelite doctrine that Christ has two Natures but one Will, and which returned to Rome finally and as a whole in the twelfth century. The Maronites, like the Syrian Orthodox and Assyrians, have a Syriac liturgy, and a Patriarch of Antioch, resident in Lebanon, as their spiritual head. There are comparatively few Roman Catholics of the Latin or Western rite.

(c) The Protestants are the fruits of the labours of American and other missionaries during the nineteenth and present centuries.

The Jews are mainly Arabic-speaking and long-settled in the country.

6

Of these religious communities, the Armenians (Orthodox and Catholic), the Assyrians and some of the Syrian Orthodox and Catholics are not Arabic-speaking and have, for the most part, come recently into the Levant States. The Armenians came originally from the Caucasus and have their own language and national traditions. Most of them now resident in Syria and Lebanon have entered the country during the last half-century, in consequence of the great massacres in Asia Minor (1895–1915), and more recently of the persecutions of Armenians by Turkey.*

Most of the Assyrians have been settled in Iraq since the

* See Chapter VII

last war, when they were dislodged from their original homes in the Kurdish mountains; the Chaldeans have lived in the Mosul area of Iraq for many centuries. In 1933 a period of tension between a section of the Assyrians and the Iraqi Government ended with the killing of some hundreds of them by Iraqi troops. Several thousands in consequence crossed the frontier into Syria, and although some of them have returned to Iraq, others were settled in the Jezireh with assistance from the League of Nations. Their settlement became an integral part of the Syrian State in 1936.

A large part of the Syrian Orthodox and Catholics still speak Syriac. They have been settled since before the coming of Islam in north Syria and south Turkey, in and around the Taurus hills, against which the wave of Arab influence subsequently dashed. Thus they have been able to preserve their Syriac dialect which further south has been replaced almost everywhere by Arabic. Many are, however, bilingual in Arabic and Syriac, and others have abandoned Syriac and are now Arabic-speaking.

There are certain other groups which resemble the Armenians and Assyrians in not being Arabic-speaking, but unlike them are orthodox Moslems. The most important of these are:

(i) The Kurds, of whom there are perhaps [illegible]* They are mountaineers from the high country which links the Armenian and Persian plateaux, and speak a dialect akin to Persian. Some of them have long been residents in the country, but others have emigrated in the last twenty years from their homes in the mountains of eastern Turkey, in order to escape the oppressive measures of the Turkish Government. There are small numbers of Kurdish-speaking Turkish, Alawis and Christians, but most of those who speak Kurdish as their native language are Sunnis.

(ii) The Turcomans, who number perhaps [illegible]. They came originally from Central Asia, and their language is a dialect of Turkish. Originally nomads, they have now become semi-sedentary or wholly sedentary cultivators of the soil.

*These figures are only rough estimates, there are no official statistics for [illegible]

among the Druzes of Jebel Druze are different from those among the Lebanese Christians. The growth of the Arab nationalist movement has also affected the problem of minorities. It is true that in principle Arab nationalism need not and indeed should not involve a problem of religious minorities. But there are several reasons why at the present day it does involve such a problem. The first reason is to be found in the immaturity of political thinking among the Arabs. Arabism, as the previous chapter made clear, has not yet determined its relationship with Islam; more generally, neither majority nor minorities have yet found the problem of the connexion between religion and the State. Thus there is a tendency for many of the nationalists, although not their most thoughtful leaders, to regard members of the minorities as imperfect Arabs because they are heterodox Moslems or not Moslems at all; equally there is a tendency among the minorities to be suspicious of nationalism as a movement for unrestrained Sunni ascendancy. Among some of the Christian minorities there is a further tendency to regard the West as their spiritual home, to which they can belong in a way in which they could never belong to the Arabo-Islamic world to whose fringes they have so long clung.

The mutual suspicion has been increased in the last twenty-five years by the bad relations which have existed between the nationalists and the French authorities. In these years Arab nationalism has been largely a movement of opposition to France. Those whose nationalism is still coloured by religion drew from that an additional reason for supporting the Christians as being of the same religion as the French. But quite apart from religious prejudice, suspicion has inevitably been aroused by the long-standing attachment of certain of the Christian communities to France. Many of the nationalists believe that this attachment has been used by her as an instrument in a policy of dividing, weakening and in other ways opposing the nationalist movement. Those of the minorities who have been used unwittingly in this way they regard as obstacles to the achievement of their aspirations; those who have lent themselves willingly to it they regard as traitors to the national cause.

Even when members of minorities become Arab nationalists, as many of them do, they often voice their nationalism with a difference. It is not only that they tend to emphasize

points in the nationalist programme other than those which are emphasized by the Moslems; they also sometimes conceive of themselves as having a special duty to perform in the movement. For example, some of the Christian nationalists regard it as their task to mediate Western civilization to the Arabs. This sense of a special duty makes for difference, if not for opposition.

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This much can be said of the whole of Syria and Lebanon. But if a more detailed analysis is to be attempted, Lebanon must be separated from Syria. While in Syria, and in the Levant States taken as a whole, the Sunni Moslems have an overwhelming preponderance, in Lebanon neither they nor any other community forms an absolute majority of the population, and the number of Christians of different sects is slightly greater than that of Moslems, orthodox and heterodox.

Inside Lebanon also a distinction must be made. As will be described later,[1] the Lebanese Republic of to-day was formed after the First World War, by the addition to the pre-war autonomous Sanjaq of Lebanon, which consisted mainly of Mount Lebanon itself, of certain towns and outlying districts. In the former, the population is almost entirely Christian (mainly Maronite) and Druze. The additions included the coastal towns of Tripoli, Beirut, Saida (Sidon) and Sur (Tyre), and the districts of the Biqa' in the east and Jabal Amil in the south. In the towns the population is largely Sunni Moslem, although there are also numerous Shi'a, Greek Catholics and Orthodox and Armenians (mainly in Beirut). In the Biqa' and Jabal Amil the Shi'i Moslems are predominant, but here again there are large Greek Orthodox and Catholic and other communities.

In Mount Lebanon the majority is Christian, but the Druze community is large and strong enough to have played at least an equal and sometimes a greater part in the history of the Mountain. Thus the sectarian composition of Mount Lebanon is very different from that of the rest of the Mandated Territories. To a great extent also its history has diverged from that of other parts of geographical Syria. This has given rise to a specific Lebanese tradition. It is a tradition of asylum: communities of sects and ethnic divisions for one reason or another

[1] See Chapter IX, p. 324.

fellows the plains of the interior, have found refuge in the precipitously almost impenetrable valleys of Lebanon, where they could worship and live unmolested from outside. The various communities which have established themselves there have usually respected one another's beliefs and ways. There have been tension and suspicion between them, but in normal times they have lived peacefully together. It is true that for generations Lebanon was torn by internal strife, but it was the strife of factions and families. It was only for a short time during the nineteenth century that it took the form of a religious war, and even then the fundamental causes were social and political rather than religious.

The Lebanese tradition was also one of autonomy. Caliphs, Crusading rulers and Ottoman Sultans alike refrained from demanding more from Lebanon than tribute and the formal recognition of their suzerainty. They left the internal affairs of the Mountain to the care of local dynasts, more often than not members of local landowning families. Often Lebanon was partitioned between more than one of these dynasts; but on occasion a ruler succeeded in uniting the whole Mountain and even in extending his sway beyond it. His rule over the Lebanese, however, was never absolute. The social organization was feudal. In principle and sometimes in fact the ruler of the Mountain was elected by the feudal lords; and although this principle was not always observed, and the principate tended to become hereditary in a great family such as the Shamis or Shihabis, even the strongest member of such a dynasty would hesitate before interfering with the powers of the great landowners. As in medieval Europe, when the political power was in weak hands the pretensions and rivalries of feudal lords led to civil war and chaos. It was not until the nineteenth century that the feudal organization began to break up.

This much is true of the whole Mountain. Among the Maronites however the tradition was enriched by several other strands. It was a tradition of *Christendom*. More even than other Syrians were they conscious of their clergy. The priests were national leaders, the centre around which turned the struggle of the community to survive and remain to identify; and the Maronite Patriarch, the only Patriarch residing in Lebanon itself, was a temporal as well as a spiritual power in the northern portion of the Mountain.

held only by Christians; the fourth by many of the Moroniten, the fifth by those who have been moved by the nationalist sentiment without trying to make it a substitute for religious belief.

Probably the majority of French missionaries and officials in the last generation have professed the third or fourth views: that is to say, they have regarded Arabism as primarily an Islamic movement in which the Christians can have no place, and thus they have tried to make Lebanon into a place where the Christians can at least be safe and can perhaps even build up a national life of their own. Their attitude is determined partly by religious belief, partly by a sense of France's historic obligations and partly by a certain conception of French interests. As for the third party to the question, the Arab nationalists in Syria and the other Arab countries, they believe that Lebanon is a part of the Arab world and are afraid of its being used as a centre for foreign intrigues against them; but the more responsible and responsible of them recognise the peculiar traditions and needs of Lebanon and are prepared to make special provisions for them.

6

The problem of the Shi'a is in some ways similar to that of the Christians and Druses of the Mountain, since it arises from distinct religious loyalties complicated by a separate tradition and memories of persecution. But there is also another complicating factor: the backwardness of the Shi'a in social organisation and their low standard of living. Their first need is for a reformed social organisation and improved economic conditions. Once this need has been satisfied, it is possible that their outlook and feeling will be near enough to that of the Sunnis to make special treatment unnecessary.

There is one community which possesses a special relation to all the rest. The Armenians, whether Gregorians, Catholics or Protestants, have two characteristics which distinguish them from the remainder of the population of Lebanon. First, they are not Arabic-speaking, but have their own language, culture and national consciousness. Secondly, they are mainly of recent settlement there. The majority established themselves in and around Beirut in consequence of the massacres taken against them by the Turkish authorities

X. POLITICAL HISTORY, 1920-1938

THE political organization described in the last chapter remained fundamentally unchanged until 1938. In two out of the four units the years 1920-1938 were on the whole marked by political tranquillity and administrative progress. In Lebanon, constitutional development was more rapid than in the other States. In 1925 the High Commissioner entrusted the Representative Council with the task of drafting a constitution for the State. The constitution was promulgated in May, 1926. It provided for the establishment of normal republican institutions: an elected President, who by convention was always a Christian; a responsible Ministry; an elected Chamber and a nominated Senate, which after a time were combined into a single Chamber, two-thirds elected and one-third nominated. Article 91 reserved the rights and duties of the Mandatory Power, as derived from Article 22 of the Covenant and from the Mandate; while Article 92 stated that where circumstances permitted Lebanon would apply for admission to the League of Nations, and in doing so would have recourse to the good offices of the Mandatory Power.[1] Modified in 1927 and 1929, the Constitution was suspended in 1932 because it had proved too cumbersome and expensive; the administration was carried on directly by the President of the Republic, until in 1934 the High Commissioner issued a decree provisionally re-establishing a small Chamber.

Some of the Moslem and other elements in Lebanon were immediately responsive to movements of opinion in the State of Syria and the rest of the Arab world, of which they considered Lebanon to form a part. But to a great extent Lebanese political life developed in its own way; it was dominated by the problems arising from the extension of the frontiers in 1920. Lebanon as it existed before 1914 had contained a large Christian majority; but in the Lebanese Republic established in 1920 Christians formed scarcely more than 50 per cent of the population.[2] Moreover, both Christians and Moslems were subdivided into a number of sects, the largest of which, the Maronite sect, included only 30 per cent

[1] For the text of the Constitution, see P. K. Hitti and P. Thomas, *Syria, Lebanon, Palestine, Iraq*, 1920. Volume V, pp. 1187-93.

[2] See Chapter XII.

of the population. Several of these were possessed of local predominance in some part of the Republic: the Maronites in the north, the Druzes in the south, the Sunnis in the coastal towns of Beirut, Tripoli and Saida, and the Shi'is in the Biqa' and the extreme south. The consequences which are likely to flow from such a situation are clear. The political life of the Republic was deeply affected by the struggle for equality or superiority between a number of communities, none of them so strong as to be able to dominate all the rest. Sectarian loyalties and sectarian jealousies thus continued and perhaps strengthened themselves. In addition, the dominance of the spiritual leaders over the members of their communities was perpetuated; the Maronite Patriarch in particular wielded an inestimable influence over the political life of the country.

The importance of communal differences in Lebanon was recognized by the Mandate. Article 2 stated the necessity of guaranteeing the most complete liberty of conscience and worship; the equal treatment of all inhabitants irrespective of differences of race, religion and language; and the right of communities to maintain their own schools. Article 6 required the Mandatory Power to respect the personal status and religious interests of the different sections of the population. These guarantees were reaffirmed in the Lebanese Constitution, promulgated in 1926, Article 9 of which declared: "Liberty of conscience is absolute. In rendering homage to the Most High, the State respects all traditions and guarantees and protects the free exercise of them, on condition that no harm is done to public order. It guarantees equality to populations belonging to every rite respect for their personal status and their religious interests."

These guarantees were respected by the Mandatory Power to a considerable extent. For example, the traditional jurisdictions of the communal courts were maintained in some matters of personal status, although a large proportion of such matters were transferred to the civil courts. An attempt was made in 1936 to define the whole position of the communal jurisdictions. The High Commissioner issued a decree in which the various communities were given explicit legal recognition. Their canons were given the force of law, and

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dangers to health but do definitely take a lot of chance and accident out of the problem of the prevention and cure of disease.

It seems reasonable to conclude that the wide variation in beliefs concerning the demon represents a decline in the use of them which has been brought about by the widespread acceptance of modern medicine. Certainly there is evidence of decline in the statement that only recently were annual processions in each of the districts, on the saints' days, discontinued. In this general connection, it should be mentioned that no one was observed wearing or using amulets or religious symbols (contrast Ostrand, 1916, pp. 140–46).

CHURCH AND SCHOOL

Mass is said once a week, on Sunday mornings. The church is also open every Saturday evening for prayers. Otherwise, the building is ordinarily closed and locked. Speaking generally, Bliss (1915, p. 94) says that in Syrian Greek Orthodox Churches daily mass is very rare. He also says that although modern Greek is the official language of the church, the native language of each particular region is the one actually used in the service (*ibid.*, p. 101). Zenkov (1955, p. 149) states this to be true of the Orthodox Church as a whole. In Ma'aloūl, according to expectation, the liturgy is in Arabic, with the exception of a few special phrases. According to Bliss, the liturgy is:

> . . . teeming with passages of profound spirituality clothed in language noble and poetic. Large parts of the service are rendered in a most formal manner. The service books of the Greek Church are in fourteen quarto volumes. They would appear to cover every possible occasion. There are, for example, prayers to be used by the priest when [illegible], when devils must be exorcised, when ills women are being enlivened, when a sick man cannot sleep, when one has been harmed by the evil eye. (*ibid.*, p. 101.)

None of these were outside the church building was observed in the village.

Zenkov says that the Orthodox Church is more like Protestantism than Roman Catholicism in the following points: (1) veneration was of the Scriptures, (2) Christocentrism, (3) the inner and personal effect of the Sacraments (*ibid.*, pp. 158–59). He could well have added to this list the participation of laymen in the service. There is no congregational singing, but solo chants by laymen are a conspicuous element.

The priest performs all rituals only as an instrument of God, and, significantly, never uses the first person singular. For example, he says "we anoint a baptized" not "I baptize so-and-so." (Zenkov, 1955, pp. 97–98.)

Zenkov says that there is in general a feeling in the Church that other Christian sects have not fallen from Grace. "This broad-minded attitude and practice," he concludes, "explains [the] mild attitude toward other churches and their mem-

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Chapter 26

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Chapter 21

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Finally the Syrian Mission of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church of North America established the American Junior College for Women in 1924. Its buildings were erected not far from the site of the American University of Beirut on the promontory known as Ras Beirut.

After World War I, with the growth of French schools, the establishment of many native schools, and the demand for French education which could secure entry to government jobs, American schools in the villages, though not in the larger cities, began to dwindle. In 1945–46 they numbered only 16, enrolling 1,302 pupils. Almost all the village schools have been transferred since 1919 from the Mission to the Evangelical Synod of Syria. The Mission contributes only a small sum toward their maintenance. Two of the well-known Mission secondary schools for boys, those at Suq al-Gharb and Shemlan, have been closed. The village elementary schools are now under the control of the education committee of the Syrian Evangelical Synod, although the government permits for their operation are still in the name of the Presbyterian Mission. Education was formerly provided by them free of charge, but financial stringency has caused that small fee to be charged the students. In many places they are under the direction of the Protestant ministers, and provide partial support for him. In other places they are conducted by one or more teachers. They are almost all coeducational. The two or three that were visited by the American Council Commission left much to be desired, although in one place the girls and boys seemed to be quite advanced in both Arabic and English.

The main educational work of the American Mission in Lebanon as distinct from the American University of Beirut is carried on in its boarding secondary schools which usually include elementary grades as well. These comprise girls' schools in each of Beirut, Tripoli, and Sidon, and schools for boys in the last two cities. These occupy well-built and generally well-lighted buildings. They are usually well supplied with libraries as well as with other equipment. All 5 schools were visited by the Commission of the American Council on Education. At the time of the visit each of the schools had an American principal and a few American teachers while the rest of the staff were Syrian and Lebanese. For the higher classes they are generally, although not always, graduates of the American University of Beirut, while for the lower classes they are the products of the American high schools, or individuals who have not finished their college work at the University. Almost all the American members of the staff are college or university graduates.

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varities of tuberculosis, assists in the hospitalization of needy cases and administers a sanatorium at Dahr el Baidar. The Armenian Charitable Society furnishes treatment facilities for the cure of Armenian patients. The Young Women's Moslem Association was established for the promotion of education among Moslem women, and since 1948 it has maintained a training school for nurses in Beirut. The Mouassat Society, an organization of Moslem women interested in infant welfare work, finances a small community hospital in Beirut.

The medical schools of the American University of Beirut and the University Saint-Joseph have affiliated medical clinic and preventive services. The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in America supports a medical mission in Tripoli. The Near East Foundation directed a general health and rural improvement program in the Anjar villages in the Bekaa valley from 1944 to 1951, when it retired from Lebanon. It also instituted an extensive malaria control project in the Anjar and the Amioh swamp areas. The Kevorkian Corporation, in America, contributed substantially to the work of the Foundation in the Armenian villages, and provides for the maintenance of child welfare centers in Anjar and Beirut.

The Lebanese Public Health Association is prominent among the professional circles. It is concerned with the promotion of public health in Lebanon and with the dissemination of educational materials. The Lebanese Medical Association is likewise active, and publishes a journal for its membership.

Two industries maintain medical facilities for the benefit of their employees—the Iraq Petroleum Company, at Tripoli, and the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company, at Beirut and Sidon. The Iraq Petroleum Company also subsidizes a medical insurance scheme for the families of its employees. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees carries on public health programs in the various camps

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men by any men younger than about forty. The European hat with a torn (Bwanga) is worned; only two or three men were them regularly, although others wore them on occasion. Thus, it can be deduced that a good many men, especially young adults and adolescents, ordinarily go hatless, and this is a rather singular practice in a culture where headgear has practical and symbolic significance. The writer believes that the prevailing hatlessness in the younger generation is an organic and salient ex ego symbol, of the cultural situation in which they find themselves. He believes that if systematic questioning were undertaken on this topic, it would reveal that the younger generation has more or less consciously rejected the old style—which it associates with peasant life—and at the same time is often hesitant to accept the new which represents foreign influence. The European helmet has obviously provides better protection than the parkwork against the sun, which is the reason, stated by young and old alike, why one should always wear a hat.

Women. The costume of the older, middle-aged, and many of the village-dwelling younger women consists basically of a cotton kanzimu, full-skirted black dress (cotton or wool) supplemented by sweater or jacket. A scarf is very often worn over the head, but it is usually under the back hair rather than under the chin. In winter, woolen stockings are worn. There is no elaborate jewelry. The younger women, especially those who work in the city, follow modern European styles.

However, the Western practice of women or girls wearing slacks or shorts has been completely rejected. For this there are at least two reasons. One is that the men regard the practice as a usurpation of a symbol of masculine status. The second is that women who wear slacks or shorts are assumed to be of loose morals. This is because the wearing of these garments by women in the area is associated with the "whites" (who are mostly European women) who are sometimes in the commercial Western-style nightclubs in Salisbury and are generally assumed to be available for other purposes also known.

For the most part, those who wear European clothes regularly are careful to purchase to well-pressed and clean garments. This shows more inconvenience and expense than the maintenance of the traditional costume did. Dodd (1940, p. 494) remarks that the relative tightness of Western clothes is not well adapted to summer weather, and certainly the dressed are better and more comfortably adapted to their environment than European trousers are.

TOOLS AND MISCELLANEOUS EQUIPMENT

It has already been mentioned that the flashlight is a widely distributed item of personal equipment. Another is the wrist watch. Certainly a majority of the villagers who have attained any degree of responsible age have them. Traditional village life required no accurate chronometry, and there was none. The villagers

still rise with the sun, although they go to bed after dark. On the whole, there is no specific horological time for meals. However, the village schools operate on a definite time schedule, and this affects quite a large proportion of the resident population—the teachers and their families, the children, and their mothers who prepare their lunches. Of course, those who are, or have been, working in the city are quite thoroughly conditioned to clock-schedules. A great deal of apparently unnecessary reference to and synchronization of watches was observed in the village. On the whole, however, it can be said that future plans which involve exact hours are made and fulfilled in a casual manner. Perhaps a valid generalization would be that the average individual regards his watch as a symbol of prosperity, an instrument, on occasion, of practical value, and an interesting toy—all to about equal measure.

Combs, toilet soap, safety and straight razors, shaving lotion, etc. (all of European or American manufacture) are universally distributed. Some people have and use toothbrushes. The women do not appear to use cosmetics to any great extent.

A variety of containers have already been described, but several more must be added. The rectangular five-gallon gasoline can, with its top cut out and fitted with a wooden handle, is widely used for carrying water, cement and other bulk materials. Various sizes of coiled baskets, cylindrical with large handles over the top, are used for carrying food. Large, flat wicker trays are used for carrying such things as bread and laundry and for the display of vegetables in the stores. Formerly, silk worm cocoons were set out on them.

Carpenter's and mason's tools—hammers, saws, planes, levels, drills, screwdrivers, chisels, and trowels—appear to be the same in form as they are in the West. Probably most of the items now used are western-made, but most of the forms are very old in the Middle East.

Agricultural tools are conservative and of very ancient form. There are no horses in the village (the Arabs use them for riding rather than for traction), and the ox is the chief draft animal. The plow consists of a wooden shaft (to which the oxen are yoked) and a metal iron spike is set at an angle. The threshing sledge into whose bottom sharp volcanic stones (from the Hills) are set. (See Thomsin, 1936, pp. 134-36, for illustrations.) Grain is winnowed by tossing it up into the air with a rather crude fork made entirely of wood. Small saws and hand-clippers (the only recent foreign element in the toolkit) are used for pruning. The last item is an iron spade, which is, if possible, manipulated by two or three men. One man grasps the handle and shaft in the usual manner, and, in effect, pushes the spade. One or two other men pull the spade by means of cords attached to the shaft just above the shoulders of the blade.

The traditional means of communication were donkeys, horses, and human backs and legs, traveling over rough stone paths. To this, can be added a recent

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[illegible] institutions of the Arab peoples, Islamic sociology, and history of Arabic philosophy. In most years, courses in the Armenian language (classical Armenian, modern Armenian epigraphy), and Syriac language and history are given. (2) archaeology and history of Syria and Phoenicia. (3) Armenian language and culture. Completion of studies with a view to examinations for certificates comparable to the certificates of the Licence ès Lettres or a French Faculty of Letters. The University, however, is not entitled to grant this degree, and those students who receive these certificates are granted a Diploma of General Studies of the University.

The Institute publishes an Arabic review, *al-Mashriq*, first published in 1898, and a series of monographs known as *Les Bibliques de l'Université Saint-Joseph* which are studies in Semitics, archaeology, history, and philology of the Near East.

French education and French culture have deep and long-established roots in Lebanon. They have exerted a tremendous influence on the thoughts, attitudes, and habits of the Lebanese, particularly the Catholics. When Lebanon attained its independence in 1946, the French government even attempted to insure the persistence of French cultural influence by proposing a cultural treaty which would have given it almost a monopoly on cultural and educational influence in Lebanon. This was, with slight modifications, the same treaty which was offered to Syria and rejected by it. It proved to be also unacceptable to the Lebanese government. The French, having lost Lebanon, are still exerting great efforts through the Œuvres Françaises and through their schools to maintain their cultural influence. There is no doubt that in this they have the support of a section of the Christian population which has been brought up along French lines and is loath to see that influence weaken. Already, however, a perceptible shift toward English and a demand for it are noticeable. Nevertheless, if what has happened in Egypt in the last century is any measure, French cultural influence will probably remain strong for a long time to come.

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The political parties of the country, like its other political institutions, are a fault on the surface of the mountainous. Their officials, committees and electoral candidates are usually drawn from a number of areas. Their programmes usually contain some reference to the need of an Arab or national unity or Arab-oriented economic policies. Sometimes this is genuine, sometimes not. Parties which emphasize Lebanese independence are most often Maronite or Christian and overwhelmingly pro-Western in sympathies and membership; parties of Arab unity are mostly Muslim, though a few exist in Christian.

Political Conditions

In such circumstances it is inevitable that there should arise very varying conceptions of what Lebanon is and ought to be. In a broad sense the difference in these corresponds to differences of religious confession. Roughly it is possible to distinguish five main views of Lebanon.

(i) There are some who regard Lebanon as an integral part of Arab lands, with no essential social or political differences from other parts and no special reasons to separate. They want Lebanon to be wholly absorbed into a Syrian or Arab State, with no autonomy but special provisions for the personal status and religious education of the minorities, such as exist in other Arab regions.

(ii) Others admit that Lebanon's past history has given it a character of its own and created a gap between it and the other Arab regions. But they deny that the distinctive character of Lebanon makes upon it special duties or a mission; they regard the special characteristics as an asset that historical chance which will disappear sooner or later. They are willing to grant a certain degree of Lebanese autonomy or even complete independence, but only as a temporary expedient, with the object of shaping the lives of the minorities and gradually persuading them to accept complete union with a Syrian or Arab state.

(iii) Others again regard Lebanon as primarily a place of refuge where persecuted minorities can live in peace. They want it therefore to be wholly separate from the hinterland, and do not care what form of government exists so long as it is strong enough to protect them.

(iv) Another view is that of Lebanon as a Mediterranean Christian country: not the western edge of the Arabic Moslem world but the eastern edge of Western Christendom. It is to be

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

SOCIO-RELIGIOUS BEHAVIOR

RITES OF PASSAGE

BIRTHDAYS AND BAPTISM

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Birthday anniversaries are celebrated in a few families. There is a cake with candles, and the whole affair is new, probably inspired by experiences in American boarding schools. 527 852

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instruction. Since 1951, nurses have also been trained at the Christian Medical Center in Beirut. A School of Midwifery is incorporated in the Faculté Française de Médecine, and has a 3-year course for the training of midwives.

Personnel

Physicians. Eight hundred and sixteen physicians were reported as practicing in Lebanon in 1948—roughly 1 per 1,500 population. Of this number, 430 were located in Beirut and the remainder in the provinces—123 in North Lebanon, 148 in Mount Lebanon, 55 in South Lebanon and 60 in the Bekaa. In 1951, the staff of the Ministry of Public Health included 30 doctors—8 attached to the headquarters in Beirut, 4 in the quarantine services and 18 in charge of the *caza* units. The municipality of Beirut employs 18 to 20 physicians and the Ministry of National Education, 6.

Dentists. Reports for 1948 indicate that there were 186 dentists in the country, 89 of whom were settled in Beirut.

Nurses. In 1950, it was estimated that there were from 550 to 600 nurses in Lebanon. In addition, nursing nuns serve in the hospitals operated by religious orders.

Others. The official publications for 1948 listed 238 graduate midwives and 108 midwives with practical training. Over 78 per cent of the graduate midwives were located in the vicinity of Beirut. The same year, there were 133 graduate pharmacists and 61 assistant pharmacists.

DISEASES

Prior to 1943, public health activity was largely concentrated in Beirut; consequently, the organization of preventive services and the extension of medical facilities in the provincial districts are still in the developmental stage. At present the reports of research investigations sponsored by the medical departments of the French and the American universities and by other agencies provide the chief sources of information regarding the prevalence of specific

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

"catches" the feast. For example, the Feast of Elijah, Mar Ilyaas, (July 20) passed without much remark. It was said that many people often went on this day to Bukha'z of whose church Mar Ilyaas is the patron saint, but this activity was not observed. At Gharzuuz, there is a man who every year summons the priest to help him "catch" the Feast of the Forty Martyrs (*'iid al-arbá'iin shuhada*), March 9. It may be that all twenty of the Church's feast days are given special recognition in al-Qurnı, if not in each of its individual villages.

The most important part of the religious year is unquestionably Easter, "the Great Feast" (*'iid al-kabiir*), preceded by Lent which is the longest of the numerous fast periods enjoined by the Church. Orthodox fasts forbid the eating of meat, eggs, cheese, and milk. Lent is preceded by a week (*marfa'*) during which meat is eaten every day, which is not the ordinary practice. The Thursday of *marfa'* is known as *al-khamiis as-sakiir*—"Drunken Thursday." On this day tipsy riotousness is expected and excused.

The first week in Lent, following *marfa'*, is *Jim'a al-bayaad*, "the week of whiteness." Eating meat is strictly forbidden. Only "white" things—eggs, *laban*, and cheese are supposed to be eaten. The following week, these *and* meat are forbidden until Easter. Until Easter, no one is supposed to eat breakfast; many abstain from coffee and from drinking water in the morning. It was stated, however, that many people do not adhere absolutely to fast regulations, and there is considerable variation in this aspect of religious behavior.

On Palm Sunday (*ash-shá'niini*) palm fronds are prepared by the head of every household in which there is a child under seven years of age. Once a little child has had this done for him, it is not done for him again. The fronds are hung with cakes and candies, and placed in the middle of the church. After mass, the people go outside with the fronds and gather around the priest for a further blessing. Then everyone rushes on the fronds and pulls off all the eatables. Between Palm Sunday and Good Friday there are evening prayers every day in the church.

On Good Friday (*al-jinaaz al-masiih*) everyone goes to church, even those who are in mourning, since it is a sad occasion. Mourners do not ordinarily go to regular mass nor to mass on Easter. It was said that even mourners of a year's standing or more may not go to mass at all—except on Good Friday. If there is no priest in any of the other Qurnı villages, the people there come to Munsif for the service.

The Good Friday mass was attended by at least four hundred persons. It is featured by the placing of a table (*matil*) in the center of the church. This is used at ordinary funerals for holding the coffin. Each house prepares a crown of flowers and candles which is placed on the *matil*. Towards the end of the mass, the *matil* is held aloft by four to six tall men near the door. All the people pass underneath it, out the door, and enter through the second door again.

On Easter eve of the year of this study, a special party for the adolescents

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

585 after about ten minutes, and about ten minutes more elapsed until the bride, still in bridal dress, and her party got into their car. They led the procession to Munṣif.

In Munṣif there was a large group observing the proceedings outside the groom's father's house. Upon arrival, the bride, standing on a chair in the door, slapped a piece of raw dough on the lintel above the door, molded it into a round bun shape, and made a cross on it with the heel of her hand. While still standing on the chair, she was provided with oranges which she threw at the people standing around. Then she walked inside. Two automobiles filled with relatives came with her from her village, and they included spouses of siblings who were strange to both villages. The bride, the groom, and his father stood in the *maq'ad* to receive congratulations.

Again, with the principals in the center, people sat themselves down in the *maq'ad*. *'Araq* and wine were offered around. A large crowd of children gathered at each door to watch—staring silently.

[535] The same dance performance as at the ceremony was carried out. However, the soloists included young men as well as women this time. After some solos, five persons, mostly of middle age, locked arms and danced a set of the *dabki*, the principal folk dance of Lebanon; and during the evening it was done several times more.

The bride disappeared for a long period, during which two large tables were brought in and placed parallel to each other in the upper and lower parts of the *maq'ad*. They were set with plates and glasses and bottles of *'araq*. *Tabbuuli*, cold *kibbi*, beans and bread were served.

When the bride reappeared, after changing into an ordinary dress, she took her place at the main table. The groom's sisters were active all the time bringing in food and collecting dishes. A large number of persons sat, neither eating nor taking [853] active part—just watching. These included the children. At one point, a woman sitting near the cabinets opened the front of her dress and began nursing a small baby. Later, another woman did the same with one of her small ones, sitting in the same place.

[533] The activity at the head table was enlivened by songs in praise of the bridal couple sung either by men standing behind the chairs or by others sitting down. At the end of each, arms would be raised and the high musical note, mentioned before, sung in unison. One man after another seemed to pick up the solo part rather casually after the previous phrase was finished. Some were well-known and conventional. In others, there would be laughter or nods, as if the singer had made up a clever verse impromptu, or said something with an apt and original turn of phrase. These songs of praise (*madaḥa*) were usually phrased in terms such as those which likened the bridal couple to the stars or the light of the sun. Many seemed to be known by heart by everyone, just as everyone seemed to know the dance steps.

The bride no longer wept, and for a long time, she sat next to her father-in-law, who sat in a corner, conversing quietly with him.

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12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

6.12 Reasons of head of household for disliking present job, Table 87

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For those unhappy in their present positions, the major reason given was economic (44 %) but the second largest group (28 %) resented their jobs because they were too hard.

6.13 Occupational preference of head of household, Table 88

Respondents were then asked to state the occupation in which they would like to be employed. Free responses were again taken and were judged as to their level of reality. That is, if a porter wanted to become a surgeon, it was judged to be an impossible level of aspiration. Forty percent of the respondents were so satisfied with their present position that they indicated no other desires. Only seven percent were judged to have impossible desires in occupations. This is particularly striking since no attempt was made to precondition the respondent by limiting his range of choice. The Beiruti head of household seems to be practical even considering that thirty-two percent expressed job preferences which were improbable.

6.14 Occupational preference of head of household for eldest son, Table 89

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A striking difference between the respondents own occupational desires and those which they held for their children, at least male children, was revealed in answer to the question as to what they would like their eldest sons to be. Each of the response categories is striking. The same lack of impossible objectives was seen, occuring as it did in only six percent of the cases. A slightly different category was used, namely "very possible" into which forty-four percent of the answers fell - indicating a higher level of hardheadedness in attitudes toward children than towards themselves. Fewer wanted their children to continue in their present occupations (7 %). Of course, this may be low

p. 19 (A)

12: Churchill S-S (1952) 1854 ME1 Lebanon ME1

858
461 because a number are not of working age as yet. Some insight into the psychology of the household heads is evidenced in the low number (4 %) who answered freely that they wanted their eldest sons to choose their own jobs.

6.13 Incidence of village work by head of household for part of year, Table 90

464 Respondents were asked if they worked in the villages part of the year. Only one in twenty answered affirmatively. Since the sample is so small further analysis is unreliable. Results are presented, however, for whatever interest they may have in Tables 91, 92 and 93.

Summary

463 The classification scheme is crude, but is believed to give a fairer breakdown in the major categories than any existing system. Some of the categories are too broad, but further refinement was impossible with this size sample.

For a city its size, the division of labour is quite extensive. Beirut is a city of small businesses eking out a subsistence. As a footnote to this, it must be pointed out that many people have more than one job, far more than is usual in most cities.

As the division of labour is splintered, so also do many people operate as jacks-of-all-trades. For example, the tinker-plumber-electrician-plasterer service-man is a combination which combines the skills of what would be decidedly separate occupations in many cities. One unfortunate result of this is the all too often low level of skill which results from mastering none of the services fully.

It will be remembered that respondents were drawn only from political Beirut. The proportions of occupations are therefore only for the city residents. They might conceivably be altered if those who commute to the city had been included in the study.

p. 19(B)

Table 88

Occupational Preference of Head of Household

Degree of reasonableness	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1459	100.00	
Possible but improbable	463	31.73	.012
Possible and reachable	323	22.14	.011
Impossible	96	6.58	.006
Satisfied with present	577	39.55	.013

Table 89

Occupational Preference of Head of Household for Oldest Son

Degree of reasonableness	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1346	100.00	
Possible but improbable	405	30.09	.012
Very possible	592	43.98	.013
Same as father	108	8.02	.007
Impossible	83	6.17	.006
What he is doing	100	7.43	.007
What he chooses	58	4.31	.005

p. 572(c)

44:Matthews and Akrawi 8,C-2 (1943-1949)1949 MI Middle East
Lebanon MEI

Morals and Civics

867 872 The primary course in morals covers personal traits and general virtues such as cleanliness, good manners, obedience, justice, charity, moral courage, sacrifice for others, honesty, love of parents, respect for teachers, and cooperation with others. In civics, a beginning is made from the first grade by explaining words such as citizen, soldier, flag, state, minister, and similar familiar terms. In the second and third years such concepts as nation, people, administration, customs duties, public projects, prosecutor general, and juries are explained, while in the fourth and fifth years general principles about the form of the state, the distribution of powers to legislative, executive, and judicial branches, parliament, the courts, military service, taxation, elections, banks and currency, and similar topics are studied.

In the higher primary course a more rationalized study of morals is made with emphasis on the place of the mind, the will and discipline, the conscience, cooperative living and what it implies in respect for others, mutual aid and philanthropy, division of labor, the family in general and family life in Lebanon, and Lebanese society. The course in civics gives in much more expanded form the ideas about the state, the division of power, and the parliamentary system, which were touched upon in the primary school. In the third year, principles of freedom and equality are discussed in detail: personal freedom (inviolability of home and property), freedom of work, conscience, belief, assembly, teaching and of thought, speech, writing and publishing, equality in civic and political rights and public duties, and equality of men and women. In addition, the duties of the citizen, such as obedience to law and authority, paying taxes, and military service, are studied together with the Lebanese Constitution, its development and its latest amendments. In the fourth year, an extensive study of Lebanon is made, the elements constituting it, its international position before World War I and after, its relations with the states of the Arab League and the United Nations. A review is made of the forms of government in the modern history of Lebanon from the seventeenth century to the present day. The program ends with a study of the aims of education, the contribution of the Lebanese people to culture, and Lebanese emigration, its causes and effects, and some of the famous emigrants.

Foreign Languages

872 Foreign-language teaching in the primary grades is justified by the fact that Lebanon's geographical position is that of a bridge between East and

44 Matthews and Akrawi 8, C-J (1945–1949)1949 ME Middle East
Lebanon ME1

mentioned above are studied while in the fourth year organic chemistry and the main organic compounds are taken up. 372[c]

In natural science the first year is devoted to a general survey of the study of man, animals, plants, and geology. In the second year, botany and zoology are studied in greater detail, together with the classification of animals and plants. The third year is given to an extensive course in hygiene and another in geology, including the types of volcanic and sedimentary rocks, the influence of air, glaciers, rain and sea water, and living beings, the movement of the soil and earthquakes, volcanoes, geological strata and fossils, the geological ages, and finally, applications of geology to mining, public works, agriculture, and hygiene. The fourth year is given to a study of animal and plant anatomy and physiology.

Beginning with the fourth primary grade, the courses in science and mathematics may be given in either Arabic or French; schools have the option of teaching these subjects in either language and presumably in English as well.

Physical Education, Music, Drawing, Manual Arts

In physical education, the usual program for boys and girls in the primary and higher primary schools includes marching and running exercises, Swedish and gymnastic exercises, group games, ball games, dances, and corrective exercises. 369 372[c]

Music consists of songs in Arabic and the foreign language, elements of musical notation and reading, the scales and the keys, culminating in the higher primary school in songs for one voice or in group songs with parts; recorded classical music with explanations by the teacher, the history of music and stories of the lives of famous composers, information on types of instrumental and vocal music, and types of musical instruments: string, brass, woodwind, and percussion instruments. With the training and equipment of the average Lebanese teacher it is doubtful if this program can be applied—indeed, it is the exceptional teacher that can apply it even in part.

Drawing in the primary school includes the drawing of geometrical figures, objects, animals, flowers, and some wooden or clay models. In the higher primary, three types of drawing are mentioned: artistic, decorative, and geometrical. The student is to be directed to whichever type he likes best.

The course in manual arts follows the traditional lines of paper-folding, cutting and pasting, and work in straw and clay. The girls learn to em-

44:Matthews and Akrawi S,G-3 (1945-1946)1949 MI Middle East
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broider, knit, weave a small rug, and do some needlework. Boys in the villages may take a course in agriculture and girls a course in home economics and elements of home nursing. The course in agriculture covers soils, irrigation, the raising of cereals, vegetables, and trees, and the care of animals. Theoretical and practical work are provided for. However, since the time allotted for drawing, manual arts, and agriculture combined is only two hours a week, and since very few if any schools have facilities for agriculture, the course is more an expression of a hope than a practical reality.

Description of Primary Schools

Of 23 government primary and higher primary schools in Lebanon visited by the American Council Commission, 10 were housed in buildings belonging to the government, 11 were in rented buildings, and 2 had been contributed by individuals or communities. Some of the government buildings, mostly those in the cities, had been built under the Ottoman regime, while others were built during the French mandate regime. In two instances in northern Lebanon modern buildings were being erected by the government. Rented buildings and some of the government buildings in the villages left much to be desired, their rooms being too small for the classes, which often were large.

The schools were poorly equipped. A few maps and charts were found in some schools, and one school had a very small laboratory. Libraries were noticed in two schools; these two libraries were being developed through the efforts of the principals and contributions from the pupils, the government sending a few books occasionally. Desks were of the fixed-seat variety designed to accommodate from two to four pupils. Often, however, they were used by from three to six or even more pupils. Most of the furniture showed signs of long use. Playing space was small, especially where the buildings are rented.

The school year of nine months begins about October 1 and lasts until the end of June. The school day consists of a morning session from 8 A.M. to 12:15 P.M., and an afternoon session from 2 to 4 P.M. Classes usually run in half-hour units.

THE TEACHERS

Schools in the cities are largely staffed with graduates of the 2 teachers colleges of Beirut—1 college exclusively for men and 1 for women. Some of the teachers—a small number—have passed the teachers qualifying examination. In the smaller towns and villages of the mountains, however,

44:Matthews and Akrawi S, G-3 (1945-1946)1949 Ml Middle East
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The French schools are usually accused of giving less attention to Arabic, and their graduates are said to be less at home in the knowledge of Arabic literature and composition than in French. The accusation is made that the nature of the French examinations tends to encourage this weakness, for as long as a student receives the sum total of marks required for the examinations, he can pass, provided he does not receive a zero in any subject. Theoretically it is possible, therefore, for a pupil to get 1 mark out of 20 in Arabic and still pass. This criticism, however, is too general to apply to all schools. Some of the better schools maintain a high standard of Arabic and have produced a number of Arab poets and writers. Much the same criticism is made with regard to the history and geography of Lebanon and the Arab world. The students are said to know more about the history, geography, and literature of France than of their own country.

While the laboratories of some of the schools are fairly well equipped they do not seem to be adequately used. The Commission did not see a laboratory class in any of the French schools they visited, although this might have been an accident. The apparatus did not look as if it was regularly used. Better use is made of charts, especially for the study of zoology, botany, geology, and human anatomy and hygiene. The texts in use, except for the subjects taught in Arabic or for local subjects, are the same as those used in France. When the supply of books was cut off during the war, special editions were printed by the Œuvres Françaises in Cairo and Beirut and distributed to the schools.

In the French Catholic missionary schools, discipline is very strict. The students are constantly supervised, and boarders are allowed to go out only with their parent or guardians. Only their parents or persons authorized by the parents may visit them at school. The school may take an outing about once a week, usually on Sundays, under the supervision of the director and teachers. No student is allowed to bring into the school any book, magazine, pamphlet, or paper except the books directly in use at the school. In this way an attempt is made to shut out outside influences as much as possible. A long timetable keeps the day students at school from early morning until the late afternoon. The atmosphere of the Catholic schools is decidedly religious. Students are required to attend Mass every morning. Classes usually begin and end with prayers, and Sunday Mass and religious teaching are obligatory. Irreligion, insubordination, immorality, or even habitual laziness are reasons for expulsion. [869]

The following daily timetable for boarding and day students at 'Anturah, although perhaps not universal, shows the type of daily disposition of work current in the Catholic missionary schools:

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[For information on the Lebanese educational system, schools, university facilities, teachers, etc. see 44: Matthews and Akrawi, M1 Middle East, category 116, pp. 405-518.]

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

position with respect to Maximal Lineages A and B, respectively, except that these shrines themselves were built after the founding of the village—"at least two hundred years ago." However, there are two kinds of *waqf*. The more common is land (or other property) given to a religious institution often in fulfillment of a vow, and its usufruct is reserved for religious purposes. In other words, it is an endowment. There is another kind of *waqf*, also, however, and this is represented in Munṣif by Mar Jurjis and its *waqf*. In this case the *waqf* is a sort of family trust. The usufruct of the land is reserved for the family or lineage (in Munṣif, A,III) which originally established it. Only when and if the lineage dies out is the property turned over to a religious institution. The Caliph Omar (A.D. 634–643) is credited with the invention of *waqf*, but actually the Byzantines had similar legal forms (Bonne, 1948, pp. 199–220). It happens that the present priest belongs to A,III, hence he would derive some income from Mar Jurjis even if he were not the priest. He is also the custodian of the other *waqf* lands, and the income from them is his. The disposition of *waqf* income is not made in this way everywhere, but this arrangement makes a sizeable contribution to the support of the priest and his family. In addition to being paid fees for performing rituals, the priest is also supposed to receive an annual contribution from each head of a household.

Some villages have religious schools attached to the church, but in Munṣif formal religious instruction is conducted by the priest periodically in the village school. For the most part the religious instruction of the children is left to their parents.

SCHOOLS

"Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to or approximates universal literacy" (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, p. 407). Munṣif is certainly one of these, and its condition is due to a long-standing emphasis on education.

In the village itself there are two schools, the government school and the "national" school. The government school is part of the government educational system. Instruction is free, except that the students must provide their own books. There are about seventy students and two teachers, both, at the moment, members of the village (A,V and C,XX).

The Lebanese public school system is based on the French, but it is incomplete. There is a fairly good distribution of public elementary schools, like that in Munṣif, which offer a six-year program (recently shortened to five years) at the end of which the student receives a *certificat*. There are some public schools (mostly in large towns and cities) which carry the process about three years further, a *brévet* being granted at the end. The student who wishes to continue his education beyond the *brévet* must do so outside the public school system, and he has three courses to choose from (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 417–18). He may choose

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621 remembered that genealogically and conceptually (the villagers' concept), Munşif
671 is a single kinship unit.[1]

[178] This structure of in-groups is traditional, and it appears to have maintained its vitality in the face of great culture change, to which a limited amount of local exogamy seems to be the only major concession. When, however, we turn to the other areas of behavior which are reviewed in this chapter, we find that none of them can be discussed at all without reference to the problems of acculturation.

MONEY

436 The villagers' need for, and great concern about, money is very clear indeed. This is entirely understandable since the expense of education and manufactured products, alone, require much of it.

Money as it is known in the Western world is very ancient in the Middle East, in fact it apparently originated there. However, before about seventy-five years ago its use in most villages was limited, since for most needs barter and mutual help in a regime of local self-sufficiency were ordinarily enough to motivate exchange of goods and services.

[457] Money began to come in large quantities into villages like Munşif from emigrants in America. At the same time, Lebanon began to receive foreign manufactured articles which could only be obtained through payment of cash. Today, money is the only means of exchange in the village, and prices are an incessant topic
[435 455] of conversation among the villagers. This is, of course, due in part to the fact that the country has suffered severe inflationary trends during the past ten years, in part, according to Murray, to "a natural speculative proclivity on the part of most of the people" (1947, p. 15).

However, there are some indications that this recent emphasis on money as a
[186] thing in itself has set up disturbing conflicts in many people. For example, it is often heard that the Western powers are obviously bent upon buying the friendship of the Arabs, but that true friends cannot be bought. Such an attitude might either be a projection of attitudes and behavior prevalent among the speakers themselves, or it might be an expression of sincere and objective distaste for one of the unpleasant consequences of overemphasis on money. In any case, a conflict in values relating to money is consciously recognized.

EDUCATION AND LANGUAGE

181 "In Munşif you will find many people who live in poor houses but have much
● 871 education. This is because we would rather, if we must choose, use our money for
555 a fine education than for a fine house." This was one of the first remarks that was made to the writer about the culture of the village, and, as time went on,

[1] For additional perspectives on the structure of the village see Gulick (1953, pp. 370–71).

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

its validity as a generalization was confirmed, although different individuals and families seemed to vary somewhat in their emphasis of it. The efforts and sacrifices made by the Munṣifiin in the pursuit of education are truly admirable, yet modern education has created problems as well as opened new opportunities.

The desirability of learning and the prestige of the learned are ancient traits in Arab culture, but the opportunity for the attainment of them used to be limited to very few individuals. Hence, the foreign educators who invaded the Middle East in the nineteenth century met no resistance to education as such, although they did meet resistance to some of their course material, particularly that which bore upon sectarian beliefs (cf. Tannous, 1943a, p. 339). The American educators, by and large, before long demonstrated an admirable perception of cultural reality in setting two basic policies in their schools: (1) religious education as such (i.e. missionizing) to be minimized; (2) full coverage of Classical Arabic grammar and literature to be provided—in fact required—in addition to all the new subjects and lines of thought introduced from the West.

One result was the tremendous enthusiasm and hunger, as Kohn puts it (1936, p. 84), for education which is characteristic of the Arabs, and of which the Munṣifiin are a very good example. Freya Stark gives some perspective on the matter as follows:

> The Arabs' passion for education is, I think, one of the most interesting things about them. To it we owe much classic culture that has been saved and handed down.
>
> The Turkish occupation threw a blight on this love of learning. . . . But love for the beautiful language remained latent, and in the first half of the nineteenth century two great leaders of culture, Nasif Yazeji and Butrus Bustani, both Christian Arabs of the Lebanon, inspired and helped by the early American teachers, once again brought it into the open. (1945, pp. 119–20.)

It should be apparent that although the new education in the Middle East has created serious acculturative problems, it is a rather different phenomenon from the introduction of literate education into previously non-literate cultures (cf. Redfield, 1930, pp. 170–72).

The other side of the educational coin is not quite so pretty as that shown us by Stark. It is fairly obvious that Western-style and Western-inspired education, while aiming to broaden all the students' horizons and to train some of them in Western techniques like medicine and engineering, has also led to confusion, to superficial understanding of the West, and to conflicts in values. In general, information on technological matters has been great, but understanding of the spiritual interests of the West has lagged so far behind that it is often believed that they do not exist. Kohn finds that the process of transition is full of disruption in which morality slackens, taste deteriorates, and only the externals of European culture—often undesirable ones—are assumed, without penetrating the nature of that culture (1936, p. 89).

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

It is, of course, no surprise to the anthropologist to learn that acculturation in the Middle East, as elsewhere, shows that material cultural traits are more readily transmitted than non-material ones. Nor is it any surprise to him that these material traits, the automobile for example, though readily *accepted*, cannot be *assimilated* without some major social readjustments. Before the latter are completed, there is bound to be turmoil and discomfort. But the turmoil in the Middle East is greatly aggravated through education by the introduction of a motley assortment of Western ideas, ideals, and concepts which cannot be ignored yet which the average student does not have the background to evaluate. If this were not confusing enough, the Arab student has become keenly aware of the frequently extreme discrepancy between Western ideals and some Western actions.

At the village level, one effect of modern education which has been of great significance in Munṣif, is summarized by Kurani, ". . . the kind of education which is being offered in the public and most of the private schools tends to draw youth away from the villages and renders them unfit for work on the farms" (1951, p. 163).

In one respect, however, as we have already intimated, modern education has not, except in extreme cases, weakened the great value which the Arabs place upon their beloved native language. The very sound of the words is a profound delight to them. This has always been true, but one suspects that in recent years their pride in it as something uniquely their own has been greatly emphasized. Here is one treasure that the Westerners, for all their material skill and wealth, do not possess, which they can never make their own, which most Westerners who are given the opportunity fail to master even as a tool, which a few Westerners do master but only after considerable effort and application. And so, to its native speakers, Arabic is more than just a semantic tool; it is a source of everyday pleasure and inspiration; and it is a symbol of cultural integrity.

Associated with this is the cultural trait of elaborate verbalizing. There are countless verbal formulas which cover every conceivable occasion from giving condolences to asking for, giving, and receiving a drink of water. Preferably, one does not come directly to the point on any issue; one approaches it circuitously, not because one is necessarily evasive in personality, but because it is the thing to do. And it is the thing to do because it is enjoyable. One Arab has put the matter thus: "Brevity is the soul of stinginess." (Rihbany, 1916, p. 208.) In the present writer's opinion, not enough thought has been given to the possibility that the great difference in this respect between Arab and, particularly, American values has been responsible for a noticeable portion of the mutual irritation and misunderstanding which has occurred in recent years.

In Munṣif, as elsewhere, Arabic retains its paramount status. The wide knowledge of English is not to be interpreted as a breach in the villagers' cultural defences, for English is learned, used, and looked upon as a tool only.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types, economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the importation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

3. The drift of villagers *en masse* to the city for employment—in part in consequence of factors 1 and 2.

4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

The intellectual factors in the economic change in Munṣif were brought about by the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In this connection, three consequences must be noted:

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village and urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied *both* with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well-recognized by many. Malinowski (1945, pp. 67–68) has remarked on its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Weulersse (1946, p. 268) refers to education as unfitting people for village life. Keen (1946, p. 43) speaks of a prevailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Richardson and Batal say:

> Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The technical backwardness, the contrast of enormous wealth and extreme poverty, the group hatreds, nepotism, the apathy of peasant millions and overlords alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West form small listless "middle-class" groups talking progress, but either powerless, unwilling, or thwarted in their attempts to change a millennia-entrenched system. (1949, pp. 489–90.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts in values among the Munṣifiin, as among other Middle Easterners. The various changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of traditional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Munṣifiin are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a means of sub-

8;Fei and Klat 8-4 (1951-52)1954 MEl Lebanon MEl

foreign visitors. These visits also served for gathering information concerning the visitors' expenses outside the hotels, i.e., local transportation, entertainment, gifts etc.[1] Actually only 101 hotels answered the questionnaire. This, however, represents a fairly good portion of total business as 80 to 90 % of the hotels in the main summer resorts responded. Those which did not answer were mainly in the northern districts and in the relatively less important centers of Kesrwan. The results obtained from the returned forms have been raised proportionately to cover all hotels. On the basis of these figures and of the personal interviews, the number of *estiveurs* in hotels in 1953 was estimated at 16,412, their total expenditure being LL. 3.8 million (cf. Table 19).

From (a) and (b), it can be seen that the total number of foreign *estiveurs* in 1953 was about 19,245 and that total expenditures of those *estiveurs* were LL. 9.3 million, i.e., about LL. 500 per person.[2] On the basis of the Commissariat of Tourism's estimate of the number of foreign *estiveurs* in 1951 and 1952 (respectively, 24,000 and 21,237) and assuming the same level of expenditures as in 1953, an extention of the figures obtained for 1953 would show total earnings from foreign *estivage* of LL. 12.2 million in 1951 and LL. 10.8 million in 1952. From these figures should be deducted LL. 1.9 million and LL. 1.5 million respectively which represent the part of the *estiveurs'* travel expenses reimbursed by the Government (cf. footnote, p. 23). Thus net earnings from summer resorting stood at LL. 10.3 million in 1951 and LL. 9.3 million in 1952.

(2) **Schools.** From a compilation of educational institutions in Lebanon, a list of 25 universities and schools which were known to have foreign (non-resident) students was drawn

1 The hotel managers were usually very useful in the collection of such information; better than anyone they could estimate their clients' expenses outside the hotel as very often they knew how much money their clients had; most tourists exchange at the hotel their own money into local currency.

2 According to the Commissariat of Tourism, the number of *estiveurs* in 1953 was 16,068; the discrepancy between this figure and that arrived at in the above surveys is probably due to the fact that the former covers only the *estiveurs* who arrived in the country between July 1 and October 30 whereas the latter comprises those who were in Lebanon during that three-month period; some of them may have arrived in June. Moreover, there was certainly some double counting in this survey figure, as some tourists may have stayed at more than one hotel and so were recorded more than once.

871 ×457 up. This eliminated practically all the primary schools outside Beirut and Tripoli. Questionnaires were sent to a few of the selected institutions;[1] but in the majority of cases enumerators were sent to do the actual compilation from the school records since the concept of permanent residence appeared to create a difficult problem for the staff of the institutions.

The answers received were fairly satisfactory. In most cases, it was easy for the school authorities to give an accurate estimate of their students' expenditures as they had themselves, in consultation with the parents, fixed their pupils' money needs. A problem arose, however, from the fact that students' expenditures are usually calculated on the basis of an academic year, i.e., from October through June. To meet this problem it has been decided to treat expenditures during 1951-52 as for 1951, and those for 1952-53 as for 1952. In the first place, it is often the case that parents pay to the school, at the beginning of the academic year, all tuition and other expenses of their children for the whole year in advance. In the second place, there has been little variation from year to year in foreign enrollment. Any other method of re-allocating expenses, say by month or semester, would have been no less subject to errors.

Based on the answers to the questionnaires, the total number of foreign (non-resident) students has been estimated at 2,172 in 1951-52 and at 2,400 in 1952-53. Students' expenditures during these periods were LL. 4.2 million and LL. 4.6 million respectively (cf. Table 20).

743 ×457 (3) **Hospitals.** Questionnaires were sent out to 52 hospitals requesting information on foreign (non-resident) patients.[2] These questionnaires were all followed up by personal interviews with the hospital authorities. Satisfactory answers were received from 45 hospitals. The only problem was that in most cases the hospital records did not permit the identification of foreign out-patients, i.e., those who came for treatment, but did not stay at the hospital. On this matter, the records do not distinguish between "residents"

1 Cf. Appendix II.

2 Cf. Appendix III

9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEl Lebanon MEl

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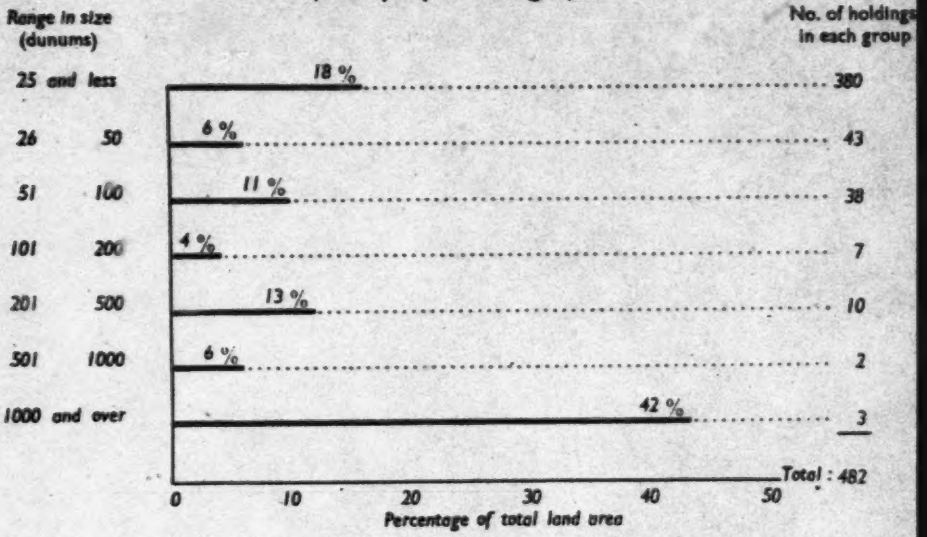
LAND TENURE

Percentage of holding in each class internal

(Five project villages)



SCHOOLS

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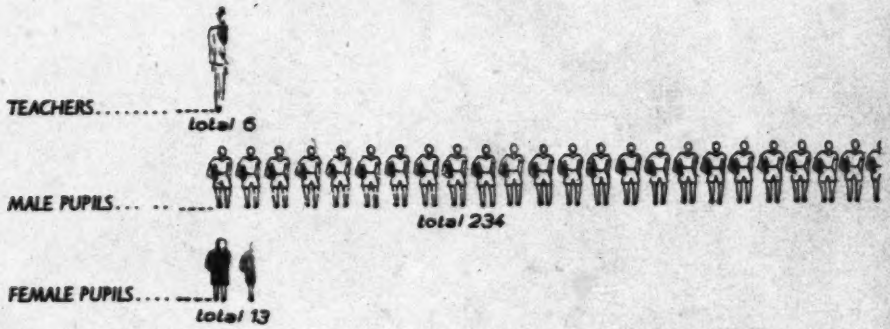
Five project villages elementary only

Each figure represent 10 persons



9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

811 The government furnishes a teacher for government-sponsored elementary schools. The village 658 in turn rents a school room and the rent is paid by small contributions from the students. The annual rent for one room varies from LL. 50 to LL. 250 per year.

815 Four of the government elementary teachers have completed their secondary education. As the fifth government elementary teacher provided this area was absent, it was not possible to determine his educational background. None of these men has been teaching for more than four years or less than two. The annual salaries of the government furnished teachers varies from, LL. 1,400 in Sarafand to LL. 1,800 in Saksakiyah. The only individual teaching without more than an elementary education was attached to the Saksakiyah private school and received a meager LL. 350 per year (about $100 at the current rate of exchange).

Local Attitude toward the Technical Cooperation Service

609 Expressions of confidence in the Technical Cooperation Service and Americans in general 185 were heard in all of the villages. The enumerators and others who visited these villages during the course of the study were all cordially received and were given fine cooperation. The expressed desire of the people to work with the Technical Cooperation Service seems genuine.

The ordinary villager has no conception of just why the Americans want to build irrigation projects, furnish schools, dig wells, or provide public health services for him, but he is hopeful that they will do these things for him. They react to all of this projected activity on a personal basis and will judge its results on the basis of the benefits that they personally gain from it.

Many villagers made a point of stating that *action* to relieve their situation is all-important. They felt that studies such as this are pointless, unless they are followed by worth-while acts. To a large extent they believe that only through some such agency as the Technical Cooperation Service can action be obtained and their situation improved.

Education of Members of Household

4.2 Household Head

4.21 Number of years attended school, Table 36

871 Educational information was secured for the head of the household and the spouse as well as for their children.

The head of the household had a mean education, in terms of years of school attendance, of 6.1. The modal group had between five and eight years of schooling. Almost one in five had no formal education. In the upper schooling group (baccalaureate or above in terms of years of attendance) we find about thirteen percent.

4.22 Type of school attended, Table 37

Of those with formal education, over ninety percent of those responding had received it from private schools. This particular phenomenon is characteristic of Beirut but not of the school system in general in Lebanon. It represents an amazing concentration of private education in one city, mostly affiliated with religious groups.

4.23 Country of school attended, Table 38

Almost three quarters of the heads of households were educated in Lebanon. Another three percent were educated both in Lebanon and at least one other Arab country. Turkey contributed a substantial amount of education to Armenians and some Arabs (8 %). About one in ten were educated in another Arab country solely. Other categories were negligible.

* The trend started, however, with the arrival of British

** Unfortunately, the complexities of the various combin Turkish were not known to the survey until recently.

p. 9(B)

13: Churchill 8-5 (1982) 1854 MEI Lebanon MEI

Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

4.31 Number of years attended school, Table 42

871 The amount of schooling of spouses of heads of households is less than of the household heads. Almost forty percent have had no formal education. The mean schooling in years is 3.9, but interestingly, of those who have been to school, there is a somewhat higher average amount of schooling for the spouses.

In higher education (baccalaureate or higher) there are about four percent of the sample, indicating again the cultural belief in the greater economic utility of educating men. This is part of the oft expressed attitude that educating women is expensive and the benefits go to her husband, not her own family.

4.32 Type of school attended, Table 43

As with household heads, for those responding among the spouses, nine-tenths went to private schools while an additional small group went to both private and public schools.

4.33 Country of school attended, Table 44

Almost three-quarters of the women also were educated in Lebanon only. In general the pattern of schooling by type of school attended is like that of the household head.

4.34 Languages spoken, Table 45

191 Less spouses speak Arabic, probably due to the fact that for foreigners there is less need among women to speak the language of the country than there is for the bread winner. The order of secondary languages is again French, English, Turkish and Armenian. One peculiar difference lies in the larger proportion of men than women who speak both Turkish and Armenian.

4.35 Languages read, Table 46

191 212 Literacy is lower among spouses than household heads with over a third of the spou-

p.10(A)

sex illiterate. Fewer women read in each language category which is statistically significant.

Those not reading correlate closely with the percentage of those who have not attended school.

4.36 Languages written, Table 47

As with the men there is no substantial difference in the ability to read and to write any of the languages recorded.

The fact that spoken language is the most common, then reading and last writing holds up in Beirut. The difference between reading and writing is not significant but accords with expectations.

Children of Head of Household

A special type of table has been constructed for the children of heads of households which shows the relationships between age and years of schooling for children now in school and now out of school. The tables are broken down by sex and are also shown with sexes grouped together.

4.41 Male children now not in school. Table 48

In the sample there were 1674 male children of heads of households who are now not in school. Of these thirty-two percent were below school age which was arbitrarily set at six or less. Another fifty-four percent were above school age. Here again it was necessary to set an arbitrary age. It was set at sixteen which is probably too high in terms of the actual situation. This leaves a group of male children of school age now not in school of fourteen percent.

4.42 Female children now not in school. Table 49

There were 1243 female children now not in school. Some thirty-eight percent were below school age and forty percent above school age. There was a residue of twenty-one percent who are of school age but not in school. These

figures indicate a continuing differential in the education of boys and girls but shows a narrowing of this difference also.

4.43 Total children now in school.
Tables 51, 52, 53

1298 male children in school were in the sample. There were also 906 female children. For some reason the age distribution of these

children who are in school is normal while for those not in school, there is a divided dip in the incidence of children between five and fourteen.

It was thought useful to show these six tables in such detail because of the enormous significance of the training of Beirut youngsters for the prosperity and progress of the city.

p. 11 (a)

12: Churchill S-5 (1957) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

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Table 36

Number of Years Household Head Attended School

No. of Years in School	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1835	100.00	
None	335	18.26	.009
1 - 4	269	14.66	.008
5 - 8	570	31.06	.011
9 - 12	360	19.62	.009
13 - 16	226	12.32	.008
Other	61	3.32	.004
Don't Know	14	0.76	

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .109$

$v = .020$

Table 37

Type of School Attended by Household Head

Type of School	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1486	100.00	
Public	108	7.27	.006
Private	1233	82.97	.010
Mixed	—	—	
Don't Know	145	9.76	

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12: Churchill S-5 (1952) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

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Table 38
Country of School Attended by Household Head

Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1486	100.00	
Lebanon only	995	66.96	.012
Leb. & Other Arab State	30	2.02	
Leb. & Other Eastern	10	0.67	
Leb. & Western	22	1.48	
Other Arabic	148	9.96	.008
Turkey	116	7.81	.007
Eastern	17	1.14	
Western	49	3.30	.004
Other	2	0.13	
No Answer	97	6.53	

Table 39
Languages Spoken by Household Head *

Languages Spoken	Number
Total	3602
Arabic	1708
Armenian	176
French	801
English	419
Turkish	284
Hebrew	21
Other Eastern	36
Other Western	150
No Answer	7

* TOTALS meaningless in this table and similar tables following.

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12; Churchill S-5 (1959) 1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

Table 42

Number of Years Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head Attended School

No. of Years in School	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1799	100.00	
None	712	39.58	.'01
1 - 4	220	12.23	.008
5 - 8	431	23.96	.010
9 - 12	267	14.84	.008
13 - 16	62	3.45	.004
Other	99	5.50	.005
Don't Know	8	0.44	

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .102$

$v = .026$

Table 43

Type of School Attended by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Kind of School	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1079	100.00	
Public	92	8.53	.008
Private	856	79.33	.012
Mixed	11	1.02	
Don't Know	120	11.12	

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Table 44

Country of School Attended by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Name of Country	Number	Percent	sp.
Total	1079	100.00	
Lebanon only	702	65.06	.014
Leb. & Other Arab	18	1.67	
Leb. & Other Eastern	4	0.37	
Leb. & Other Western	6	0.56	
Other Arab	115	10.66	.009
Turkey	69	6.39	.007
Eastern	5	0.46	
Western	65	6.02	.007
Other	8	0.74	
No Answer	87	8.07	

Table 45

Languages Spoken by Wife of Household Head or Female Household Head

Languages Spoken	Number	Percent
Total	2492	100.00
Arabic	1449	58.15
Armenian	50	2.01
French	509	20.42
English	220	8.83
Turkish	149	5.98
Hebrew	6	0.24
Other Eastern	15	0.60
Other Western	84	3.37
Other	6	0.24
No Answer	4	0.16

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Table 48

Education of Male Children of Household Head by Age and Years of Schooling for Children Now Not in School

Age	Total	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Cert.)	8	9	10 (Brevet)	11	12 (H.S.)	12 (Bac.I)	13 (Bac.II)	14	15	16 (B.A.)	16 (License)	17	18 (M.A.)	(Prof. Degree)	Other	N.A.
Total	1674	702	20	47	97	100	79	130	105	149	24	43	36	9	35	31	13	2	17	11	3	3	9	4	5
Under 1	58	58	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1 - 2	206	206	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 - 4	194	193	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
5 - 6	72	69	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
7 - 8	27	22	3	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
9 - 10	24	14	—	1	6	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
11 - 12	31	16	2	1	3	3	3	—	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
13 - 14	55	12	2	2	9	9	8	4	2	3	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
15 - 16	104	17	4	5	15	18	7	23	6	8	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

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15 - 16	104	17	4	5	15	18	7	28	6	8	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
17 - 18	135	20	2	9	13	13	13	17	13	22	3	6	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—
19 - 20	138	14	1	5	8	18	16	23	10	21	1	8	7	2	2	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21 - 22	150	16	2	7	16	13	9	19	17	24	5	4	6	2	—	2	4	1	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
23 - 24	101	10	2	3	4	4	7	14	14	15	3	5	5	—	5	2	4	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
25 - 26	132	13	—	7	8	10	3	5	22	28	6	5	7	1	4	6	3	—	1	2	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
27 - 28	80	6	—	2	4	1	6	5	10	11	2	8	4	1	9	2	1	—	3	—	—	1	2	—	1	1	—
29 - 30	74	6	—	1	9	2	4	8	8	9	—	2	1	3	5	6	—	—	2	4	—	—	4	—	—	—	—
31 - 32	24	—	—	—	—	2	—	3	1	2	—	—	—	—	2	6	—	1	5	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—
33 - 34	23	3	—	—	2	1	1	5	—	—	1	1	2	—	1	1	—	—	1	1	2	—	—	1	—	—	—
35 - 36	8	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	—	—	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
37 - 38	9	1	—	1	—	—	1	1	1	1	—	1	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
39 - 40	12	1	—	1	—	2	1	2	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
Over 40	17	5	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	1	—	1	—	—	4	2	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .248$
$v = .016$

Table 49

Education of Female Children of Household Head by Age and Years of Schooling for Children Now Not in School

Age	Total	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Cert.)	8	9	10 (Brevet)	11	12 (H.S.)	12 (Bac.I)	13 (Bac.II)	14	15	16 (B.A.)	16 (License)	17	18 (M.A.)	(Prof. Degree)	Other	N.A.
Total	1243	736	29	28	53	46	51	69	61	18	30	43	12	12	20	16	5	–	4	2	–	–	1	3	4
Under 1	105	105	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1 - 2	170	170	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
3 - 4	139	138	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
5 - 6	61	57	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
7 - 8	40	36	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
9 - 10	34	30	–	1	1	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
11 - 12	44	28	3	5	3	4	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
13 - 14	54	28	4	3	7	3	4	4	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
15 - 16	95	35	6	4	7	4	9	11	7	5	2	4	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
17 - 18	112	31	3	1	12	8	13	15	13	4	4	4	2	1	1	–	–	–	–		–	–	–	–	–
19 - 20	116	27	3	4	9	8	9	9	13	2	7	12	2	5	4	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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19 - 20	116	27	3	4	9	8	9	9	13	2	7	12	2	5	4	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
21 - 22	72	12	–	4	1	2	5	10	8	1	6	7	–	1	5	7	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
23 - 24	64	13	2	1	3	8	4	9	3	2	3	4	2	1	4	1	1	–	1	2	–	–	–	–	–
25 - 26	48	10	1	2	1	2	3	3	6	–	4	6	–	1	3	3	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	1	–
27 - 28	31	3	1	–	5	3	1	4	3	2	1	1	2	2	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
29 - 30	14	3	–	–	–	1	1	1	1	–	2	–	2	–	1	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
31 - 32	14	4	–	–	2	1	1	2	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–
33 - 34	6	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	2	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
35 - 36	10	5	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
37 - 38	3	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
39 - 40	4	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Over 40	7	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .269$
$v = .021$

Table 50

Education of Children (Male and Female) of Household Head by Age and Years of Schooling for Children Now Not in School

Age	Total	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Cert.)	8	9	10 (Brevet)	11	12 (H.S.)	12 (Bac.I)	13 (Bac.II)	14	15	16 (B.A.)	16 (License)	17	18 (M.A.)	(Prof. Degree)	Other	N.A.
Total	2801	1438	49	75	150	146	130	199	167	51	54	86	48	21	55	47	18	2	20	13	3	3	10	7	9
Under 1	163	163	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
1 - 2	376	376	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 - 4	333	331	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
5 - 6	133	126	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
7 - 8	67	58	6	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
9 - 10	57	44	—	2	7	2	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
11 - 12	74	42	5	6	6	7	4	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
13 - 14	106	40	6	5	16	12	12	8	3	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

13: Churchill S-6 (1952) 1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

13 - 14	106	40	6	5	16	12	12	8	3	–	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
15 - 16	195	52	10	9	22	22	16	34	13	9	2	5	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
17 - 18	231	51	5	10	25	21	26	32	28	10	7	10	4	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
19 - 20	237	41	4	9	17	26	25	32	23	6	8	20	9	7	6	2	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
21 - 22	204	28	2	11	17	15	14	29	25	7	11	11	6	3	5	9	7	1	1	1	–	–	–	–	1	–
23 - 24	151	23	4	4	7	12	11	23	17	3	6	9	7	1	9	3	5	–	1	3	–	2	1	–	–	–
25 - 26	154	23	1	9	9	12	6	8	28	2	10	11	7	2	7	9	3	–	2	2	–	–	2	1	–	–
27 - 28	101	9	1	2	9	4	7	9	13	4	3	9	6	3	10	4	1	–	3	–	–	1	2	–	1	–
29 - 30	83	9	–	1	9	3	5	9	9	3	2	2	3	3	6	7	–	–	3	4	–	–	4	1	–	–
31 - 32	38	4	–	–	2	3	1	5	2	3	–	1	–	–	2	6	–	1	5	1	–	–	1	1	–	–
33 - 34	28	4	–	–	2	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	4	–	1	2	–	–	1	1	2	–	–	–	–	–
35 - 36	21	5	–	–	1	1	–	–	1	2	–	2	1	–	2	–	–	–	3	1	–	–	–	2	–	–
37 - 38	11	1	1	1	1	–	1	1	1	–	–	2	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
39 - 40	14	2	–	1	–	3	1	2	1	–	–	–	1	1	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Over 40	24	6	–	1	–	2	–	1	1	–	1	2	–	–	4	2	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	2	–

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .188$
$v = .013$

Table 51

Education of Male Children of Household Head by Age and Years of Schooling for Children Now in School

Age	Total	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Cert.)	8	9	10 (Brevet)	11	12 (H.S.)	12 (Bac. I)	13 (Bac. II)	14	15	16 (B.A.)	16 (License)	17	18 (M.A.)	(Prof. Degree)	Other	N.A.
Total	1258	204	133	161	156	118	80	95	41	52	46	39	34	3	27	27	17	8	10	1	2	1	1	1	1
3	7	7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4-5	118	78	25	15	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6-7	185	83	54	29	15	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
8-9	218	30	39	73	43	24	8	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10-11	191	6	14	29	63	37	19	14	4	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
12-13	191	–	1	12	27	45	32	37	14	20	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
14-15	117	–	–	3	8	10	13	27	9	16	19	4	7	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

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12; Churchill s-s (1968) 1974 MEI Labour MEI

12 - 13	191	–	1	12	27	45	32	37	14	20	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
14 - 15	117	–	–	3	8	10	13	27	9	16	19	4	7	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
16 - 17	103	–	–	–	–	2	5	14	9	7	14	23	13	3	7	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
18 - 19	59	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	5	2	7	8	8	–	12	6	7	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
20 - 21	32	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	3	2	2	–	5	7	6	2	2	1	–	–	–	–	–
22 - 23	18	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	–	–	5	–	4	5	–	–	–	–	–	–
24 - 25	14	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	3	3	–	2	–	1	–	1	–	–
26 - 27	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–
28 - 29	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
30	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .134$
$v = .012$

p. 412 (8)

Table 52

Education of Female Children of Household Head by Age and Years of Schooling for Children Now in School

Age	Total	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Cert.)	8	9	10 (Brevet)	11	12 (H.S.)	12 (Bac.I)	13 (Bac.II)	14	15	16 (B.A.)	16 (License)	17	18 (M.A.)	(Prof. Degree)	Other	N.A.
Total	998	168	123	116	133	110	68	79	24	34	36	49	14	10	7	10	6	4	3	1	0	1	0	2	0
3	13	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4-5	83	63	16	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6-7	168	62	54	28	19	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8-9	173	28	43	42	35	21	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
10-11	158	2	7	26	54	34	17	14	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
12-13	148	—	3	17	21	29	30	28	5	9	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

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14 - 15	125	–	–	–	2	14	13	25	9	19	17	20	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
16 - 17	69	–	–	–	1	8	3	10	6	2	10	17	4	3	2	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
18 - 19	39	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	3	4	8	2	6	4	6	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
20 - 21	12	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	3	1	–	–	2	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
22 - 23	7	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	1	–	2	1	–	–	–	1	–
24 - 25	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
26 - 27	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
28 - 29	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
30	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

$\sigma_{\bar{x}} = .133$
$v = .012$

p. 43 (o)

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Table 53

Education of Children (Male and Female) of Household Head by Age and Years of Schooling for Children Now in School

Age	Total	None	1	2	3	4	5	6	7 (Cert.)	8	9	10 (Brevet)	11	12 (H.S.)	12 (Bac.I)	13 (Bac.II)	14	15	16 (B.A.)	16 (License)	17	18 (M.A.)	(Prof. Degree)	Other	N.A.
Total	2261	372	256	277	289	232	148	174	65	86	82	88	48	13	34	37	22	12	13	4	2	2	1	3	1
3	20	20	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
4-5	201	141	41	18	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
6-7	353	145	108	57	34	4	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
8-9	391	58	82	115	78	45	11	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
10-11	349	8	21	55	117	71	36	28	7	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
12-13	339	–	4	29	48	74	62	65	19	29	7	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
14-15	246	–	–	3	10	28	26	52	18	35	36	24	12	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
16-17	172	–	–	–	1	10	8	24	15	9	24	40	17	6	9	8	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–

p. 44(a)

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16 - 17	172	–	–	–	1	10	8	24	15	9	24	40	17	6	9	8	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
18 - 19	98	–	–	–	–	–	1	3	6	5	11	16	10	6	16	12	9	1	–	–	–	–	–	2	–
20 - 21	44	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	4	3	5	1	5	7	8	5	3	1	–	–	–	–	–
22 - 23	24	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	–	1	5	1	4	7	1	–	–	–	–	–
24 - 25	17	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	4	3	–	2	1	1	–	1	1	–
26 - 27	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	1	1	–	–	–	–
28 - 29	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
30	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–

$\sigma_{\bar{x}}$ = .095
v = .009

p. 44(e)

621 it the beginning of a movement that may be
794 termed "progressive." On the other hand, one can see the dangers it implied for village solidarity.
621 A third significant point to observe is that a new
578 type of conflict arose in the village, as a result of the school incident. It was conflict between two new groups—those who wanted to have a Protestant school in the village and those who opposed the idea. It was a division that cut across the family and church groups. It was also conflict between a traditional value and a new one—between the need for the preservation of church integrity and the need for education. All of this tended to shake the village organization; all of it demanded new adjustments on the part of the people.

III

871 After the first Mission teacher left the village,
179 his students, and the village people in general, were
191 set afire by the desire for further education
621 Other mission teachers came to the village and gave additional impetus to that desire. At the same time the first emigrants began to return to the village and tell the people about the wonders of education in that "marvellous country of America." English was the language through which they could attain some status with the American people and reap some of the gold in that country. They wanted their children to learn English and get an American type of education. The Syrian Protestant College at Beirut was beginning to flourish, and the road was now open for a village boy to become a doctor or a college teacher. All of this meant more cash income, and cash was becoming more and more the significant symbol of comfort and new forms of prestige. Village boys and girls began to come back from Tripoli with American high school certificates in their hands. They were "fully" educated and they could share in the establishment and running of an independent village school.

871 All of these factors combined to bring about the
621 fruition of the village school idea. In 1904, under
575 the leadership of the Mission's early students and some influential emigrants who had returned to the village, a fully representative society, the first in the history of the village, was formed and given the name of "Raja-el-Watan"—the hope of the country—the country here meaning nothing more than the village. The sole aim of the society was to establish and run a school for the whole village community.

P·340(B)

871 From the beginning the village people agreed to the idea of having their girls get the same education as boys, and in the same school house. The move was a departure from the commonly held belief of the area that the girl should be kept at home. However, Bishmizzeen had been prepared for that. The American girls' school at Tripoli was the first strong influence. A few of the progressive leaders sent their girls to the Tripoli school. When these returned they were anxious to give the same chance
562 to all village girls. Aside from that, the two
871 sexes in Bishmizzeen had always mixed freely—as groups, not as individuals. To have both sexes at the same school was not altogether outside the scope of the village tradition. At the same time returned emigrants had their influence, too. Also it must be noted that the silk factory had already paved the way for the mixing of the two sexes in one institution. If the villagers had accepted that, it was not so difficult for them to see their girls and boys studying together under the supervision of men and women teachers. Consequently, the idea was accepted, and the coeducational school began to function smoothly and normally.

621 Within a few years the school became the focus
871 of village life. It seems that the mere physical
517 existence of the school building—a building that belonged to the community as a whole—made it possible for various new community activities to take place. The school society began to find it more logical and more convenient to hold its meetings in the school building. General village meetings, also began to take place there. From this, the next step was to hold receptions at the school and invite people from neighboring villages. At first only village talent was used at these receptions; then talent from the city, in the form of lecturers, poets and singers, was brought in. This added to the impetus of the educational movement in the village. The villagers became proud of their school and highly conscious of their community—Bishmizzeen, the village of education.

536 One more vital activity began to take place at
517 the school, involving the whole of the village com-
[177] munity and other villages, too. That was the acting of plays. Several factors contributed to the creation of this activity—returned emigrants, contact with the educational circles of Tripoli and Beirut, and the early mission school teachers. The desire had been there for some time, but it could not be satisfied, due to the lack of a suitable building. Shortly after the school building was

536 621 On each occasion, a huge crowd, from Bishmizzeen and neighboring villages would attend. An admission was charged, but no regular fee was assigned. Each paid what his "generosity" allowed. That was one more example of how the village fitted a new item of behavior into its established folkways. The income of the play was used for the school.

From the above description, it can be readily observed how play acting, centering in the village school, helped to bring about active village cooperation, a heightened consciousness of community identity, and an active inter-village association.

536 621 186 However, one must not neglect to mention a highly significant point, one more indication of what was going to happen to the village in its newly chosen trend. Not a single one of the plays that have been acted in the village had any relationship to village and farm life. The language used was always the higher literary form of Arabic, which had little connection with the local forms of expression. The theme of the play was either copied from Western novels or referred to old Biblical or historical events. Keeping in mind the tremendous influence of the play, by playing upon the emotions of the village people and creating in them a dynamic for new modes of behavior, one can realize to what extent it was influential in carrying the people away from the village. It widened the horizon of village life, as did the school, emigration, and the silk industry; but the horizon was widened to an extent that was conducive to the destruction of the community integrity.

IV

871 177 When the modern educational movement began in the country some fifty years ago, several educational systems appeared in the field and competed with each other in their effort to influence the people. These systems had a variety of cultural backgrounds—English, Russian, German, Italian, French, American, Turkish, and native. None of these systems had a purely educational character. Their educational message was combined either with religous, or political aims, or both.

In the course of time, each of these systems came to concentrate its influence upon one area of the country or one section of the population. In the case of Bishmizzeen, as was indicated above, the American Protestant system has been the most

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influential. This has been due to several factors, as was shown in the previous discussion—the early start of the Protestant mission in the village, the leading personality of Anis Sallum, the failure of the Russian mission to establish a school in Bishmizzeen, and emigration by the village people to the United States.

The following figures show to what extent the Bishmizzeen people have been educated at American, French, and native schools, outside the village. No other system of education has been able to reach that community. The figures cover a period of fifty years, from 1890 to 1939, and show the number of men or women who have been educated at high schools or colleges. A total of 140 people have attended American high schools or colleges, for one or more years. Of these, 78 are men and 62 women. The share of the high schools is 99 (48 men and 51 women). The share of the college is 41 (30 men and 11 women).

It should be observed that men and women have been reached equally by the high school, as regards the number educated and the starting period in the history of the village. However, with reference to college students, there are almost three times as many men as women. Also, men started to go to college much earlier. A possible explanation for the discrepancy is that a high school education was as far as the village traditions would go in the [562] case of girls. After all, the status of woman has always been that of a housewife and mother. A more plausible explanation is that the American Protestant mission in those early days did not encourage college education for girls. Before 1920, the mission had no provision for girls' college education.

Coming to French high schools and colleges, we find that only 16 people have been touched by that system of education—11 men and 5 women. Of these 11 (6 men and 5 women) went to high school while only 5 (men) went to college.

The following figures on native education cover only high school, for no native college education has ever been established in Lebanon. A total of 56 people (16 men and 40 women) have been educated at native high schools. The great excess of women over men in this case is due to the presence of a good sectarian school (Greek Orthodox) for girls in addition to the state school for both sexes. Native education is a new movement in the country, and it has not yet had the time to assume a stable and distinctive character.

P.342 (A)

871 In all, there are some 212 people (105 men and
177 107 women) who have had one or more years of
654 education at high schools and colleges outside the village. Of these, 66 percent have been educated by the American system, 27 percent by the native system, and 7 percent by the French system. These figures ought to indicate, in a concise and clear manner, the great extent to which American culture, behind the Protestant system of education, has been influenctial in the life of Bishmizzeen. The extent of this influence becomes still more impressive, when we remember that these educated men and women represent the "cream" of the village population and have become, in the majority of cases, the recognized leaders of the community, (remembering that 24 of them completed college and 72 completed high school). Their leadership was inspired by a foreign culture that had no ties with village life, and they led the village according to the influence of that culture.

871 Behind each educated man and woman is a story
177 of supreme effort and sacrifice on the part of his
554 family group. It meant, in many cases, that the
178 family group had to sell their land in order to provide for the higher education of their boy or girl. Taking such a drastic step was symbolic of their decision to sever their ties with the old way of living and look towards the new course taken by their children. Through their educated children, the old folk identified themselves with the new patterns of the invading American culture.

621 A strong combination of factors—the rising silk
178 industry, money as a coveted value, play acting,
871 and emigration to America, got hold of the village

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community and forced it to turn its face toward the outside and embark upon a new course. One more such alienating factor has been the school curriculum. In Bishmizzeen, the children studied English, French, Literary Arabic, Geography, History—to the end of the list, even algebra! Not a single one of these subjects was related to the immediate needs of village life. The school curriculum prepared the child for a life that was vastly different from his village life. Later at high school and college, the curriculum finished up the process of alienation begun in the village school.

A glance at the following figures will give us an impressive picture of what has happened to the 212 educated members of the little community. Of them, 31 are still going through the process, following new paths of education. Only 30 live in the village and work on farms, and these are not satisfied with their lot. An additional 27 live in the village but do not work on the farm. There are 59 who belong to the village in a nominal way. Their work is established in Tripoli and Beirut, and they come back to the village for a few weeks during the summer. The remaining 65 (one-third) have left the village for good; they are migrants living mostly in foreign countries.

Perhaps that old village priest had a vision of what was going to happen to the village in the far future, when he prevented the writer's grandfather from sending his son to school in Beirut. "Don't send the boy there," he warned, "for he will never go back to the farm." Most of the educated village youths never did, and many a farm is now deserted.

P·343(B)

16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 ME1 Lebanon ME1

desperate had it not been for the other two new cultural factors which affected village life:

2. The introduction into Lebanon of Western-style educational institutions and curricula. The two main types were American Protestant and French Catholic. It was the former which exerted the stronger influence on al-Munsif. Mission schools were established in the village before the turn of the century, and many village children were sent to the American schools in Tripoli. By 1914, some villagers were themselves teaching school in al-Munsif. Protestantism itself was for the most part resisted, but the quest for secular education—in both Arabic and English—became a major concern in the village. The enthusiasm with which the villagers approached education can be accounted for in several ways. First, the literate individual has always been a person of high prestige in the Arab world. The villagers therefore recognized the fine opportunity for the improvement of personal status which was opened by the new schools. Second, they recognized that through education they would have a better chance of obtaining lucrative jobs and of thus averting the economic disaster which threatened them. Third, the American-sponsored curricula were, in part, a useful introduction to certain aspects of the culture of the West; and this brings us to the third major factor:

3. Emigration, primarily to the United States but also, to a lesser extent, to South America. It is very significant, from the cultural point of view, that the prime motive of the emigrants was not to leave their homeland forever in order to make a new life in a new country, but rather to stay temporarily in America in order to make a fortune and then return to the village to resume the old life under conditions of greater financial security. As it turned out, the majority of emigrants never did return. But the number who did, and the number of those who came and went several times before making up their minds, is often overlooked in general accounts of the emigration phenomenon. Remittances from America helped greatly to make the two decades before 1914 a prosperous time for al-Munsif. It was during this period that the very handsome houses with red tile roofs (imported from France) were built. During this period, also, some of those who did not emigrate took up nonagricultural jobs, such as school teaching, away from the village.

World War I brought a sudden halt to these developments. Owing to the Turkish blockade of Lebanon, emigration became impossible and the flood of remittances was reduced to a trickle. Toward the end of the war there was famine in al-Munsif, and it was reported that 100 persons died as a result of it. After the war, emigration and remittances were resumed. But the large-scale exodus to the United States was effectively ended by the U.S. Immigration Act of 1924, which allowed only a very small quota for the Levant. Emigration to other areas continued but also on a smaller

16: Gulick E-5 (1952)1954 MEI Lebanon MEI

who hold formal authority, are still predominantly village-centered. However, the number of those living away most of the time is impressive, and it includes most of the younger heads of household. In the future, then, it appears probable that the number and proportion of those living away will increase. Yet, of the large number who live away most of the time, few if any have broken effective and affective ties with the village. This is a very important point, and more will be said about it later.

There are two reasons for the prevalence of residence away from the village: (1) education at a higher level than that provided by the two schools (one public, one private) in the village; and (2) urban occupations, qualification for most of which depends on at least a primary education. Education and nonagricultural jobs thus go hand in hand, and the basic motivation rests in the very understandable desire to make a better living than that which farming in the area is likely to provide.

The people of al-Munsif are very proud of their educational status, which they have attained by diligent efforts and considerable sacrifice over a period of several decades. Nearly 100 percent literacy prevails, and in many cases it is bilingual. Forty-eight persons between the ages of 15 and 29 (43 of them between 15 and 19) were still receiving their education in 1952 — in the village schools, in boarding schools, and at the college level. Most of them are boys, but 11 girls are included. The majority of the college students attend the American University of Beirut, and there are several graduates of that institution in the population.

The segment of the population between the ages of 15 and 69 can be looked upon as the potential working force of the village. Thus, 335 people are involved, of which 171 are males and 164 are females. To arrive at the number of people who are gainfully employed outside the home, we must subtract the 48 students, the 120 females who were either housewives or girls "at home," and the 19 men who were clearly unemployed at the time of the study. The actual working force, in terms of earning capacity, therefore amounted to 148 people (115 men and 33 women).

Of these wage earners, 49 were working in the village and 99 away from it. Economically, then, the urban trend appears to be even more pronounced than the population by residence figures, alone, suggests. It must be kept in mind, however, that the majority of heads of household, whatever their primary occupation, are also landowners and derive some income from the produce of their land even though most of them do not do the farm labor themselves.

The village occupations include 10 full-time farmers (mostly middle-aged men) who operate their own farms and also perform various tasks — such as plowing — for other landowners who are not farmers. Services of this kind are paid for in cash. There are 14 other men who work as hired hands for the farmers or for non-operator landowners. Then there are

17: Tunisia S, G-5 (ca. 1947-48)1949 MEI Lebanon MEI

other business activities with the West; modern technology and means of communication; and, finally, the rise of political consciousness, culminating recently in national emancipation.

Each of these factors for change has been potent, introducing far-reaching influences in the life of the people. The educational movement has brought a rate of literacy, estimated at 70 percent, which is unequalled in any other rural area of the Middle East. The rate is even higher for the more advanced mountain region considered separately from the coastal and urban areas of Lebanon. Here we find a school in practically every village, catering to the needs of both boys and girls. From the elementary schools, village youth has flowed in increasing numbers to high schools and colleges. As a result, the horizon of the village has been widened intellectually and economically, causing the farming folk to question their way of life and to seek greater opportunities in the outside world.

As mentioned before, Lebanese emigrants, mostly from the rural areas, sent in relatively large numbers to the Americas and other parts of the world. Practically every farm-family unit has one or more of its members residing abroad. Through correspondence, the press, and literature, through clubs and societies, through visits back home, and by means of the substantial sums of money sent to their families, these emigrants have contributed heavily to the widening of the village horizon and to the changing of its pattern.

Perhaps the most potent factor for change in the village at present is its politico-national awakening. This factor carries with it great possibilities for rural development, as well as grave dangers for its way of life. National consciousness at present permeates rural life in Lebanon. At the same time, practically every village community has been actively reached by one or more of several political ideologies. Rural people have begun to identify themselves with greater national and international entities.

The village community of Lebanon is now going through a stage of rapid transition and difficult adjustment. Its traditional organization, with its institutional pillars of family, land, and religion, is being severely challenged. New ways of doing things

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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S L 181

In neither country is there an officer caste or a strong military tradition, though the present Syrian regime is trving to create one.

Social Survey

S L 565 463 511

The ruling class in both countries is drawn from wealthy families; titles do not exist and the 'old' rich families, whose position and wealth come from land, mix freely with the 'new' rich families, whose money comes from commerce. There is no stigma in engaging in trade and even members of the upper class are merchants. A middle class of functionaries and employees has been growing up since 1948 in the three main cities. Their flats, between the splendour of the rich quarter and the huddle of the *suq*, are being built in quantities and their new, middle-class way of life is based on European standards. The mass of the people are artisans and labourers. The urban artisan approaches the middle class and the rural labourer approaches the hard life of the nomad; for the farm labourer the standard of living is generally low.

The Press

S L 204 656

The press of both countries is important but no one paper or group of papers has established an ascendancy. Damascus had at one time over twenty daily papers none of which could guarantee a circulation of over 3,000. The same state of affairs holds true in Beirut where most parties issue Arabic and in some cases French papers; there are also Armenian newspapers and one English daily.

Individual Lebanese have founded papers and *Le Commerce du Levant*, published in Beirut, has a standing comparable with *La Bourse Egyptienne*. In both countries press censorship has frequently closed down a paper only for it to re-emerge under another name, and in Syria the military dictatorship has reduced the press to a mere mouthpiece of official propaganda.

Education

S L 871 [212] 658

In both countries there are primary and secondary schools, and the number of schools and students increase each year. Primary education is compulsory, and although reliable figures of literacy are not available,[1] it may be assumed that the percentage of illiterates is decreasing in both countries, but is higher in Syria than in Lebanon. In Syria, most of the schools are run by the state and of the private schools (which are

[1] An estimate for Syria for 1947 given in UN, Dept. of Social Affairs, *Preliminary Report on the World Social Situation*, 1952, was 40–50 per cent.

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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mainly Christian) those run by foreigners are now finding it difficult to disarm the suspicions of the Government. In Lebanon, there are almost as many private as state schools and the foreign schools still work without difficulty. There are higher schools for teachers and for agriculture and engineering in Syria and for agriculture in Lebanon, but it is usual for a student to pass from a secondary school directly to a university. The following table shows the various types of schools and number of students.

Type	Lebanon, 1951		Syria, 1951–2	
	Schools	*Students*	*Schools*	*Students*
State:				
Primary	977	83,252	1,850	237,775
Secondary	..	..	57	26,237
Technical	30	2,381	11	2,146
Teachers	2	165	10	1,233
Reformatory	1	106	—	—
Private	601	84,788	387	65,936
Foreign	149	41,402	56	9,852
TOTAL:	1,760	212,094	2,371	343,179

.. = not available.

(SOURCES: *Statistical Abstract of Syria, 1951–2*, Damascus, 1952; *Statesman's Year-Book*, 1953).

The American University of Beirut is non-sectarian and has students from all over the Middle East. It encourages the use of Arabic as well as English, and its most renowned faculties are those of medicine and social sciences. The University of St Joseph in Beirut is run by the Society of Jesus. Attached to this university are schools of medicine, law, and theology, subsidized by the French Government and administered by the Society, in which teaching is carried on in the French language. A National University has recently been started by the Lebanese Government. The Syrian National University in Damascus teaches in Arabic and its most important faculties are those of law and medicine. A separate body for the study of the Arabic language is the Arab Academy of Damascus.

Health

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Malaria and amoebic dysentery are endemic and, though efforts are being made to drain breeding-grounds, preventive medicine is only in a rudimentary stage. Good hospitals exist in the cities and more are under construction; qualified doctors practise in all the towns, but in the villages there is still a lack

20: Hourani S-5 (1945) 1947 M1 Middle East
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customs and their strong sense of family and national solidarity. 563
They cling to their language and maintain their own schools. They have their own charitable organizations, press and cultural life.

They have not always been popular with the Arabs, even with the Arab Christians. Arab nationalists complain that their presence has given rise to an additional minority-problem, and one particularly difficult to solve. Lebanese Moslems regard them as one of the factors making for Christian predominance; had it not been for their immigration the Moslems would now have a majority in Lebanon. They are also disliked for having come into the country destitute and being now prosperous. Being concentrated in a relatively small number of urban callings, they are peculiarly open to attack. But their high standard of morality and culture, their energy and persistence make them a good element in the community and will in time remove the prejudice against them.

Educational Differences

There are considerable educational differences between the 871
sects, which spring in general from the fact that education is mainly in the hands of private organizations, largely confessional, or of foreign missionary societies. This is particularly true of secondary and higher education. The Government maintains no higher institutions, except two normal colleges and one technical school; apart from these, all secondary schools and the two Universities (the American University and the Jesuit Université de St. Joseph) are in the hands of private, mainly religious bodies. In 1938, out of 1,867 primary schools, only 177 were Government schools, while 1,180 were controlled by local and 510 by foreign organizations. Of 122 higher schools, 3 were governmental, 44 local and 75 foreign.

Of the local private schools, by far the greatest number is controlled by the Maronite, Greek Orthodox and Greek Catholic communities; while the majority of the foreign schools are owned by French Catholic missions. Thus, Lebanese education is predominantly Christian and clerical in spirit and control, and more particularly Catholic.

The proportion of Christian children who attend religious schools as against those who attend Government schools is much greater than the corresponding proportion among Moslems.

20: Hourani S-5 (1945) 1947 M1 Middle East
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871 Moreover, the total number of Christian scholars is far greater than that of Moslems, particularly in secondary and higher education.

871 563 Several conclusions may be drawn from these facts. First, education does nothing to diminish communal differences but rather the opposite, since for the most part it is under communal control. Secondly, the Christian communities are as a rule more highly educated than the Moslem, and this leads to obvious differences in their social and economic structure. Thirdly, the Christians in general are receiving a different kind of education from the Moslems: this is particularly true of the Maronites and other Uniates, who have gone far towards adopting French civilization and the French language as their own.

Christians and Moslems

563 798 Apart from the differences between particular sects, there is a general division between Christians and Moslems which is not quite the same as that existing in the neighbouring countries. Lebanon is the only Arabic-speaking country in which the Christians have managed to preserve an autonomous Christian life, both individual and social, and to resist the tendency to moral and social assimilation. This is particularly true of the Maronites, who have never been deprived of connexion with the main body of Western Christendom, thanks to their position on the Mediterranean coast, to their traditional connexion with the French Government and to the work of Catholic missions among them.

The position of the Moslems also is unusual. The Sunnis are outnumbered by Druzes and Shi'is combined, and are thus far from being in a majority or from being able to construct a solid Moslem block, but they still retain to some extent the mentality of a ruling community. As has been mentioned, before the French occupation, the coastal towns in which most of the Sunnis live did not form part of Lebanon, but of the Ottoman vilayet of Beirut; by their transfer to Lebanon they found themselves changed suddenly from a ruling group to one sect among many in a State with a largely Christian atmosphere. This is a change which has been difficult for them to accept.

Greater and Small Lebanon

000 Still another significant distinction is that between the old

In a former disused school house there was a primitive maternity and Child

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welfare clinic, under the charge of a palestinian refugee nurse. The nearest doctor was 20 kms. away. No fees were charged at the clinic, as the villagers were very poor. A well had been constructed one kilometre from the village; it was not kept in a good condition. Mr. Feldmahn told us that the Lebanese Government had co-operated in the activities of the centres, notably in the provision of aircraft for spraying for malaria control. His ambition, he said, was to start a demonstration centre in community welfare which would spread the movement over the whole country. We asked him why the Chtaura-Anjar group of activities did not in itself serve this purpose. His reply was that it was a settlement which had been started for foreigners by foreigners and that, in his view, something more directly associated with the Lebanese in conception and operation would alone suffice.

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7. The Jibrail Rural Fellowship Centre. On Friday, the 5th of December, the Mission visited this centre, where Mr. Moumir Khouri, a very enthusiastic Lebanese graduate of the American University at Beirut continues the village reconstruction programme which was started in 1934 by Mr. S. Neale Alter, of the American Presbyterian Mission. An explanatory memorandum (Appendix II) by Mr. N. Alter sets out his philosophy. This Mission still gives some financial support (L.L. 7,000 per annum) but this amount is insignificant, compared with the cost of running the various activities. The staff has, therefore, to make substantial sacrifices (low salaries) in order to maintain the institution.

The following are some of the activities of the centre:

1. Creche for infants.

2. Day school for boys.

3. Boarding school for girls.

4. Experimental garden: vegetables, fruit trees.

5. Breeding of rabbits and chickens to increase food supply.

6. Recreation centre (pictures, lectures, etc.) for the villagers.

Since the centre possesses only modest resources, all these activities are necessarily conducted on a rather small scale. Only nominal fees are collected from the pupils. So far, lack of funds has prevented any activities in the field of medicine and hygiene, but Mr. Khouri told us that a nurse-midwife would be engaged as soon as the necessary funds became available.

The various buildings of the centre have been erected with the aid of the school boys. The education, both of boys and girls, includes [illegible] practical work: carpentry, agriculture and horticulture for boys, first-aid and nursing for girls. The need for modern school books was pointed out by the teacher, a young graduate from the American School at Tripoli.

It seemed to us that the relations of the centre with the neighbouring village were good, witness the children who attend the schools, and the adults who made use of the recreation centre. The villagers are, however, not consulted as to what they

want; there is no local committee of villagers to express their wishes. In other words, the centre works on behalf of, not with the population.*

8. It will be observed that the capital and maintenance costs of these ventures are largely provided by subscribers living abroad and that in each case the direction and management are in foreign hands. We made some tentative enquiries as to the possibility of a closer identification of government with the voluntary agencies in the development of the work now undertaken by the latter. There appeared, however, to be some hesitation on the part of the promoters lest the prerequisite of official registration would compromise liberty of action, without obtaining commensurate financial support in return.

9. We discussed briefly with the Ministry of Social Affairs the possibility of creating or evoking a wide national interest in, and support for community welfare service of the classical pattern, particularly in rural areas, and of relying less than in the past upon foreign financial support and personnel for the continuance and development of existing institutions. It seemed, however, that greater importance, at any rate for the time being, was attached by the Social Affairs Department to the provision in the larger provincial towns of schools, hospitals, improved sanitation and other modern facilities, in an attempt to arrest the drift of population to an already over-crowded metropolis. This policy implied the use of foreign capital on a considerable scale for costly development schemes and not merely the provision of

* Those who seek to evaluate the progress and permanence of community welfare activities in countries in which the concept (in the sense in which it is used by many sociologists) is still new, may find a moral in the experiences of a distinguished foreign social worker in the Middle East, as he related them to us in the early days of our investigations. He described the work of the group with which he was associated as passing through three phases: the first - the classical or theoretical approach - had been one of general benevolence and good intentions on the part of a group desirous of serving their fellow men. For a time the group had felt satisfied with what they were doing until it had dawned on them that their activities were making no measurable impact or impression on those for whose benefit they had been planned. This, our informant said, was "working on the community", and a wrong approach. A new start was therefore made; it was hoped that any factor of self-satisfaction had been sublimated in the material benefits planned for and concentrated on the village selected for the second phase. Sanitation was, as is usual in the villages of this part of the world, defective by Western standards. It seemed therefore that the group could usefully build a public latrine in the place. This was done. But as the villagers had never felt the want of improved sanitation and had not been consulted before the work was undertaken, the building remained unused until someone in the village had the idea of storing grain in it. Those who had done the building felt now that they had been working for the community; but here again, according to our informant, the approach was wrong and the effort misguided. But it led to a third - one in which concerted action is taken by the group, this time in concert with the community to plan and execute self-help projects that meet local needs and desires. External help, within the limits of the small resources at the disposal of the group, is provided only as required. Combined operations of this kind afford, in the view of our informant examples of community welfare in which all who participate work with the community, and that is the right approach. But as there is a strong and developing national consciousness in the area concerned and the initiative has been taken by foreigners, our friend, being a wise man, could only be cautiously optimistic and would not prophesy how long the pattern now set would endure in the changing circumstances of the times.

361 457 652 648 the normal services of technical assistance - whether the latter were afforded under Point IV or from United Nations funds. We tentatively mooted with the Department the possibility of a concurrent development of community social welfare with the help of United Nations Technical Assistance, e.g., by instituting appropriate leadership classes and education in citizenship. Further consideration of the suggestion was promised but there are reasons which militate against progress on these lines. First, we understood that there is a general impression in informed circles that assistance to governments, whether for social or economic projects, is or can be made available under Point IV under more favourable conditions than those applying to United Nations technical assistance (this specifically refers to the proportion of local expenditure to be borne by the recipient government). Second, discussions then current in the local press stressed the view so widely held in the country that the provision of financial aid, chiefly in the form of capital, is just as essential, perhaps more essential, than foreign technique. Third, the simultaneous elaboration in an under-developed country of too many schemes of economic and social development, all of which are intrinsically desirable but which, cumulatively, are beyond the present budgetary and administrative resources of the country not only places an intolerable load upon the machinery of government it may lead to demands for capital expenditure on a scale which cannot be met. It would be regrettable if any pruning of requests for Technical Assistance that had to take place as a result of a belated recognition of this truth were to operate to the prejudice of fully considered schemes of community welfare development, particularly where such schemes had been designed as demonstration projects to become self-supporting in the near future.

● 871 185 459 10. Experienced sociologists, working mainly with foreign agencies operating in the Lebanon and other Middle East countries, have urged the desirability under present conditions of establishing with outside financial aid and, if necessary, under foreign direction, more community welfare demonstration centres. In these centres, as they see the position, the whole process of self-help in meeting the economic, health, educational and social needs of a representative sample rural community might be demonstrated and gradually fulfilled. Wherever practicable, and as soon as possible, local officials (administrators, doctors, teachers, agronomists and other technicians) would be encouraged to participate in the organization and management of the demonstration centre, even to the extent (it was suggested by one authority consulted) of rewarding the part-time services of these officials by supplementing the pay which they already receive from public funds. Leaders of the local community would, as the work progressed, be encouraged to form management committees for the various activities. In this way, it was thought practicable, on the basis of actual experience, to arouse interest in, and create a wider public support for the adoption by the government of the movement, leading, in course of time, to the establishment under official auspices of other centres and, ultimately, to a national movement on a self-supporting basis. We were later to see (in Syria, paragraphs 63-68) the practical application of this philosophy on a modest scale under the auspices of the Near East Foundation.

11. As, however, technical assistance is available to governments only, and should be given only at their request, it is not easy to devise a means whereby pilot or demonstration projects of private agencies for developing community welfare and ultimate local self-government can be brought within the scope of the present system. Further, it would manifestly be improper to strain the regulations to enable any privately sponsored application for assistance in establishing multi-purpose community welfare centres to be assisted until the Government has itself supported such a request through official channels. We understand, however, that in the meantime certain foreign voluntary agencies are able to give a measure of assistance for the purpose.

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3. We have community contacts and good will, not only in our own ecological area, but in the whole of Lebanon. Since ours is the only centre of its kind in the country, the Lebanese Government has been sending visitors for information on rural education and reconstruction.

4. We have leadership training facilities and we have been making good use of these. These could and should be greatly increased.

5. We have land and buildings, quite a bit of equipment and facilities for extension work. So far the Presbyterian Board has put in eighty thousand dollars in developments.

6. We have a ten-year development plan.

There is now a change in the time element in our development programme. We had planned our development programme with a six to ten thousand dollar yearly expansion budget for additional buildings, equipment and other facilities. We and others have come to the conclusion that there is an urgency for a more rapid development, if at all possible, so that we may have a more significant part in providing directive materials for those who are anxious to begin similar activities in Lebanon, and so that we should demonstrate more effectively an alternative to Communism. Point Four executives in Lebanon felt this time factor so keenly, that they proposed a co-operative plan whereby they would provide significant sums for immediate expansion. After due consideration this plan was rejected.

Our Presbyterian Board of Foreign Missions fully recognizes and endorses the validity of this time urgency. They also appreciate the value of the project, and intend to put in ten thousand dollars per year in the future towards salaries and operating expenses. Additional help is needed for simple buildings, staff, research, experimentation, and publication of materials in both Arabic and English.

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Details of the Programme of the Rural Fellowship Centre

It is the purpose and objective of our Fellowship Centre to make a co-operative contribution towards the development of individuals, the village of Jibrail, the ecological area of which Jibrail is the geographical centre, and in so far as we are able to contribute to the Lebanese national life and economy. In order to accomplish this objective we are carrying on the following activities:

I. Teen-age boys' and girls' education. Our programme of Rural Fundamental Education is built around the ten points that we consider of major importance for the development of teen-age and adults. These are the following:

1. Academic skills which provide the students with facility in the use of Arabic and simple arithmetic. A self-selected few who are going on to city high schools are given additional academics.

2. Occupational skills - for the girls home-making skills and for the boys agriculture (including soil conservation, animal husbandry and horticulture.

3. Socio-economic geography emphasizing the way people live in all parts of the world. Considerable use is made of visual aids.

4. Health and hygiene for both boys and girls - for the girls there is special emphasis on First Aid and Home-nursing. 361 185

5. Child study and development for the girls with applied practice with a group of Kindergarten children. 871

For the boys this course is paralleled by practical work in carpentry and repairs and improvements in the home, e.g., laying cement floors.

6. Family relationships which begin with the study of relationships of students to their parents and other members of their families, and continue to include neighbour and community relationships and finally relationships to the nation and the family of nations. This course is essentially an emphasis on applied civics and sociology.

7. Cottage industries including weaving, gardening, and the raising of poultry and rabbits for both schools.

This is almost the most difficult of the ten points especially as it applies to our basic theory of financing the schools. The theory is that moderate fees should be collected for the first of the three years' course. The second year the students should even be able to earn a small surplus in addition to the fees. However up to the present the cottage industries have produced the marginal income which is necessary to carry on the plan.

8. Games, recreation and drama.

This feature of the programme is also difficult because it is not yet appreciated by the parents and also because of the lack of suitable materials. The sphere of the J.R.F.C. is to co-operate with other groups e.g., the B.C.W., The Literature Committee, etc., in the production of these basic materials, dramas, reading materials, songs, etc.

9. Indigenous rural culture including such things as rural music folk songs, etc. This feature is also difficult to attain for three reasons - a lack of appreciation of the value of such culture, a lack of materials, and a lack of that extra margin of production which makes a virile culture possible. There is a vicious circle in the rural areas which both parents and young people feel can only be broken by leaving the villages for the city or by emigrating abroad. 361 369

Religion. The study of religion is not an isolated course but it is the tying thread throughout the whole programme. It aims at the development of a personal relationship of the student to God through Christ and of an intelligent knowledge and understanding of the Bible and of the religious tenets and background of the student's family. 361 771

Point number two for men and boys, i.e., occupational skills needs a few additional comments. Although soil conservation is a part of the theoretical and practical part of our school programme, this has also been one of our emphasized features of our extension programme. With twelve growing months for vegetable crops, plenty of water for irrigation and very great possibilities for increasing fruit culture, it is very important to build the retaining walls according to scientific principles. Over a period of time we have developed a system for building terraces, but we have been using only primitive hand labo tools and methods. We now reached the point where we need simple and 361 874 242 185

MANY LEBANON ME1

have retained close contact with their homeland, a factor which has had a profound influence on the social and the economic development of the country.

Unlike the neighboring Arab states, Lebanon is a compact territory. The density of population in the four administrative provinces, exclusive of Beirut district, averaged over 300 per square mile in 1948. It was 484 per square mile in Mount Lebanon, 356 in North Lebanon, and 291 in South Lebanon, but declined to 101 in the potentially fertile districts of the Bekaa. About 60 per cent of the inhabitants live under rural conditions in some 2,300 large or small villages. Urbanization has increased progressively within recent years, however, and almost one half of the population is now concentrated within easy access of Beirut. The city, which is not only the capital and the industrial metropolis of Lebanon but the principal port for the Levant states, had a population of 300,000 to 400,000 in 1950. Tripoli, the second largest city and the terminus of the pipeline from the oil fields in northern Iraq to the Mediterranean, had a population of roughly 78,000. Numerous towns in the southern and the central portions of the Lebanon range are popular resorts, with an annual influx of summer residents.

The fact that Beirut has become one of the leading cultural and educational centers of the Near East has stimulated the spread of education in the rest of the country. The literacy rate is consistently higher among the men than among the women: it probably averages from 75 to 90 per cent in Beirut and the neighboring districts of Mount Lebanon and from 40 to 60 per cent in the other provinces. The expansion of education has been influenced by the activity of French, American and other foreign groups, but the division between the different systems has hindered the development of a unified national program. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory, although the facilities are inadequate, especially in the rural areas of the south.

63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
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LEBANON ME1

Schools are maintained by the Lebanese government under the authority of the Ministry of National Education and by private, denominational and foreign agencies. There are no public secondary schools, and institutions for advanced education are conducted almost exclusively by private or foreign organizations.

There are two universities in Beirut, both of which have made substantial contributions to educational and social leadership throughout the Near and Middle East. The Université Saint-Joseph, which was founded in 1875, is operated by Jesuit orders, and some of its departments are subsidized by the French government. It has faculties of law, theology, engineering, philosophy, oriental letters and medicine, with constituent schools of dentistry, pharmacy, nursing and midwifery. The American University of Beirut was established as the Syrian Protestant College in 1866, and renamed in 1920. It is a nonsectarian, autonomous institution, sponsored by the Near East Colleges Association. The present university incorporates schools of arts and sciences, engineering, medicine, pharmacy and nursing, as well as a new school for agriculture, organized in 1952.

Vital Statistics

No reliable vital statistics are available for Lebanon. The registration of births and deaths is compulsory by law, but reporting is irregular, and the facilities for the compilation and the analysis of statistical data are inadequate. The published statistics are incomplete and of little value in the interpretation of true birth and death rates. No census has been taken since 1932, but, on the basis of the official population estimates, the birth rate was calculated at 21.5 per 1,000 population in 1947 and at 26.1 in 1948. The death rates were given at 5.5 and 6.1 per 1,000 population, respectively, figures which are obviously low.

The infant mortality rates are unknown. The general laxness in reporting births in many rural villages and the tendency to

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

The boarding-school, as well as the day-school, students include both boys and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The chief criterion is that none is a manual laborer, and they were obviously all considered to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practicing physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

Protestant preacher	1	Seamstress	5
Detective	1	Waiter	3
Fireman	1	Hospital attendant	4
Soldier (sergeant)	1	Janitor	2
Tailor	2	Surveyor	1

The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus close village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in itself. Parents and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of the girl to a doctor, a very prestigeful status.

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15–44

	MEN		WOMEN			MEN		WOMEN	
AGE	Single	Married	Single	Married	AGE	Single	Married	Single	Married
15–19	39	0	27	0	30–34	6	5	4	7
20–24	30	1	17	7	35–39	3	4	2	12
25–29	15	8	10	10	40–44	2	14	0	12

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

position with respect to Maximal Lineages A and B, respectively, except that these shrines themselves were built after the founding of the village—"at least two hundred years ago." However, there are two kinds of *waqf*. The more common is land (or other property) given to a religious institution often in fulfillment of a vow, and its usufruct is reserved for religious purposes. In other words, it is an endowment. There is another kind of *waqf*, also, however, and this is represented in Munṣif by Mar Jurjis and its *waqf*. In this case the *waqf* is a sort of family trust. The usufruct of the land is reserved for the family or lineage (in Munṣif, A,III) which originally established it. Only when and if the lineage dies out is the property turned over to a religious institution. The Caliph Omar (A.D. 634–643) is credited with the invention of *waqf*, but actually the Byzantines had similar legal forms (Bonne, 1948, pp. 199–220). It happens that the present priest belongs to A,III, hence he would derive some income from Mar Jurjis even if he were not the priest. He is also the custodian of the other *waqf* lands, and the income from them is his. The disposition of *waqf* income is not made in this way everywhere, but this arrangement makes a sizeable contribution to the support of the priest and his family. In addition to being paid fees for performing rituals, the priest is also supposed to receive an annual contribution from each head of a household.

Some villages have religious schools attached to the church, but in Munṣif formal religious instruction is conducted by the priest periodically in the village school. For the most part the religious instruction of the children is left to their parents.

SCHOOLS

"Many village communities in Lebanon have what amounts to or approximates universal literacy" (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, p. 407). Munṣif is certainly one of these, and its condition is due to a long-standing emphasis on education.

In the village itself there are two schools, the government school and the "national" school. The government school is part of the government educational system. Instruction is free, except that the students must provide their own books. There are about seventy students and two teachers, both, at the moment, members of the village (A,V and C,XX).

The Lebanese public school system is based on the French, but it is incomplete. There is a fairly good distribution of public elementary schools, like that in Munṣif, which offer a six-year program (recently shortened to five years) at the end of which the student receives a *certificat*. There are some public schools (mostly in large towns and cities) which carry the process about three years further, a *brévet* being granted at the end. The student who wishes to continue his education beyond the *brévet* must do so outside the public school system, and he has three courses to choose from (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 417–18). He may choose

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

to go to one of the Lebanese private schools which are now rather numerous. Each such school is called *al-madrsi al-ahliyya* (national school) because it is nonsectarian and does not regularly offer religious instruction (Hourani, 1946, p. 94). Such a school is "national" in the sense that it transcends sectarian barriers. If he does not go to a national school, the ambitious student must go to a private secondary school usually operated under foreign auspices, mostly either French (and invariably Catholic) or American. Many of these are boarding schools.

The French and the Americans each have their own educational system in operation in Lebanon. It was they, in fact, who gave the original impetus to modern indigenous education, although there have always been schools in the Arab world. Matthews and Akrawi point out that both systems go their own ways, and are based on entirely different philosophies (1949, p. 416). French Catholic or Protestant American are not the least elements in the division between them. The pinnacle of the French system is the Université St. Joseph (Jesuit), and that of the American is the American University of Beirut. For a long time the Government considered the American Master of Arts degree equivalent to the French *Baccalauréat, deuxieme partie*, which was the minimal standard required ordinarily of governmental appointees. This put holders of the Batchelor of Arts degree at a considerable disadvantage. St. Joseph prepares for the *Licence es Lettres* but does not confer it; similarly, the American University of Beirut confers the M.A. degree but not that of Doctor of Philosophy. Both institutions confer the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

At any rate, villagers, such as the Munṣifiin, who wish to go to college must attend a secondary school in order to qualify. Almost invariably this means boarding school away from the village, which in turn means considerable expense. To some extent the national school fills the gap in the public education system. The one in Munṣif, which was started about twenty years ago, has eleven grades, and about one hundred students, many of whom come from other villages in the Qurni. Graduates of this school must still attend a boarding school if they want to enter college, but the gap is considerably narrowed. There is a moderate tuition fee at the national school, plus books. There are three teachers, the owner and master (A,IX), his wife, and a young woman of the village (C,XXI) who was single at the time of the study.

Both schools operate under the severe handicap of a multiplicity of grades and a paucity of teachers. This is handled by holding all, or several, mathematics classes, for example, at the same time. School hours run from about 8 A.M. to 4 P.M. with two hours off for lunch. The national school has an evening study hall.

The curriculum of the government school follows a fixed formula and schedule to which all government elementary schools are expected to conform. Emphasis is on the "three R's," with some geography and history, the latter heavily laden with patriotic exhortations, and elementary civics and moral lessons which emphasize family relationships (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 429–32).

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

872 Since 1946, public school students have had the option of taking French or English (*ibid.*, p. 426), and in Munṣif English is the universal choice.

The national school follows more or less the same pattern, at the same and also more advanced levels, but of course the master is free to choose his own texts and to present his courses as he chooses. The one in Munṣif is very much concerned with having up-to-date books (American and English), and holds his plant and students up to strict hygienic standards. The school has a modern toilet, and the drinking water is filtered.

THE "SPORT CLUB"

575 345 The building which houses the government school is also the center of the Sport Club which was founded by the young people of the village about 1950.

[524] The building has a large central room in which there is a stage and four or five tables for playing cards and other games. There are four side-rooms, one of which has a shelf of books and pamphlets and is the headquarters of the club. The other three are schoolrooms, equipped with small wooden desks for the students and blackboards. The large room is used as an everyday meeting place for the [521] adolescents and young adults. It is also used for the annual play. So far, it appears that though the club itself is new, it has focused already existing activities, such as the plays and volleyball games, but has not initiated any new kinds of activity. It is active as a unit only in the summer when there are many older students and young adults in the village on vacation, and if causes may be adduced, it can be said that the primary cause of the club's coming into existence is the need of idle vacationers to organize their activities. There was no need for this before the beginning of the recent changes in the culture.

VILLAGE GOVERNMENT

632 623 The village government consists of a mayor (*mukhtar*) and a four-man council of elders (*'adaa' akhtyaariyyah*). All five men serve concurrently for a term of four years. They are elected by the men of the village who have attained the age of twenty-one. The present mayor (C,XXI) has held the office for about twelve years. The tenure of his predecessor (B,XII), who was his father-in-law, extended back to about 1900.

[631] The present municipal statutes of Lebanon define three types of community. Beirut is in a class by itself. There follow one hundred and twenty "incorporated" towns. The remainder, about 1380, of which Munṣif is one, are classed as "unincorporated" villages. The unincorporated villages are governed according to the *Loi des Mukhtars* of 1928 (Ritsher, 1932, p. 1). Before 1928, the unincorporated villages were governed under the provisions of the Ottoman Vilayet Law of 1864 which, at the local level, was originally a formalization of the traditional pattern of government by a council of heads of households, one of whom was chosen as *shaykh*.

water supplies are not only inadequate and unsafe, they are also unhandy. In all cases the source is outside of the dei'ah and may be a mile or more away. This necessitates a long walk on the part of the women who carry the water in jugs to their homes. 312

One of the major items included in plans for the improvement project is that of furnishing domestic water to the villages. A well has been drilled near Loubya by the Technical Cooperation Service and it is planned to pump from it to a reservoir to be built on a high point. From here a pipe line distribution system will furnish water to fountains in each village. 312 185

In each of the five project villages, the persons interviewed stated that the nearest doctor, nurse, or hospital is located in Saida. Only Loubya reported having no midwife. Sarafand reported two midwives while the other three villages each has one midwife living in the village. It is beyond the province of this report to report upon the qualifications or training of the local midwives. 743 759

Schools

The information on village schools in the project area was secured from the local teachers (Table X). All of the project villages have government-run elementary schools, with the exception of Loubya. Loubya has no schools while Saksakiyah has a privately-run school as well as the government elementary school. While the school in En-Nsariyah has two rooms, the remaining ones are simple, one-room affairs. None of the villages offers education beyond the elementary level. Such higher education, however, is available at Saida or Beirut. 872 346

The number of pupils in each school varies from 20 in the private school of Saksakiyah to 100 in the 'Adloun government elementary school. This latter school is the only one reporting two teachers. The one classroom is usually small and the children sit, closely packed, at their desks. It is interesting to note the breakdown of the students according to sex. While 247 students attend the five schools, only thirteen of these are girls. The Shee'ah Moslems do not encourage their daughters to attend school. They feel that it is a hindrance to a happy marriage and often encourages disobedience to one's elders. [562]

9:Lebanon C-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

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TABLE X

Schools

(Data from local teachers)

Five Kasmie Rural Improvement Project Villages

Winter, 1952

Dei'ah	Sponsoring Agency	Kind E.H.S.	Number of Teachers	Annual Pay	Number of Rooms	Annual Rent	Pupils: From Village Male	Pupils: From Village Female	Pupils: From Outside Village Male	Pupils: From Outside Village Female	Total No. of Pupils
Sarafand	Government	Elementary	1	1400	1	100	50	0	0	0	50
Saksakiyah	Government	Elementary	1	1800	1	50	25	0	0	0	25
	Private	Elementary	1	350	1	60	20	0	0	0	20
Loubya	No School		—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
En-Nsariyah	Government	Elementary	1	1700	2	110	35	3	4	0	42
'Adloun	Government	Elementary	2	1600 1700	1	250	100	10	0	0	110
Total			6		6		230	13	4	0	247

14:Tannous 8-5 (no date) 1943 MEI Lebanon MEI

795 method of worship, cut apart and objectized from
621 the practices of daily living. It was rather a way
791 of life. The church grew up with the village, influencing it and at the same time being influenced by the other aspects of village life. Thus, to cast doubt upon the church meant casting doubt upon village life altogether.

II

797 Early in the second half of the 19th century,
621 three religious missions appeared on the quiet horizon of the Lebanon area—the Protestant (mainly American), the Catholic (mainly French), and the Greek Orthodox (Russian). There were other missions too—Italian, German, English, and Scandinavian. However, the influence of these did not reach Bidaidoun and they need not be discussed here.

797 The American Presbyterian mission has always been the most influential Protestant mission in the country. They began their work early in the second half of the 19th century. Beirut was their first base, whence they reached out to the surrounding Lebanon villages. Later, they established a second base in the town of Tripoli, from which they began to work in the neighboring villages of the
797 Koura district, including Bidaidoun. About
621 1890, they succeeded in establishing a simple
872 elementary school at Bidaidoun. A native Protestant teacher (man) was put in charge. A simple square room was found, whose owner was willing to rent it for the purpose. Tuition was free and parents were encouraged to send their children to the new school.

It seems that, at first, the people of the village

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defined the new situation in a positive and favorable manner. They did not have to pay anything extra for this new type of education. The mothers found it convenient that some one should take care of their children when they were not needed for farm work. At the same time, the rising silk trade created a demand for individuals able to write and use simple arithmetic. Some of the parents began to realize that it was necessary for their children to learn how to calculate, read, and write accurately. Further, during that period, the silk trade had begun to bring the village people in contact with the outside—Tripoli and Beirut—where there were learned people who held high positions in life. As a consequence of that contact, there was growing in the village a vague consciousness of the worthwhileness of learning and knowledge. The Arabic word "Ilm," the equivalent for knowledge, was beginning to assert itself in the village vocabulary. In a word, the stage was set for the establishment of a regular school, and the villagers seemed willing to cooperate.

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But that initial definition of the situation did not last very long. A new element appeared, a very significant element, which made the villagers more wary of what was taking place. It was observed that a new type of religion was being taught at the sch ool—aside from "innocent" arithmetic, reading, and writing—and that every Sunday the "foreign" missionary would come to the school and preach the Gospel in a new fashion to the students and others who gathered around. The people were not ready to tolerate this new element. It meant a direct attack upon the authority of the church, and this meant nothing less than undermining the integrity of village life as a whole. At the same time, the Russian mission did not like the idea of the Protestant mission working in the Greek Orthodox villages of the Kura district. Through the native Bishop of the district, they encouraged the villagers to do something about it. The instructions were "Do everything but don't touch the person of the missionary."

One Sunday, when the missionary came to the village to do his weekly preaching, the village leaders had already prepared a group of youths for action. At the appointed hour, the youths moved to the mission school and began shouting and making deafening noise by beating on empty cans, while the missionary and the teacher conducted the meeting inside. In a short while the mob became

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797 more menacing, and the two men had to leave the
798 village. The following Sunday, the mob attacked the school and threw the benches into the street. The school was closed, within one year of its beginning. ("...One Sunday, our service (in Bishmizzeen) was broken up by a mob of boys, throwing stones at dors and windows and beating tins and shouting. It appeared, however, that persons of most influence were on our side, and the government has issued an order to the people to respect our rights...." From the 1898 Mission Report, Beirut, Lebanon.)

797 However, the incident left its mark upon the
621 village. Among the people there were some who
872 looked into the future and felt the urgent need of education for their children. The mission school offered them the opportunity, and they were determined to grasp it. For the time being, they kept quiet.

Within the following two years, the desire for a school in the village grew very strong. A delegation of elders was sent to Tripoli to interview the Bishop about the matter. They requested him to establish a school in Bishmizzeen. The Bishop was reluctant about that. He advised them to send their children to the Russian mission school in the neighboring village of Amyoon. Their feeling of community pride was aroused. They felt it was an insult that they should send their children to another village for education. Certainly, their community was important enough to deserve a school. The Bishop resorted to another argument, which proved to be very tactless. He reminded the elders of the fact that the more sophisticated Bishmizzeen people were enough of a trouble for him without being educated in a regular school, and that school education would make them much more difficult to handle. The elders retorted by threatening to resort to the American mission and invite them to reopen the school. The Bishop reminded them of the danger such a move would involve for the religious beliefs of their children. One of the elders replied by saying, "Your Holiness, we don't mean that our children should change their faith; we want them to be educated as your Holiness was at a mission school. Your Holiness did not change your faith, and our children need not change theirs." (... Three schools have been begun in this district (Kura).... The poor old Greek Orthodox Bishop of Tripoli is at his wits end to know how to keep P 339 (B)

797 hold of his people in these villages. . . ." From
621 an undated Mission report.)
872 With that, the elders parted, went to the mission center and requested them to reopen the school in Bishmizzeen, promising to pay for the education of their children. The head of the mission reminded them of what they had done with the school two years previously. One of the elders retorted by reminding the missionary of what Christ said about forgiving one's brother seven times seventy! A new native teacher was appointed by the mission, and the school was reopened in Bishmizzeen.

797 The above story was dwelt upon with a view to
798 bringing forth several significant points. The
621 first of these is to emphasize the fact that the hostile reaction of Bishmizzeen to the mission did not take any serious violent character. In other places, the mission suffered serious persecution. This may be explained by two factors, a local one and a general one. Locally, the Bishmizzeen people had always been accustomed to live side by side with another religious group, the Moslem minority. They had learned how to tolerate the existence of another sect. Consequently, the appearance of a third sect, although shocking, was not as much so as it was in the case of other religious groups in complete isolation. The second factor derives from the general character of the Greek Orthodox church. It must be remembered that the Greek Orthodox or Eastern church has always been considered heretic by the Catholic church, due to the split which occurred in the early days of the Christian church. Since then, the Greek Orthodox sect have considered themselves as more "progressive." Further, the Greek Orthodox in Lebanon have always mixed with the Moslems of the country, much more so than the Maronites who secluded themselves on the mountain heights. Consequently one would expect the Greek Orthodox group of Bishmizzeen to be more open and tolerant toward the new message of the Presbyterian Mission.

621 The second point to be emphasized refers to the
794 manner in which the village elders argued with the Bishop and finally used a threat. That was unprecedented behavior, on the part of a lay village group toward high church authorities. As far as could be ascertained, that was the first incident of its kind in the village, possibly the first in the whole district. It is indeed hard to evaluate the significance of such a move. One may see in

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3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East

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mainly Christian) those run by foreigners are now finding it difficult to disarm the suspicions of the Government. In Lebanon, there are almost as many private as state schools and the foreign schools still work without difficulty. There are higher schools for teachers and for agriculture and engineering in Syria and for agriculture in Lebanon, but it is usual for a student to pass from a secondary school directly to a university. The following table shows the various types of schools and number of students.

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	Schools	*Students*	*Schools*	*Students*
State:				
Primary	977	83,252	1,850	237,775
Secondary	..	..	57	26,237
Technical	30	2,381	11	2,146
Teachers	2	163	10	1,233
Reformatory	1	106	—	—
Private	601	84,788	387	65,936
Foreign	149	41,402	56	9,852
Total:	1,760	212,094	2,371	343,179

.. = not available.

(Sources: *Statistical Abstract of Syria, 1951–2*, Damascus, 1952; *Statesman's Year-Book*, 1953).

The American University of Beirut is non-sectarian and has students from all over the Middle East. It encourages the use of Arabic as well as English, and its most renowned faculties are those of medicine and social sciences. The University of St Joseph in Beirut is run by the Society of Jesus. Attached to this university are schools of medicine, law, and theology, subsidized by the French Government and administered by the Society, in which teaching is carried on in the French language. A National University has recently been started by the Lebanese Government. The Syrian National University in Damascus teaches in Arabic and its most important faculties are those of law and medicine. A separate body for the study of the Arabic language is the Arab Academy of Damascus.

Health

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Malaria and amoebic dysentery are endemic and, though efforts are being made to drain breeding-grounds, preventive medicine is only in a rudimentary stage. Good hospitals exist in the cities and more are under construction; qualified doctors practise in all the towns, but in the villages there is still a lack

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have retained close contact with their homeland, a factor which has had a profound influence on the social and the economic development of the country.

Unlike the neighboring Arab states, Lebanon is a compact territory. The density of population in the four administrative provinces, exclusive of Beirut district, averaged over 300 per square mile in 1948. It was 484 per square mile in Mount Lebanon, 356 in North Lebanon, and 291 in South Lebanon, but declined to 101 in the potentially fertile districts of the Bekaa. About 60 per cent of the inhabitants live under rural conditions in some 2,300 large or small villages. Urbanization has increased progressively within recent years, however, and almost one half of the population is now concentrated within easy access of Beirut. The city, which is not only the capital and the industrial metropolis of Lebanon but the principal port for the Levant states, had a population of 300,000 to 400,000 in 1950. Tripoli, the second largest city and the terminus of the pipeline from the oil fields in northern Iraq to the Mediterranean, had a population of roughly 78,000. Numerous towns in the southern and the central portions of the Lebanon range are popular resorts, with an annual influx of summer residents.

The fact that Beirut has become one of the leading cultural and educational centers of the Near East has stimulated the spread of education in the rest of the country. The literacy rate is consistently higher among the men than among the women: it probably averages from 75 to 90 per cent in Beirut and the neighboring districts of Mount Lebanon and from 40 to 60 per cent in the other provinces. The expansion of education has been influenced by the activity of French, American and other foreign groups, but the division between the different systems has hindered the development of a unified national program. Theoretically, primary education is compulsory, although the facilities are inadequate, especially in the rural areas of the south.

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621 The boarding-school, as well as the day-school, students include both boys
872 and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of
879 them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

463 We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The
565 chief criterion is that none is a manual laborer, and they were obviously all considered to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practicing physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

Protestant preacher	1	Seamstress	5
Detective	1	Waiter	3
Fireman	1	Hospital attendant	4
Soldier (sergeant)	1	Janitor	2
Tailor	2	Surveyor	1

[441] The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus close village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

[875] Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

462 Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women
759 and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in itself. Parents
555 and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of the girl to a doctor, a very prestigeful status.

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

162 Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the
582 ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15–44

	MEN		WOMEN			MEN		WOMEN	
AGE	Single	Married	Single	Married	AGE	Single	Married	Single	Married
15–19	39	0	27	0	30–34	6	5	4	7
20–24	30	1	17	7	35–39	3	4	2	12
25–29	15	8	10	10	40–44	2	14	0	12

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

WELFARE

In a very few cases of total incapacitation, individuals have had to be placed in public institutions for care. Otherwise, the village takes care of its own unfortunates, in conformance with the traditional attitudes of self-sufficiency. A unit of the Lebanese Red Cross visits the village at regular intervals to provide medical care for those who need it, but have been unable or unwilling to go to a doctor in the city. There is a regular, and entirely traditional, mechanism for caring for families who get into financial straits. A close friend of the family, who has learned of the situation because of his closeness, goes to each household in the village saying, "There is among us a family in need. I am going to give them some money; how much are you willing to give?" It is very bad form to ask for whom the collection is being made, and a contribution which is offered under such conditions may be refused by the collector. The strict anonymity which accompanies this behavior suggests that even in such a tight in-group as the village keeping up appearances is a conscious value. Clique and lineage rivalries undoubtedly contribute to this.

HIGHER EDUCATION AND OCCUPATIONS

Everyone in the village, except for a handful among the very old, are literate. A quite respectable number have received or are receiving college educations. The significance of education in the village will be discussed in the next chapter; here it is appropriate to consider only the bearing which education has on occupations.

Literacy itself is no rarity in Lebanon. In fact, among the Christians, at least, one can safely say that it is the expected thing. Mere literacy alone would raise one's aspirations only above that of manual laborer, in the city. For professional status or for governmental positions college educations are prerequisite. Medicine and the law require additional training beyond college which no one in Munṣif has recently undertaken. The number of positions open to ordinary college graduates which are in line with the individual's ambitions (befitting a learned and cultured person) are rather limited in Lebanon, and many such persons must be satisfied with whatever they can find. In consequence, a certain restlessness and dissatisfaction is to be found among those who have had advanced education.

AGRICULTURAL CONDITIONS

Munṣif depends, and has always depended, upon crops which do not require rain or irrigation in the growing season. In order, the most important are olives, figs and grapes. Of these the major cash crop is olives. This has not always been true. Up to 1914 the major cash crop in the village, and in Lebanon as a whole, was the silkworm cocoon, fed on mulberry leaves. Sericulture has not died out completely in Lebanon, and it is still fairly strong in the Kisrawan, Kura, Meten, and Shuuf districts (Février, 1949b, p. 249), but it has long since lost its economic

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

to go to one of the Lebanese private schools which are now rather numerous. Each such school is called *al-madrsi al-ahliyya* (national school) because it is nonsectarian and does not regularly offer religious instruction (Hourani, 1946, p. 94). Such a school is "national" in the sense that it transcends sectarian barriers. If he does not go to a national school, the ambitious student must go to a private secondary school usually operated under foreign auspices, mostly either French (and invariably Catholic) or American. Many of these are boarding schools.

The French and the Americans each have their own educational system in operation in Lebanon. It was they, in fact, who gave the original impetus to modern indigenous education, although there have always been schools in the Arab world. Matthews and Akrawi point out that both systems go their own ways, and are based on entirely different philosophies (1949, p. 416). French Catholic or Protestant American are not the least elements in the division between them. The pinnacle of the French system is the Université St. Joseph (Jesuit), and that of the American is the American University of Beirut. For a long time the Government considered the American Master of Arts degree equivalent to the French *Baccalauréat, deuxieme partie,* which was the minimal standard required ordinarily of governmental appointees. This put holders of the Batchelor of Arts degree at a considerable disadvantage. St. Joseph prepares for the *Licence es Lettres* but does not confer it; similarly, the American University of Beirut confers the M.A. degree but not that of Doctor of Philosophy. Both institutions confer the degree of Doctor of Medicine.

At any rate, villagers, such as the Munṣifiin, who wish to go to college must attend a secondary school in order to qualify. Almost invariably this means boarding school away from the village, which in turn means considerable expense. To some extent the national school fills the gap in the public education system. The one in Munṣif, which was started about twenty years ago, has eleven grades, and about one hundred students, many of whom come from other villages in the Qurni. Graduates of this school must still attend a boarding school if they want to enter college, but the gap is considerably narrowed. There is a moderate tuition fee at the national school, plus books. There are three teachers, the owner and master (A,IX), his wife, and a young woman of the village (C,XXI) who was single at the time of the study.

Both schools operate under the severe handicap of a multiplicity of grades and a paucity of teachers. This is handled by holding all, or several, mathematics classes, for example, at the same time. School hours run from about 8 A.M. to 4 P.M. with two hours off for lunch. The national school has an evening study hall.

The curriculum of the government school follows a fixed formula and schedule to which all government elementary schools are expected to conform. Emphasis is on the "three R's," with some geography and history, the latter heavily laden with patriotic exhortations, and elementary civics and moral lessons which emphasize family relationships (Matthews and Akrawi, 1949, pp. 429–32).

3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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63:Simmons et al G-5 (1941-1951) 1954
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Schools are maintained by the Lebanese government under the authority of the Ministry of National Education and by private, denominational and foreign agencies. There are no public secondary schools, and institutions for advanced education are conducted almost exclusively by private or foreign organizations.

There are two universities in Beirut, both of which have made substantial contributions to educational and social leadership throughout the Near and Middle East. The Université Saint-Joseph, which was founded in 1875, is operated by Jesuit orders, and some of its departments are subsidized by the French government. It has faculties of law, theology, engineering, philosophy, oriental letters and medicine, with constituent schools of dentistry, pharmacy, nursing and midwifery. The American University of Beirut was established as the Syrian Protestant College in 1866, and renamed in 1920. It is a nonsectarian, autonomous institution, sponsored by the Near East Colleges Association. The present university incorporates schools of arts and sciences, engineering, medicine, pharmacy and nursing, as well as a new school for agriculture, organized in 1952.

Vital Statistics

No reliable vital statistics are available for Lebanon. The registration of births and deaths is compulsory by law, but reporting is irregular, and the facilities for the compilation and the analysis of statistical data are inadequate. The published statistics are incomplete and of little value in the interpretation of true birth and death rates. No census has been taken since 1932, but, on the basis of the official population estimates, the birth rate was calculated at 21.5 per 1,000 population in 1947 and at 26.1 in 1948. The death rates were given at 5.5 and 6.1 per 1,000 population, respectively, figures which are obviously low.

The infant mortality rates are unknown. The general laxness in reporting births in many rural villages and the tendency to

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3:Royal Institute of International Affairs U-4 (no date)1954 M1 Middle East
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9: Allen et al S-3 (1952-53) 1953 MI Middle East
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APPENDIX II

THE JIBRAIL RURAL FELLOWSHIP CENTRE, LEBANON

By S. Neale Alter*

The Fellowship Centre is located in the village of Jibrail, Akkar, Lebanon, which has around nine hundred people, all of whom depend on agriculture for their livelihood. This village is the geographical centre for an ecological area of some twenty thousand people. Our village reconstruction programme began in 1934, though our Presbyterian Mission had an academic school there before that time. Ours is the only controlled experimental demonstration centre of its kind in Lebanon.

When this reconstruction project began, Jibrail, like most other villages of the Near East was resigned to half-crops, half-health, half-adequate housing, half-happiness, and half-living. Since we were convinced that all of these factors must be treated as a unit, the programme dealt with the following: fundamental education for teen-age boys and girls, as well as adults, control of diseases of men, animals and plants, improvement of agriculture and live stock, control of water and soil conservation and irrigation, rural industries to make use of leisure time; and the development of moral, social and spiritual values within the indigenous religious cultures.

We have been experimenting for several years with a strategy which would reach the whole village through contacting individuals, family units, the village and the ecological area in their "grass-roots" environment. This technique is the same as that which would be used to meet the economy of a rural family which had run down land, poor crops - hence poor food, inferior animals and trees, poor health; and consequently poor members in the family unit. In the East the village resembles a large family, consequently there must be a unit approach, rather than the departmental approach, as is used in the extension systems of the West. After there is considerable development the departmental approach may apply equally well to the East.

Over a period of years we have accumulated considerable data on this unit approach. Our Centre is constantly being requested by individuals, government and others to share this data, especially in the Arabic language. We feel that it would be a real service to the whole Near East to provide some printed material.

We have the following assets:

1. Personnel and leadership. Mrs. Alter and I have had special training and experience in rural education and rural reconstruction. We have developed a staff of able Lebanese who understand our philosophy and co-operate as colleagues. We are in process of developing a Lebanese Board of Directors to take over more and more of the administration.

2. We have two schools, for boys and girls, which are co-operating closely with the Fundamental Education of UNESCO. These schools have a student body and graduates through whom we may continue experimentation and demonstration.

* Mr. Neale Alter is an American in charge of the Jibrail Centre. He is assisted in the management of the Centre by Mr. Munir Khoury, a Lebanese.

4. Health and hygiene for both boys and girls - for the girls there is special emphasis on First Aid and Home-nursing. 361 185

5. Child study and development for the girls with applied practice with a group of Kindergarten children. 871

For the boys this course is paralleled by practical work in carpentry and repairs and improvements in the home, e.g., laying cement floors.

6. Family relationships which begin with the study of relationships of students to their parents and other members of their families, and continue to include neighbour and community relationships and finally relationships to the nation and the family of nations. This course is essentially an emphasis on applied civics and sociology.

7. Cottage industries including weaving, gardening, and the raising of poultry and rabbits for both schools.

This is almost the most difficult of the ten points especially as it applies to our basic theory of financing the schools. The theory is that moderate fees should be collected for the first of the three years' course. The second year the students should even be able to earn a small surplus in addition to the fees. However up to the present the cottage industries have produced the marginal income which is necessary to carry on the plan.

8. Games, recreation and drama.

This feature of the programme is also difficult because it is not yet appreciated by the parents and also because of the lack of suitable materials. The sphere of the J.R.F.C. is to co-operate with other groups e.g., the B.C.W., The Literature Committee, etc., in the production of these basic materials, drama, reading materials, songs, etc.

9. Indigenous rural culture including such things as rural music folk songs, etc. This feature is also difficult to attain for three reasons - a lack of appreciation of the value of such culture, a lack of materials, and a lack of that extra margin of production which makes a virile culture possible. There is a vicious circle in the rural areas which both parents and young people feel can only be broken by leaving the villages for the city or by emigrating abroad. 361 369

10. Religion. The study of religion is not an isolated course but it is the unifying thread throughout the whole programme. It aims at the development of a personal relationship of the student to God through Christ and of an intelligent knowledge and understanding of the Bible and of the religious tenets and background of the student's family. 361 771

Point number two for men and boys, i.e., occupational skills needs a few additional comments. Although soil conservation is a part of the theoretical and practical part of our school programme, this has also been one of our emphasized features of our extension programme. With twelve growing months for vegetable crops, plenty of water for irrigation and very great possibilities for increasing fruit culture, it is very important to build the retaining walls according to scientific principles. Over a period of time we have developed a system for building terraces, but we have been using only primitive hand labo tools and methods. We have now reached the point where we need simple and 361 874 242 185

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practical mechanical equipment which will eliminate needless back-breaking labour and enable us to do the work on a larger scale more quickly. This becomes increasingly important as agricultural equipment of more modern types replaces the present primitive types.

II. Extension services. One of the major extension and demonstrational services which we have been rendering is that of the control of plant and fruit pests and diseases. For this work we have been using small hand-operated spraying equipment. We now need some practical mechanical equipment especially for spraying the high grape vines which are trained up the large oak trees. Since these grapes are economically so important in the life of the village this spraying becomes important.

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III. Leadership training. In the training of leadership we have three groups in view, the local village leadership, area leadership and students. The first two of these does not involve much expense, and can be carried on through our schools and extension services. The latter has so far included the following:

1. Student Summer Work Camps, where we use the students of the Beirut College for Women and the A.U.B. for work in the Jibrail area. This work has been financed by the institutions concerned, but there is need for more equipment. This equipment would belong to the Fellowship Centre and would be used by the Centre during the winter.

2. Visits of students from the departments of rural Education and Rural Sociology of the Beirut College for Women and the University of Beirut. Up until the present time these visits have been limited to one-day visits, which have been very limited in effectiveness. We are anxious to have living quarters for these students, so that they could stay for longer or shorter periods of time, so that they could really get experience in our centre and make a contribution to our centre.

We have building plans for such a centre to be used in student training and the cost of simple equipment for such a building. Details of this are included in the section which reports our Ten Year Plan.

3. Rural Emphasis Week, during the vacation in the spring, is our attempt to bring the challenge of rural services to the young people of the high schools before they have decided on careers in the cities. This does not require special buildings or equipment as it would be the same as that used for the regular work of the Centre and for college student special field work and observation.

4. We now have a special opportunity to co-operate with the field work programme of the American University training centre for public health specialists and community health nurses. Our part in this training programme would be to furnish a field training centre. The plan would be as follows:

1. We would provide the area where these trainees could have practical training. The Akkar is one of the most needy areas in Lebanon so far as health facilities go, so it provided one of the best areas for field work. We have already had considerable discussion with the staff of the Public Health School of the American University of Beirut.

2. We to serve as liaison relationship with the villages and co-operate in getting the trainees to their work centres. 361 874 185

3. The Fellowship Centre to provide living quarters for both the men and women trainees, and do the actual preparation of the food.

4. We to provide training in Rural Sociology by supervised observation tours, content courses at the Centre, and discussion seminars.

In order to co-operate with this training work the Jibrail Rural Fellowship Centre would have to build living quarters for the nurses and men trainees, and to provide local staff for the training in Sociology. These items are included in our Ten Year Plan, as part of this report.

IV. Medical and Public Health. The above proposal of co-operating with training of public health workers fits in closely with our existing programme of public health and community nurse. If we are to have such a co-operation our present work should be more of a model than it is at present. 361 744

We have therefore included in our Ten Year Plan an item for the improvement of our local community nurse facilities.

vention of tuberculosis, assists in the hospitalization of needy cases and administers a sanatorium at Dahr el Bashek. The Armenian Charitable Society furnishes treatment facilities for the care of Armenian patients. The Young Women's Moslem Association was established for the promotion of education among Moslem women, and since 1948 it has maintained a training school for nurses in Beirut. The Mouassat Society, an organization of Moslem women interested in infant welfare work, finances a small maternity hospital in Beirut.

The medical schools of the American University of Beirut and the Université Saint-Joseph have affiliated medical care and preventive services. The Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in America supports a medical mission in Tripoli. The Near East Foundation directed a general health and rural improvement program in the Anjar villages in the Bekaa valley from 1944 to 1951, when it retired from Lebanon. It also instituted an extensive malaria control project in the Anjar and the Ammik swamp areas. The Karagheusian Corporation, in America, contributed substantially to the work of the Foundation in the Armenian villages, and provides for the maintenance of child welfare centers in Anjar and Beirut.

The Lebanese Public Health Association is prominent among the professional societies. It is concerned with the promotion of public health in Lebanon and with the dissemination of educational materials. The Lebanese Medical Association is likewise active, and publishes a journal for its membership.

Two industries maintain medical facilities for the benefit of their employees—the Iraq Petroleum Company, at Tripoli, and the Trans-Arabian Pipeline Company, at Beirut and Sidon. The Iraq Petroleum Company also subsidizes a medical insurance scheme for the families of its employees. The United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees carries on public health programs in the various camps

A laboratory division has been created in the Ministry of Public Health, however, and laboratory services are gradually being organised. A government laboratory is being established at Beirut with assistance under the Point Four program .of the United States government. When it is completed, it will have divisions for bacteriologic and serologic diagnoses, water and food analyses, the preparation of rabies, typhoid and other vaccines, and administration and supplies. 742

At present the Ministry contracts for laboratory services from the medical school of the Université Saint-Joseph, the Faculté Française de Médecine. Its Institut de Bactériologie is equipped for the performance of routine bacteriologic, serologic and chemical examinations. The Institut Antirabique undertakes the preparation of antirabic vaccines and the administration of prophylactic treatment. 742 874 [758]

The medical school of the American University of Beirut has pathologic, serologic and bacteriologic laboratories, with facilities for research and the conduct of routine diagnostic examinations for the various divisions of the University hospital, as well as for private physicians. Typhoid-paratyphoid and smallpox vaccines are also produced in the University laboratories. Clinical laboratories are connected with the government hospitals and with the larger private institutions, both national and foreign.

Schools. There are 2 medical schools in Beirut, both of which receive students from the neighboring Arab states. The Faculté Française de Médecine is supported by the French government, and its graduates are awarded French state degrees in medicine. The instruction is in French, and the course of training covers 6 years, including a year for internship. 874

The School of Medicine of the American University of Beirut operates under the Regents of the University of the State of New York, and meets the Class "A" standards of the American Medical Association. It provides a 5-year course leading to the

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degree of Doctor of Medicine. The teaching is in English. In 1951, its Department of Preventive Medicine and Public Health was expanded and reorganized as a regional training center in public health to serve all the countries of the Near and Middle East. The new Department, which forms the nucleus of a projected school of public health, is sponsored by the University, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, the Technical Co-operation Administration of the United States government and the World Health Organization. Its objectives embody the training of different types of subprofessional personnel, the organization of facilities for active co-operation with governmental agencies in Lebanon and other countries, and the conduct of research and field investigations. In 1951-52, the Department offered a 1-year course for the training of sanitarians, a 1-year course for laboratory technicians, a 3-year advanced course for medical technologists and a 1-year postgraduate course in public health for nurses. Plans are also under consideration for the development of short refresher courses in specialized fields for physicians and other medical personnel.

A School of Dentistry is connected with the Faculté Française de Médecine, and furnishes a 4-year course leading to a degree in dentistry and a 2-year course for dental mechanics. Schools of Pharmacy, each requiring 4 years of study, are attached to the French and the American universities.

There are 6 schools for the training of nurses. The School of Nursing of the American University of Beirut provides a standard course of 3 years comparable with that given in approved schools in America. The school attached to the Faculté Française de Médecine, and the school opened by the Young Women's Moslem Association in Beirut in 1948, offer 2-year courses. The Lebanese Red Cross maintains a school in Beirut which has a 2-year course for nurses and a 1-year course for nursing assistants. The Kennedy Memorial Hospital in Tripoli conducts a school for the training of male and female nurses with a 2-year course of

376 instruction. Since 1951, nurses have also been trained at the Christian Medical Center in Beirut. A School of Midwifery is incorporated in the Faculté Française de Médecine, and has a 1-year course for the training of midwives.

Personnel

367 **Physicians.** Eight hundred and sixteen physicians were reported as practicing in Lebanon in 1948—roughly 1 per 1,300 population. Of this number, 430 were located in Beirut and the remainder in the provinces—123 in North Lebanon, 148 in Mount Lebanon, 55 in South Lebanon and 60 in the Bekaa. In 1951, the staff of the Ministry of Public Health included 30 doctors—8 attached to the headquarters in Beirut, 4 in the quarantine services and 18 in charge of the case units. The municipality of Beirut employs 18 to 20 physicians and the Ministry of National Education, 6.

Dentists. Reports for 1948 indicate that there were 186 dentists in the country, 19 of whom were settled in Beirut.

Nurses. In 1950, it was estimated that there were from 550 to 600 nurses in Lebanon. In addition, nursing nuns serve in the hospitals operated by religious orders.

844 **Others.** The official publications for 1948 listed 210 graduate midwives and 188 midwives with practical training. Over 70 per cent of the graduate midwives were located in the vicinity of Beirut. The same year, there were 133 graduate pharmacists and 61 assistant pharmacists.

DISEASES

1845 1847 Prior to 1943, public health activity was largely concentrated in Beirut; consequently, the organization of preventive services and the extension of medical facilities in the provincial districts are still in the developmental stage. At present the reports of research investigations sponsored by the medical departments of the French and the American universities and by other agencies provide the chief sources of information regarding the prevalence of specific

and Sidon were roughly comparable. In a series of 1,111 complement fixation tests on miscellaneous human serums sent to the Wassermann laboratory of the University hospital, 7 per cent gave a positive reaction with Q fever antigen.

SUMMARY

Lebanon, formerly one of the French-mandated Levant states, has been an independent republic since 1943. It is a compact territory, with an estimated population in 1948 slightly in excess of 1,220,500 and a density of roughly 300 inhabitants per square mile. Unlike the surrounding Arab countries, the Christian and the Moslem elements of the population are almost equal in collective numerical strength and political importance.

Responsibility for the health of the people resides in the Ministry of Public Health of the Lebanese government, which acts in co-operation with other ministries and numerous philanthropic and religious organizations. The public health and the medical care functions of the Ministry are directed from Beirut. The city is one of the leading medical centers of the Near and Middle East, with two university medical schools and associated hospitals. In 1948, there were 73 hospitals (including sanatoria) in the country, with an aggregate capacity of 5,181 beds, or approximately 4.2 beds per 1,000 population. Eight hospitals were maintained by the Ministry of Public Health, while 36 were conducted under private or philanthropic auspices and 9 by foreign organizations. In addition to the outpatient services of the hospitals, a central polyclinic, 17 rural dispensaries and 4 tuberculosis clinics were operated by the Ministry; a polyclinic by the municipal health department in Beirut; 16 dispensaries by the Lebanese Red Cross; and various units by other organizations.

Water supplies are derived from streams, springs or wells, and are usually abundant in the coastal region but often deficient in the interior. Treated municipal water sup-

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7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

621 The boarding-school, as well as the day-school, students include both boys
872 and girls. The technical school and college students are nearly all boys, most of
873 them at the American University, one in the government normal school, a couple at the government vocational school. All these institutions are in Beirut.

463 We cannot, unfortunately, be very specific about the "white-collar" class. The
565 chief criterion is that none is a manual laborer, and they were obviously all considered to hold respectable positions. Many are clerks in offices or shops. The most outstanding is an official in one of the government ministries. There are no practicing physicians and no lawyers.

The "city specialists" can be subdivided as follows:

Protestant preacher	1	Seamstress	5
Detective	1	Waiter	3
Fireman	1	Hospital attendant	4
Soldier (sergeant)	1	Janitor	2
Tailor	2	Surveyor	1

[441] The "merchants" consist of members of a single family, plus close village associates, who own and operate a store in Beirut. They have been very prosperous since World War II.

[875] Four of the teachers work in the village itself, but the individuals concerned have not always done so, and the teachers in the village government school have in the past often been outsiders, assigned by the Ministry of Education.

462 Lastly, it will be observed that over half of the gainfully employed women
759 and girls are medical nurses. The position is one of some prestige in itself. Parents
555 and family prefer it to other jobs because it means that the girl will be under the protection of an institution, and also because it may eventuate in the marriage of the girl to a doctor, a very prestigeful status.

MARITAL STATUS AND OCCUPATION

162 Table 6, which indicates the marital status of the population between the
582 ages of fifteen and forty-five, reveals certain facts related to occupations. Everyone

TABLE 6. MARITAL STATUS: AGES 15–44

	MEN		WOMEN			MEN		WOMEN	
AGE	Single	Married	Single	Married	AGE	Single	Married	Single	Married
15–19	39	0	27	0	30–34	6	5	4	7
20–24	30	1	17	7	35–39	3	4	2	12
25–29	15	8	10	10	40–44	2	14	0	12

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1

554 The term *mu'allim* (teacher) is applied to the schoolteachers, usually immedi-
875 ately followed by the individual's name, whether in reference or in address. It was observed, however, that the title was often omitted in cases where the teacher was being addressed by an older man.

554 These titles symbolize the respect which is due certain statuses, and the criteria
576 for respect are vested authority and learning. The only other point which needs to
562 be made about them is the fact that they are extended to the wives of the men who hold the statuses to which they pertain. Of the three, *khuwriyyah* appears to be the one which is taken the most seriously and used the most consistently. The status is very old, of course, whereas *mukhtarah* and *duktuurah* are new, and the use of *mu'allim* is greatly extended compared to the old days. No other titles are used in the village.

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9:Lebanon G-5 (1952)1953 MEI Lebanon MEI

891 The government furnishes a teacher for government-sponsored elementary schools. The village 658 in turn rents a school room and the rent is paid by small contributions from the students. The annual rent for one room varies from LL. 50 to LL. 250 per year.

875 Four of the government elementary teachers have completed their secondary education. As the fifth government elementary teacher provided this area was absent, it was not possible to determine his educational background. None of these men has been teaching for more than four years or less than two. The annual salaries of the government furnished teachers varies from, LL. 1,400 in Sarafand to LL. 1,800 in Saksakiyah. The only individual teaching without more than an elementary education was attached to the Saksakiyah private school and received a meager LL. 350 per year (about $100 at the current rate of exchange).

Local Attitude toward the Technical Cooperation Service

609 Expressions of confidence in the Technical Cooperation Service and Americans in general 185 were heard in all of the villages. The enumerators and others who visited these villages during the course of the study were all cordially received and were given fine cooperation. The expressed desire of the people to work with the Technical Cooperation Service seems genuine.

The ordinary villager has no conception of just why the Americans want to build irrigation projects, furnish schools, dig wells, or provide public health services for him, but he is hopeful that they will do these things for him. They react to all of this projected activity on a personal basis and will judge its results on the basis of the benefits that they personally gain from it.

Many villagers made a point of stating that *action* to relieve their situation is all-important. They felt that studies such as this are pointless, unless they are followed by worth-while acts. To a large extent they believe that only through some such agency as the Technical Cooperation Service can action be obtained and their situation improved.

Point 4 — 6

7: Gulick E-5 (1952) 1955 ME1 Lebanon ME1
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are being steadily removed in most Middle East countries at the present time) do not obtrude very much into everyday *living* in the average household, though they may do so somewhat more among the Muslims than among the Christians. Furthermore, he believes that that bugaboo of American feminists, the female chattel, has been unusual in any culture at any time except under special, hence conspicuous, circumstances. The occurrence of such circumstances can be safely predicted only in individual families in a patrilineal system, which are so well off that the woman can be relieved of all useful functions except sex. It is only in such families that extensive polygyny (if the culture permits it) is ordinarily to be found, and certainly an unfavored wife in a wealthy polygynous household can even be deprived of the dignity of her sexual role.

In the Middle East village, however, the basic unit of everyday living is the single household. Among the Christians, it is always based on a permanent monogamous marriage, and the probability is that the same is true among the great majority of the Muslims. The very existence of the household, initially and as time goes on, depends upon the active participation of the wife. She is cook, laundress, seamstress, nurse, and, above all, mother of the children who, it is hoped, will project the honor of the family into the future. She is *sitt al-bayt*, "mistress of the house," a title which, in Munşif, used to be given to quite a number of baby girls as their personal name. Such a woman is no chattel, and there are numerous women in the village who, as individuals, are accorded unqualified respect by all.

The average village-dwelling woman works hard and makes no pretense of "hiding her age." She will continue to work hard until decrepitude overtakes her. One occasionally may even see an old woman trudging along bent nearly double under the weight of a bundle of firewood sometimes nearly as large as herself. But if this woman is socially oppressed, it is the incessant physical labor enjoined by necessity which is the tyrant and not the hard-heartedness of her husband, her brothers, or her sons, who are as hardworking and work-worn as she is.

As has been noted, the great majority of the Munşif women are housewives or apprentice housewives. Domestic duties occupy most of their time, but, as will be seen in the next chapter, their regular chores do not prohibit social interaction outside the house. Before the introduction of convenient and relatively inexpensive Western manufactures, the average housewife wove the cloth with which she made her family's clothes. Weaving, like shoemaking, has now completely disappeared from the village which is not exceptional in this respect (cf. Kohn, 1936, p. 269). A few housewives do ornamental needlework to supplement the family income (cf. Fisher, 1950, pp. 208–09). The forty-four village women who have non-domestic paying jobs certainly represent something entirely new in the village culture. But the jobs themselves are something entirely new, and the writer is unable to say whether or not the women's taking them is in general motivated primarily by necessity rather than by "career girl" ambitions. His impression is that most of the girls feel that their jobs are temporary arrangements before mar-